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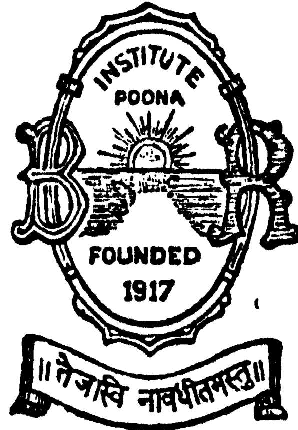
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HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

(ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW IN INDIA)

BY

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(VRATAS, UTSAVAS AND KĀLA ETC.)

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Publisher's Note

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute has great pleasure in publishing the first part of the fifth and last volume of Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. P. V. Kane's monumental *History of Dharmaśāstra*. This part comprises two sections. The first section deals at length with many important vratas and utsavas such as Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī, Durgotsava, Diwāḷi, Saṅkrānti, Mahāśivarātrī, Holikā, and also includes brief notices of about 1100 vratas, pūjās and utsavas with references; the second section deals with Kāla (Time), and its philosophic conceptions from Vedic times downwards; Indian Astronomy and Astrology and the theories of Western scholars about them; nakṣatras and astrology based on them; *muhūrtas* and their employment in religious rites; the Zodiacal signs; planets and week-days; principles laid down in Indian astrological works; calendar, eras and intercalary month; Yuga, Manvantara and Kalpa; Yoga and Karaṇa; and reform of our calendar.

The second part of this volume will treat of such topics as śāntis-Vedic and post-Vedic; Purāṇas and their influence on Dharmaśāstra, society and Buddhism; Tantras and Dharmaśāstra; Pūrvamīmāṁsā and other darśanas in relation to Dharmaśāstra; cosmology; the theory of *punarjanma*; the essential characteristics of our culture through the ages; and future trends.

All prefatory matter, including list of abbreviations, brief synopsis of the contents, list of works consulted, etc., as also General Index for the whole volume, will be given in the second part, which we hope to publish before long.

R. N. DANDEKAR
Honorary Secretary.

SECTION I

VRATAS (Religious Vows) and UTSAVAS (Religious Festivals)

CHAPTER I

VRATA IN THE ṚGVEDA

Vrata is one of many Sanskrit words, the use and history of which extend over several thousand years. The derivation and semantic development of the word vrata have been the subject of great controversies. These questions have been dealt with by me at some length in the JBBRAS, vol. 29 (1954) pp. 1–28. I shall here summarise the discussion contained therein.

In the great St. Petersburg Dictionary the word vrata is derived from the root 'vṛ' (to choose) and the important senses of the word given in that Dictionary are: (1) will, command, law, prescribed order; (2) subservience, obedience, service; (3) domain; (4) order, regulated succession, realm; (5) calling, office, customary activity, carrying on, custom; (6) religious duty, worship, obligation; (7) any undertaking, religious or ascetic performance or observance, vow, sacred work; (8) vow in general, fixed purpose; (9) other specialized senses. Max Muller derived it from *vṛ* 'to protect' and held that it meant originally what is enclosed, protected, set apart, then what is settled or determined, law, ordinance and then 'sway or power'. Whitney, in a note on this word in the Proceedings published in J. A. O. S. vol. XI pp. 29–31, after setting out the treatment of the word in the St. Petersburg Dictionary, brushed aside Max Muller's etymology as unsatisfactory and as possessing little plausibility and declared that he did not accept the derivation of the word from *vṛ* 'to choose', that 'vṛ' did not signify willing or command, but only choice or preference, though he admitted that there is a relationship between 'choose' and 'command'. He objected that '*ta*' as an affix (except in the formation of past passive participles) was very rare and that the only analogous word he could think of would be 'marta' from 'mṛ' to die. He preferred to derive the word from 'vṛt' 'to proceed' and, though he admitted that the form vrata from 'vṛt' with affix *a* would be exceptional, he thought that the words 'vraja' and 'trada' supported the derivation and put forward the ground that the word 'vrata' occurs

frequently in the Ṛgveda with verbs of motion such as '*car*', '*saśc*' or '*sac*'.

Prof. V. M. Apte contributed a long article on vrata to the 3rd volume of the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute at Poona (pp. 407–488). Prof. Apte agreed with Whitney in deriving the word vrata from 'vṛt', boldly asserted that the derivation of the word from 'vṛ' to choose or 'vṛ' to guard or enclose is impossible (p. 410), that there *is not a single vrata passage* in the Ṛgveda which favours the meaning 'will, command, obedience or fixed purpose', that 'vṛt' not only means 'to proceed' (as Whitney holds) but also 'to turn, to turn oneself, turn round, revolve, move on' and that therefore 'vrata' means not only procedure, course of action, conduct, but also 'circular movement' and then 'route or circular path' (pp. 411–412).

My own view is that both Whitney and Prof. Apte are wrong in deriving the word *vrata* from 'vṛt'. I further hold that passages in which 'vṛt' occurs with *upasargas* such as *abhi*, *ā*, *ni*, *pari*, *pra* or *vi*, would not be helpful in determining the original meaning of 'vṛt' by itself, since *upasargas* often totally change the meaning of the root[1], that it is doubtful whether the root 'vṛt' standing by itself means in the Ṛgveda 'to proceed' (as Whitney thought) and I deny that 'vṛt' occurring by itself without *upasargas* in the Ṛgveda ever means 'to turn round, move on' (as Prof. Apte asserts). In my opinion the root 'vṛt' by itself (and not used in a causal or frequentative sense) means simply 'to be, to remain, to abide'. Occurrences of the root 'vṛt' without any upasarga before or after it are few in the Ṛgveda. Some typical examples may be given. 'When, O Indra, thou didst strike down the wiles of Svarbhānu (the demon Rāhu) that remained below the sky[2]' (Ṛg. V. 40. 6); 'the wheel does not affect (jolt) your chariot (O Aśvins!) that is followed by songs one after another and that remains possessed of food' (Ṛg. VIII. 5. 34); 'they (the dice) remain downwards (lie down on the board or ground) but they throb or strike above (i. e. they shake or terrify the hearts of gamblers); though they have no hands yet they defeat those that are endowed with hands' (Ṛg. X. 34. 9). Vide also Ṛg. X. 27. 19, X. 107. 11 for other verses where 'vṛt'

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1. उपसर्गेण धात्वर्थो बलादन्यत्र नीयते। नीहाराहारसंहारप्रतिहारप्रहारवत् ॥

2. स्वर्भानोरध यदिन्द्र माया अवो दिवो वर्तमाना अवाहन्। ऋ. V. 40. 6; रथं वामनुगायसं य इषा वर्तते सह। न चक्रमभि बाधते॥ ऋ. VIII. 5. 34; नीचा वर्तन्त उपरि स्फुरन्त्यहस्तासो हस्तवन्तं सहन्ते। ऋ. X. 34. 9.

occurs without an *upasarga* and means 'to remain or abide'. Even with an upasarga like 'sam' *vṛt* means simply 'to be or to abide' and not 'revolve or turn' or 'move on'. Vide Ṛg. VI. 41. 2, X. 90. 14, X. 121. 1 and 7, X. 129. 4, in which 'sam-vartatām' or 'samavartata' simply means 'let it remain' or 'it was or existed'. Simply because 'vṛt' with '*abhi*' means 'to turn towards or attack' (as in Ṛg. IV. 43. 5 or V. 31. 5) or with '*ni*' means 'come down or return' (as in Ṛg. X. 19. 1, 3, 5, X. 95. 17) or with '*pari*' means 'roam over or round' (as in Ṛg. I. 164. 11 and IV. 36.1), or with '*pra*' means 'to proceed' (as in Ṛg. V. 30. 8 or X. 89. 12), or with *vi* means 'roll or revolve' (as in Ṛg. I. 185. 1, V. 30. 8, V. 53. 7, VI. 9. 1) it does not at all follow that the original sense of 'vṛt' is, as Prof. Apte asserts (p. 411 end), 'to revolve or roll on'. Besides, the last two senses are somewhat contradictory.

Prof. Apte complains that scholars were content as to *vrata* with the meanings 'law, statute, command, sacrifice, vow, fixed purpose, duty' and did not take enough notice of the important part that the sense of 'route or circular path' plays in the Ṛgveda. He opines that the divine vratas often mentioned in the Ṛgveda rather mean 'the heavenly routes, the divine rounds, the periodical movements round the sky closely adhered to by the gods themselves' rather than 'holy laws' laid down by a particular deity. Adopting a suggestion of Tilak in 'Orion' (p. 154) that the path of ṛta sometimes mentioned in the Ṛgveda is the broad belt of the Zodiac which the luminaries never transgress, Prof. Apte sets out to prove that the word 'ṛta' in the Ṛgveda primarily means the belt of the Zodiac (vide his paper in the Silver Jubilee volume of the Annals of the B. O. R. I., pp. 55–56). This theory has failed to appeal to eminent Vedic scholars. In my humble way I endeavoured to show in the 4th vol. of the H. of Dh. (pp.2-5) that 'ṛta' has three senses in the Ṛgveda, one of which is 'the course of nature or the regular general order in the cosmos'. 'The path by which the group of Ādityas reaches ṛta' in Ṛg. I. 41. 4[3] or the statement in Ṛg. I. 164. 11 'the wheel of ṛta, that has twelve spokes (12 constellations or months), continually goes round the sky without being worn out' are only illustrations of the first meaning of ṛta. But this meaning of ṛta by itself sheds hardly any light on the meaning of vrata. Ṛta and vrata are

3. सुगः पन्था अनृक्षर आदित्यास ऋतं यते। ऋ. I. 41. 4; द्वादशारं नहि तज्जराय वर्वर्ति चक्रं परि द्यामृतस्य। ऋ. I. 164. 11.

not synonyms and it is difficult to see how, conceding for argument that 'ṛta' is the belt of the Zodiac, vrata means, as Prof. Apte obviously thinks, the same thing. Ṛta is an Indo-European word but so far as I know 'vrata' is not even shown to be Indo-Iranian, much less Indo-European.

Prof. Apte advances the theory that there are two parallel phases of the semantic evolution of the word 'vrata' viz. a 'divine phase' and a 'human' phase. I feel no hesitation in denying the existence of any such distinction in the meaning of the word 'vrata'. Prof. Apte arranges (pp. 414–415) the so-called divine phase of the meaning of vrata into six groups, viz. (I) turning round, passage, procedure, physical activity, (II) circular path, settled or beaten route, (III) sphere or region of movement or influence, (IV) routine, laws of movement; periodic appearance or visit, customary activity, recurring march, (V) victorious advance or strength, (VI) ordinance, law, rule or code of conduct. In the so-called 'human phase' of semantic development he sets out four groups of senses, viz. (1) physical activity (as distinguished from mental), duty, profession; (II) the sum total of those peculiar ethical and religious duties and practices which made up the culture pattern of the Aryans; (III) the specific social and religious duties of the three classes of Aryan society; (IV) devotion to duty in general on the part of men and women.

I have summarised Prof. Apte's long list of meanings in ten groups. The very fact that Prof. Apte had to marshall over sixty English equivalents for the meaning of the word 'vrata', which occurs in the Ṛgveda only about 220 times by itself or in combination with other words is enough to make scholars suspicious about the correctness of the entire scheme. Though he had the hardihood to assert in one place (p. 410)[4] that no passage in the Ṛgveda favours the meaning 'will or command' he admits (on pp. 476–477) that in three passages (Ṛg. II. 38. 7, X. 10. 5, X. 33. 9) the meaning of vrata as 'ordinances laid down by a divinity for devotees or human beings' is quite acceptable to him and further that in about 25 passages (which come under groups II to IV of the so-called human phase of Prof. Apte) vrata either means 'ethical or religious code of practices of the three classes of Aryans' or 'beneficent sway or devotion'.

4. Hereafter up to note 23 wherever only pages are mentioned and no work, the reference is to the pages of the 3rd vol. of the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute.

I shall now state my own views on the derivation and the meanings of the word vrata in the Ṛgveda. I derive the word from the root 'vṛ' (to choose). From this root comes the word 'vara' (bridegroom who is chosen from among several men by a maiden or her guardian), which occurs in Ṛg. IX. 101. 14 and X. 85. 8 and 9. Choosing involves willing or volition on the part of the person choosing. Hence 'vṛ' also means 'to will'. Therefore, when the word vrata is derived from 'vṛ' with the suffix 'ta', the meaning of vrata can be 'what is willed' or simply 'will'. The will of a person in power or authority is a command or law unto others. Devotees believe that gods have laid down certain commands to be followed by themselves as well as by all beings. Thus comes the sense of 'law or ordinance'. A command of a superior imposes and implies a corresponding duty to obey. When commands are obeyed or duties are performed in the same way for long, they become the patterns of obligations i. e. customs or practices. When persons believe or feel that they must perform certain acts as ordained by gods, then arises the sense of religious worship or duty. If a man imposes upon himself certain restrictions as to his behaviour or food to win the favour of gods that becomes a sacred vow or religious observance. Thus the several meanings of the word 'vrata', which I derive from the root 'vṛ', are command or law, obedience or duty, religious or moral practices, religious worship or observance, sacred or solemn vow or undertaking, then any vow or pattern of conduct. It should not be supposed that these several meanings followed one another in a time sequence. Two or more meanings might have been simultaneously in vogue such as 'ordinance, duty or obedience'. These meanings of vrata set out by me are quite sufficient for the interpretation of almost all Ṛgveda passages in which the word occurs.

When Whitney derived the word 'vrata' from 'vṛt' with affix 'a', he could cite only two words 'vraja' and 'trada' as parallel. But it is quite possible to argue that 'vraja' is not analogous to vrata (if derived from 'vṛt'). *Vraja* (cowpen) occurs in the Ṛgveda in II. 38. 8, IV. 1. 15, IV. 16. 6, V. 6. 7, V. 33. 10, can very well be derived from 'vraj' to go and Pāṇini III. 3. 119 appears to derive[5] it from 'vraj' in the sense of 'karaṇa' or adhikaraṇa. The root 'vraj' occurs in the Ṛgveda.[6] If *vraja* is derived from

5. गोचरसञ्चरवहव्रजव्यजापणनिगमाश्च । पा. III. 3. 119 on which सि. कौ. explains 'घान्ता निपात्यन्ते'.

6. आपश्चिदस्मा अरमन्त देवीः पृथग् व्रजन्तीः परि षीमवृञ्जन् ॥ ऋ. III. 56. 4.

the root 'vraj', it is not on all fours with vrata derived from 'vṛt'. Whitney probably derived 'vraja' from 'vṛj'. But the meaning of 'vraja' (cowpen) can hardly arise from the root 'vṛj' (to give up, abandon). The word 'trada' occurs only once in the Ṛgveda (VIII. 45. 28)[7] and is applied to Indra. It is difficult to say from what root, if any, it is derived. Whitney probably derived it from 'tṛd' to injure or pierce. The word 'tṛdilāḥ' (crushing) is applied to the stones (grāvāṇaḥ) which crush *soma* stalks[8] (Ṛg. X. 94. 11). Whitney says he knows only one word 'marta' derived from 'mṛ' (to die) with the affix 'ta' which is analogous to vrata if the latter be derived from 'vṛ'. But Whitney failed to notice other words with the affix 'ta' (not past passive participles) such as 'karta' (deep hole, cavern) (in Ṛg. I. 121. 13, II. 29. 6, IX. 73. 8 and 9) and 'garta' (cavity or seat in a war chariot) (in Ṛg. II. 33. 11, V. 62. 5 and 8, VI. 20. 9, VII. 64. 4), vāta (wind) from 'vā' (Ṛg. V. 31. 10, X. 168. 1 &c.), dhūrta and several others.

Prof. Apte cites the word *vartani* (which means 'way' in Ṛg. I. 23. 9, V. 61. 9, VII. 8. 16, VIII. 23. 19, VIII. 63. 8) as analogous to vrata (from vṛt). But that word lends very little help. In 'vartani' there is *guṇa* (vṛt becomes vart); besides vartani cannot be derived from 'vṛt' meaning 'turn round or revolve' (which Prof. Apte gives as the original meaning), but from the meaning 'to abide' or at the most 'to proceed' and further 'vartani' has practically only one meaning in the Ṛgveda, while vrata has to be paraphrased by sixty different words in English by Prof. Apte.

Prof. Apte following Whitney relies on the fact (p. 409) that vrata is frequently employed in the Ṛgveda with verbs of motion such as *anu-i*, *anu-car*, *anu-gā*, *anu-vṛt*. But these roots take on another meaning (viz. 'to follow or observe') owing to the presence of 'anu' and in almost all the passages where the forms of these roots with *anu* occur there is no indication whatever of physical motion, but only that of 'obeying or observing'. Besides, the root 'car' itself is not used in the sense of physical motion in several passages of the Ṛgveda, but in the sense of 'performing' and

7. तरणिं वो जनानां त्रदं वाजस्य गोमतः। समानमु प्र शंसिषम्॥ ऋ. VIII. 45. 28. गोमतः। वाजस्य त्रदं would mean '(Indra) who is the injurer of pinc,' which would be absurd. Indra sets free cows imprisoned by Vṛtra.

8. तृदिला अतृदिलासो अद्रयोऽश्रमणा अशृथिता अमृत्यवः। ऋ. X. 94. 11.

'observing'. Vide[9] Ṛg. I. 52. 6, III. 54. 2, VI. 9. 6, VII. 89. 5. Moreover, in words like *brahmacārī* (Ṛg. X. 109. 5) and *vratacāriṇaḥ* (Ṛg. VII. 103. 1) the meaning of a physical motion, if it was the original one at all, is totally absent and the meaning 'performing' or 'observing' is the only one possible. Some occurrences of the roots 'saśc' and 'sac' in which the meaning of physical motion is inapplicable but the meaning 'resort to, accept or be united to' appears to be intended are found in Ṛg. II. 1. 13, VII. 28. 4 (for forms of '*saśc*') and IV. 12. 2., VII. 85. 5, VIII. 4. 9, IX. 95. 4 (for forms of 'sac').

It is now necessary to examine the contention of Prof. Apte that *vrata* means in the Ṛgveda the tracks or routes that the various luminaries trace in the heavens. Vratas are spoken of not only in relation to Agni, Indra, Mitra, Soma, Uṣas, Savitṛ and Ādityas but also in relation to Varuṇa (in Ṛg. I. 25. 1, III. 54. 18, V. 69. 4, VII. 83. 9), Bṛhaspati (in II. 23. 6), Indra and Brahmaṇaspati (II. 24. 12), Aditi (I. 144. 12, VII. 87. 9), Parjanya (V. 83. 5) and Aśvins (I. 183. 3). Conceding for a moment that by some stretch of imagination or some linguistic acrobatics one can speak of the vratas of Agni, Ādityas, Mitra, Indra, Savitṛ and Uṣas as referring to the tracks of luminaries in the heavens, the mid regions and on the earth, one should like to know whether Aditi, Aśvins, Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati or Brahmaṇaspati are luminaries and what tracks they were supposed to trace in the heavens or elsewhere. Scholars are not agreed as to the meaning of Aditi or as to the physical or celestial phenomena Varuṇa or the Aśvins were supposed to represent. Aditi is a riddle, being identified with the heaven and the mid regions and also spoken of as the father, mother or the son or as the mother of Dakṣa and also his daughter; vide Ṛg. I. 89. 10, II. 27. 1, X. 72. 4–5 and Nirukta XI. 23 as to Aditi and Ṛg. II. 1. 11 where Agni is identified with Aditi. Long before the times of the Nirukta there was difference on the question of the nature of Aśvins, some identifying them with Heaven and Earth, or day and night, or the Sun and the Moon or two meritorious kings (Nirukta XII. 1), while some Western scholars hold them to be the Morning and the Evening star or Castor and Pollux. The endeavour of interpreters of the Ṛgveda should be to assign such

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9. परीं घृणा चरति तित्विषे शवोऽपो वृत्वी रजसो बुध्नमाशयत्। ऋ. I. 52. 6; महि महे दिवे अर्चा पृथिव्यै कामो म इच्छञ्चरति प्रजानन्। ऋ. III. 54. 2; वि मे मनश्चरति दूरआधीः किंस्विद्वक्ष्यामि किमु नू मनिष्ये। ऋ. VI. 9. 6.

a derivation and meaning to the word vrata as would be appropriate in all cases where the word vrata is brought in relation to some gods. In my opinion the only meanings that can be well construed with all passages in which the vratas of the several gods mentioned above are referred to is 'commands or ordinances, religious or moral practices or worship or vows.' One does not understand what Prof. Apte means when he remarks at (p. 442) in a tone of ridicule that observing or obeying the 'ordinances or religious worship of gods' is a soft job and looking after the paths or the tracks of luminaries is a strenuous one. If anything, the reverse of this should be true.

The word 'samrāj' appears to be applied to a human king in Ṛg.[10] VII. 58. 4 'the sovereign, protected by you, O Maruts! kills the enemy', and in Ṛg. X. 85. 46 the newly married girl has the blessing 'be you a queen' (samrājñī). Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, Agni, Viśve-devāḥ and Ādityas are called kings (*rājan*) and emperors (samrāj) in Ṛg. II. 41. 6, III. 10. 1, III. 54. 10, V. 85. 1, VII. 38. 4, VIII. 27. 22, X. 63. 5. Varuṇa (who is praised in about 12 hymns) is called *samrāj* oftener than even Indra praised in about 200 hymns. What is more natural than to suppose that the gods called kings and emperors were believed to have laid down commands or ordinances to be obeyed by all. Though Ṛgvedic sages extol several gods they had already arrived at the conception that there was only one Supreme Being that was addressed under different names such as Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni and assumed several forms (Ṛg. I. 164. 46, VI. 47. 18, X. 121. 1, X. 129. 1–2). Vratas are spoken of as *dhruva* (immutably fixed) as in II. 5. 4, III. 56. 1, V. 69. 4 and as *adabdha* (unharmed, unassailable) as in I. 24. 10, II. 9. 1, III.54.18, VII. 66. 6 and *daivya* (divine) as in Ṛg. I. 70. 1, I. 92. 12, VII. 75. 3. One must carefully remember these facts when ascertaining the exact meaning of *vrata* mentioned in connection with almost all the prominent gods of the Ṛgveda. It is often stated in the Ṛgveda that the vratas of the god whom the sage for the moment praises are not violated by other gods. Some striking examples[11]

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10. युष्मोतः सम्राळुत हन्ति वृत्रं प्र तद्वो अस्तु धूतयो देष्णम्। ऋ. VII. 58. 4,

11. न यस्येन्द्रो वरुणो न मित्रो व्रतमर्यमा न मिनन्ति रुद्रः। नारातयस्तमिदं स्वस्ति हुवे देवं सवितारं नमोभिः॥ ऋ. II. 38. 9; न ता मिनन्ति मायिनो न धीरा व्रता देवानां प्रथमा ध्रुवाणि। न रोदसी अद्रुहा वेद्याभिर्न पर्वता निनमे तस्थिवांसः॥ ऋ. III 56. 1; अस्तभ्नाद् द्यामसुरो विश्ववेदा अमिमीत वरिमाणं पृथिव्याः। आसीदद्विश्वा भुवनानि सम्राड् विश्वेत्तानि

(*Continued on next page*)

may, be given here: Ṛg. III. 7. 7 'the gods observe the vratas of gods' (devā devānām-anu hi vratā guḥ); II. 38. 9 'I invoke for my welfare with salutations god Savitṛ whose vrata is not violated by Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, or Rudra or by the (god's) enemies'; III. 56. 1 'the primeval and immutably fixed vratas are not destroyed by the wily (demons), nor by the wise (sages), nor by the well-disposed Heaven and Earth and the firmly fixed mountains are not there for being bent down'; VIII. 42. 1 'the all-knowing and powerful (Varuṇa) made Heaven firm, he measured (created) the expanse of the earth; the great king sits over (rules) all the worlds; all these are the vratas of Varuṇa'. Vide also Ṛg. I. 101. 3, II. 24. 12, II. 38. 2, III. 30. 4, V. 69. 4.

The above mentioned passages clearly show that the Vedic sages believed that not only did the several gods observe or carry out the immutably fixed ordinances laid down by themselves or by any one of them but that even wily demons had to observe them and that waters or rivers flow as ordained by gods. We have to take into account along with these beliefs that the Ṛgveda often adverts to the fact that human beings also break (or violate) the *vratas* of gods, are liable to be punished therefor and pray to the gods to pity them and to withhold the punishment. For example,[12] Ṛg. I. 25. 1–2 'Whatever ordinance (vrata) of thine, O Varuṇa! we may break day to day as people (subjects) do (i. e. break the king's law) do not reduce us to death &c.'; X. 25. 3 'O Soma! if I transgress your perfect (lit. well-baked) vratas, then in thy exhilaration (at our sacrifices) take pity on us as a father does towards his son'. Vide also VII. 89. 5, VIII. 48. 9.

(*Continued from last page*)

वरुणस्य व्रतानि॥ VIII. 42 1; the word vrata occurs five times in II. 38 (verses 2, 3, 6, 7, 9) and should be construed according to the general rules of interpretation in the same sense in all verses of the same hymn at least. Prof. Apte admits (on p. 476) that the meaning 'ordinances' would be appropriate in Ṛg. II. 38. 7 (नकिरस्य तानि व्रता देवस्य सवितुर्मिनन्ति) and accepts that meaning in that verse, but on II. 38. 9 (p. 468) his obsession about the original meaning being 'tracks' leads him to say "that in that verse the word vrata means 'Savitṛ's fixed movements in the heavens."

12. यच्चिद्धि ते विशो यथा प्र देव वरुण व्रतं मिनीमसि द्यविद्यवि। मा नो वधाय हत्नवे जिहीळानस्य रीरधः। ऋ. I. 25. 1–2; उत व्रतानि सोम ते प्राहं मिनामि पाक्या। अधा पितेव सूनवे वि वो मदे मृळा नो अभि चिद्वधाद्विवक्षसे॥ X. 25. 3. At the end of all verses in X. 21 and X. 25 and in X. 24. 1–3 the word विवक्षसे occurs and is explained as महान् भवासि by सायण. But this is unsatisfactory. वि वो मदे and विवक्षसे appear to be refrains with some recondite meaning.

It would have been noticed that in some of the passages quoted above (in note 11) on vrata, verbal forms of the root 'mi' or 'mī' occur. For the correct understanding of these passages the exact meaning of the root 'mi' is very important. The Nighaṇṭu (II. 19) includes 'mināti' among verbs meaning 'vadha' (killing or harming). In the Dhātupāṭha the meaning of the root 'mī' is hiṁsā' (killing, annihilating, breaking). Vide Pāṇini VII. 3. 81. (mīnāter-nigame). The forms of 'mi' or 'mī' with or without the preposition 'ā' or 'pra' occur more than 50 times in the Ṛgveda and often in connection with *vrata*. Whitney felt that the occurrences of the forms of 'mi' or 'mī' presented some difficulty about his theory of the derivation of vrata and its meanings, but Prof. Apte, who derived his inspiration from Whitney, feels no such misgivings as Whitney felt, holds, relying on his own interpretation of Ṛg. I. 124. 3, that 'mi' or 'mī' is a verb of *motion* and has the primary sense of 'miss, deviate, wander or stray from' (p. 411). Over a dozen verses at least will clearly show that Prof. Apte has been led astray by his preconceived theory about vrata meaning 'tracks of luminaries' and that 'mi' or 'mī' cannot at all be construed in the sense of 'miss' or 'deviate' in the Ṛgveda. Ṛg. I. 71. 10 'old age destroys me as (the dark or clouded) sky destroys (distinctness of) forms' (nabho na rūpam jarimā mināti'); I. 124. 2[13] '(the dawn) which does not violate divine laws but destroys the spans of human life'; I. 179. 1 (Lopāmudrā says to Agastya) 'old age destroys the beauty of limbs' (mināti śriyam jarimā tanūnām); VII. 84. 4. (Varuṇa) who is an Āditya, who destroys the false ones and who, the valiant one, imparts immeasurable wealth'. Vide also Ṛg. I. 92. 11, I. 117. 3, III. 32. 8, IV. 30. 23., V. 7. 4, V. 82. 2 for other examples where forms of 'mi' or 'mī' occur. It is unnecessary to adduce more examples about 'mi'. It is impossible, if Prof. Apte is to be followed, that old age misses or deviates from beauty or that Aśvins miss or deviate from the wiles of the demon or that Varuṇa misses falsehood (or false men). Prof. Apte relies (p. 411)

13. अमिनती दैव्यानि व्रतानि प्र मिनती मनुष्या युगानि। ऋ. I. 124. 2; प्र य आदित्यो अनृता मिनात्यमिता शूरो दयते वसूनि। VII. 84. 4. One may compare with I. 124. 2, मर्तस्य देवी जरयन्त्यायुः in ऋ. I. 92. 10. The contrast between अमिनती दैव्यानि व्रतानि and प्रमिनती मनुष्या युगानि is most striking and places the sense of 'mi' in a clear light and beyond dispute.

on Ṛg. I. 124. 3.[14] as decisively establishing that originally 'mi' was a verb of motion. In the first place, one verse cannot demolish what many verses quoted above convey. Besides, there is nothing in Ṛg. I. 124. 3 that establishes what Prof. Apte thinks it does. That verse says 'Here this daughter of heaven wearing a garment of light is seen in the east (by us) simultaneously; she (Dawn) well follows the path of ṛta (cosmic order), she like (a woman) knowing well does not annihilate the several quarters'.

The sense of 'command or law' is quite appropriate in more than half the Ṛgvedic passages in which the word vrata occurs. In some passages the sense of 'religious practices or modes of sacred worship' is suitable. For example, Ṛg. X. 65. 11 says '(the Viśve-devas) that are good donors make the sun rise in heaven and spread about the Ārya vratas over the earth'. Vide also Ṛg. VI. 14. 3.

There are several places in the Ṛgveda in which the words 'avrata' (11 times), 'apavrata' (in Ṛg. I. 51. 9, V. 42. 9, V. 40. 6), 'anyavrata' (in V. 20. 2, VIII. 70. 11, X. 22. 8) occur and in almost all of which *vrata* must be taken to mean 'mode of worship or ethical and religious practices of the Vedic worshippers'. Prof. Apte has to admit this (pp. 479, 483). It will not do to ignore these passages in finding out the derivation and meanings of the word vrata or to clap them in a separate group (as Prof. Apte does on p. 413) and distinguish them from other passages supposed to indicate the divine phase. There is nothing to show that Vedic sages distinguished between divine vratas and other vratas meant to be followed by Heaven and Earth, rivers, mountains and human beings. Some of these passages in which the word 'avrata' occurs strongly militate against the theory of Prof. Apte. For example,[15] in Ṛg. I. 101. 2 Indra is

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14. एषा दिवो दुहिता प्रत्यदर्शि ज्योतिर्वसाना समना पुरस्तात्। ऋतस्य पन्थामन्वेति साधु प्रजानतीव न दिशो मिनाति ॥ ऋ. I. 124. 3. The meaning of the last quarter is that Uṣas always rises in the east and that she does not annihilate the separateness of the four quarters by sometimes rising in a direction other than the east. In this the dawn simply follows the law laid down for her in the order of nature (ṛtasya panthām). The idea about the confusion of quarters is well expressed in Ṛg. V. 40. 5. Vide also X. 32. 7.

15. Ṛg I. 101. 2 is यो व्यंसं जाहृषाणेन मन्युना यः शम्बरं यो अहन् पिप्रुमव्रतम् ; while I. 101. 3 is यस्य द्यावापृथिवी पौंस्यं महद् यस्य व्रते वरुणो यस्य सूर्यः। यस्येन्द्रस्य सिन्धवः सश्चति व्रतं &c.

said to have killed Pipru who was *avrata* and in the very next verse it is said that Varuṇa and Sūrya abide in the vrata of Indra and the rivers also accept his vrata. Therefore, vrata in this hymn must mean something akin to the meaning of vrata in *avrata* and not akin to 'tracks of luminaries'. Compare IX. 73. 5 and 8 where avrata occurs with 'rakṣati vratam' in IX.73.3 (both being verses about Soma).

There are seven passages in the Ṛgveda where the word 'vivrata' occurs. In six of them 'vivrata' is applied to the horses of Indra. According to Prof. Apte, the only natural meaning is 'moving or wandering along diverse paths' (p. 419). But this is arguing in a circle. They can be explained if vrata is taken to mean 'ordinance, duty or practice'; when applied to horses 'vivrata' may be held to mean no more than this that two horses are yoked on two sides of the chariot and obey the various orders indicated through the pulling of the reins. The 7th passage X. 55. 3 in which 'vivrata' occurs as an adjective of 'jyotiḥ' is difficult to construe and Prof. Apte has not succeeded in satisfactorily explaining it.

In several passages of the Ṛgveda phrases like 'tava vrate' occur. Whitney (p. 409) stated that the phrase should rather mean 'in thy established or approved course, following thy lead or example', than 'under thy control or protection' or 'in thy service' as some scholars hold. Prof. Apte thinks that the translation of 'tava vrate' as 'abiding in thy ordinance' (by Macdonell) misses the point and avers that the proper meaning is 'dominion, authority, region or sphere'. Some of the passages containing the words 'tava vrate' are Ṛg. VI. 54. 9, IX. 102. 5, X. 36. 13, X. 57. 6. In my opinion 'tava vrate' means 'while we abide by your ordinances'. In X. 36. 13 the first half[16] is a relative clause without a verb and we have to supply a form of the root 'as' (to be) or of 'bhū'. In some verses such a form of 'as' does occur with the words as in Ṛg. I. 124. 15.[17] Therefore wherever the words 'tava vrate' occur, we should generally understand that the meaning is 'while abiding by your ordinances'. This is further supported by the fact that there are passages where the word 'vrata' and other words

16. ये सवितुः सत्यसवस्य विश्वे मित्रस्य व्रते वरुणस्य देवाः। ते सौभगं वीरवद्गोमदप्नो दधातन द्रविणं चित्रमस्मे ॥ ऋ. X. 36. 13.

17. अधा वयमादित्य व्रते तवानागसो अदितये स्याम। ऋ. I. 24.15, वाज. सं. 12.12, अथर्व VII. 83 (88). 3.

like 'sumati' in the locative are used with the forms of the root 'as' to be or of verbs meaning to abide or dwell. Vide Ṛg. 1.83.3 ('vrate te kṣeti', 'abides in thy vrata'), II. 27. 13 ('ya ādityānām bhavati praṇītau', 'who is within or under the lead of Ādityas); X. 14. 6[18] 'may we be in the good will of them (the *pitṛs*) that deserve to have sacrifices offered to them and also in their beneficent grace'. Vide also Ṛg. III. 1. 21 and III. 59. 4, VI. 47. 13, X. 131. 7 (tasya vayaṁ sumatau...syāma).

There are eight passages in the Ṛgveda in which the word 'śucivrata' occurs and is always applied to some god or gods. In three passages VIII. 43. 16, VIII. 44. 21, X. 118. 1 'śucivrata' is an attribute of Agni and Prof. Apte renders it as '(Agni) with a blazing trail, track or sphere' (p. 421). He says 'śuci' is derived from 'śuc' (to shine or flame up), that the word 'śuci' can only mean 'brilliant or flaming', that the meaning 'pure' is purely figurative and secondary and is found only in about *six* or *seven* out of a total of over a *hundred* or more in the Ṛgveda when it is an epithet of '*manīṣā*, *stoma*, *mati* or *giraḥ*'. These remarks are mis-statements; 'śuci' in the sense of 'pure' is not so rare as Prof. Apte tries to make out (6 or 7 times out of 100). In one verse alone addressed to the Maruts (Ṛg. VII. 56. 12) the word[19] 'śuci' occurs six times and should ordinarily be taken only in one sense in those six and can only mean 'pure', since 'śuci' is there applied to offerings (havya) and sacrifice. In VIII. 44. 21 Agni is styled 'śucir-vipraḥ' and 'śuciḥ' and 'kaviḥ'. The word 'śuci' occurs in that verse four times out of which 'śuci' as applied to 'vipra' and 'kavi' can only mean 'pure or holy'. Vide II. 27. 13, where the *yajamāna* (sacrificer) is called 'śuci', I. 142. 9 where the three goddesses Bhāratī, Iḷā and Sarasvatī are said to be 'śuci'. Conceding for argument that the root 'śuc' originally meant 'to shine or blaze', the distinction of two meanings (primary and secondary) in 'śuci' had disappeared long before the Ṛgvedic hymns were composed, as Ṛg. VII. 56. 12 and other verses establish. Vide Ṛg. III. 62. 5 (where Bṛhaspati is called śuci), I. 181. 2 (where the horses of the Aśvins are styled 'śuci'), II. 33. 13 (where the herbs or drugs of Maruts are spoken of as śuci), VII. 49. 2 and 3 where waters are called 'śuci' and

18. तेषां वयं सुमतौ यज्ञियानामपि भद्रे सौमनसे स्याम । ऋ. X. 14. 6.

19. शुची वो हव्या मरुतः शुचीनां शुचिं हिनोम्यध्वरं शुचिभ्यः । ऋतेन सत्यमृतसाप आयञ्छुचिजन्मानः शुचयः पावकाः ॥ ऋ. VII. 56. 12. The word शुचि thrice applied to the Maruts may mean 'pure' or 'brilliant.' अग्निः शुचिव्रततमः शुचिर्विप्रः शुचिः कविः । शुची रोचत आहुतः ॥ VIII. 44. 21.

VII. 89. 3 (where Varuṇa is addressed as 'śuci'). In the above passages the word śuci in at least a dozen cases is clearly used in the sense of 'pure', is applied to offerings, sacrifices, drugs, horses, waters or rivers and is not restricted to *manīṣā*, *stoma*, *mati* and *giraḥ* as Prof. Apte wrongly asserts. Prof. Apte minimises the number of times that 'śuci' means 'pure', and observes a discreet silence about its being an attribute of the physical objects mentioned above. Therefore, there is no difficulty in holding 'śucivrata' as applied to gods meaning 'whose ordinances are pure or holy'. In I. 15. 11 and I. 182. 1 the word 'śucivrata' is an attribute of the Aśvins, in III. 62. 17 and VI. 16. 24 of Mitra and Varuṇa and in VI. 70. 2 of Heaven and Earth. Besides, we have the analogous word 'śucikranda' (the loud laud addressed to whom is pure) applied to Bṛhaspati in VII. 97. 5.

The word 'mahivrata' occurs five times and is applied to Soma (IX. 97. 7, IX. 100. 9), to Agni (I. 45. 3, X. 115. 3) and to Varuṇa (VI. 68. 9) and the word 'mahāmahivrata' to Soma (IX. 48. 2). In all these cases the meaning 'whose commands or laws are great or many' would be quite appropriate. The word 'mahi' by itself occurs in over 110 passages in the Ṛgveda, in all of which 'mahi' stands for 'mahat' and qualifies words like 'śravas' (food or fame), kṣatra ('prowess' as in I. 54. 8 and 11), namaḥ, śarma (in I. 93. 8), dātra ('gift', as in I. 116. 6), enas (in II. 12. 10), karma (II. 22. 1), Mahitvana (in II. 23. 4), varūtha, draviṇa (III. 1. 22), rakṣas (IV. 3. 14). Prof. Apte (p. 475) quite unnecessarily suggests three separate meanings of 'mahivrata', the first of which is 'of great dominion', 'of great tracks', 'of great exploits' and expands that meaning by interpolating the words 'mighty or resplendent sway or sphere'. 'Mahi' hardly ever means 'resplendent' by itself.

The word 'priyavrata' occurs only once in the Ṛgveda (in X. 150. 3), is applied to gods and means 'to whom the ordinances laid down by them are dear'. Prof. Apte (p. 472) criticizes people who explain the word as 'whose laws we love'; but he names no one who does so. Similarly, the word 'puruvrata' occurs once only in Ṛg. IX. 3. 10, is applied to Soma and means 'whose ordinances are many'. Both these words do not at all help Prof. Apte in his interpretation and are rather against his pet theory (of tracks of luminaries &c.).

The word 'dhunivrata' occurs twice (in Ṛg. V. 58.2 and V. 87.1) and is applied to Marut or the band of Maruts. Prof. Apte (p. 435

section 47) takes 'dhuni' as an adjective, and as meaning 'roaring, storming' and translates 'dhunivrata' as 'whose paths are characterised by roaring or raging'. The word 'dhuni' occurs about ten times in the Ṛgveda and when an adjective means 'one that shakes his enemies or clouds' or is a noun meaning 'river' (as in II. 15. 5). Dhuni is also the name of a demon (in Ṛg. VI. 18. 8, VII. 19. 4, X. 113. 9). In I. 174. 9, V. 34. 5 and 8, VI. 20. 12 'dhuni' is an attribute of Indra and in I. 79. 1 of Agni. The Nirukta (V. 12) while explaining Ṛg. X. 89. 5 (in which both Soma and Indra are praised) explains 'dhuni' as derived from 'dhū' to shake. Therefore 'dhunivrata' should mean 'whose ordinances are such as make others (breakers) tremble'.

It is not necessary to examine separately each of the verses in which the word 'vrata' occurs and Prof. Apte's interpretations thereof. The preceding discussion is sufficient to show what vrata means in almost all passages in the Ṛgveda. In his zeal to buttress up his theory, Prof. Apte commits mistakes in the construction and translation of some verses. On p. 420 (section 29) he renders Ṛg. VIII. 94. 2 [20] as 'she (Pṛśni) in whose lap all the gods maintain their vratas, the Sun and the Moon also, in order that they may be seen', explains that the Sun and the Moon are seen only when they keep their vratas and concludes that vratas must mean tracks followed by the Sun. Prof. Apte takes 'sūryāmāsā' as the subject of 'Dhārayante' along with Viśve-devāḥ', but 'Sūryāmāsā' is in the objective case in relation to 'dṛśe', the proper translation being 'in the lap of whom (i. e. of Pṛśni, the mother of Maruts), all the gods uphold their laws in order that (people) may see the Sun and the Moon'. What is meant is that the Sun and the Moon rise at the proper times because the gods uphold their ordinances. If we compare VIII. 94.2 with I. 23.21 (=X.9.7), I. 50.1, I. 52.8, X. 57.4, X. 60.5 it would be clear that my translation is the only correct one and if that be so no question of 'tracks of light' will arise.

Misinterpretations of words like 'kṣitīḥ' in III. 3. 9 as meaning dwellings (rather it means "the common mass of people" as in III. 14. 4, VI. 65. 1, VII. 65. 2, VII. 75. 4, VII. 79. 1

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20. यस्या देवा उपस्थे व्रता विश्वे धारयन्ते। सूर्यामासा दृशे कम् ॥ VIII. 94. 2. Compare आपः पृणीत भेषजं वरूथं तन्वे ३ मम। ज्योक् च सूर्यं दृशे ॥ I. 23, 21 (=X. 9. 7), दृशे विश्वाय सूर्यम् in I. 50. 1, दिवीव सूर्यं दृशे in X. 60. 5. In all these cases सूर्यं is the object of दृशे and in VIII. 94. 2 the dual सूर्यामासा is used with दृशे.

&c.) and of 'śrusṭim' (on p. 450) are passed over here. On VI. 70. 5 Prof. Apte remarks (p. 420, Sec. 17) that to take 'vrata' in 'madhuvrata' applied to the deities Heaven and Earth as meaning 'law, duty or will' is almost absurd. One fails to see why it would be absurd to hold, when heaven and earth are spoken of as 'dropping[21] *madhu*' (madhuścutā) and 'yielding madhu' (madhudughe), that the Vedic poet thinks that the laws of Heaven and Earth as deities are sweet (and not harsh).

We have next to turn to the word 'dhṛtavrata' which occurs eighteen times in the Ṛgveda. Out of these Varuṇa is certainly called dhṛtavrata in seven passages viz. in. I. 25. 8 and 10, I. 44. 14, I. 141. 9, II. 1. 4,[22] VIII. 27. 3 and X. 66. 5. Both Mitra and Varuṇa are styled 'dhṛtavrata' in I. 15. 6, VIII. 25. 2 and 8 (and also 'kṣatriyā' in verse 8), Indra and Varuṇa are said to be dhṛtavrata in VI. 68. 10, Indra alone in VI. 19. 5 and VIII. 97. 11, the Ādityas in II. 29. 1, Viśvedevāḥ in X. 66. 8 (and also 'kṣatriyāḥ'), Agni in VIII. 44. 25 and Savitṛ in IV. 53. 4. Prof. Apte (p. 430 para 37) avers that Varuṇa is pre-eminently called dhṛtavrata (this is not quite accurate as more than half the passages in which the word 'dhṛtavrata' occurs refer to gods other than Varuṇa), because he maintains intact the paths he has excavated for the luminaries or he sees that the fixed laws of the movements of luminaries are properly observed. Unless one has made up one's mind that vrata signifies tracks of luminaries or their fixed movements, these 'dhṛtavrata' passages are of no help in settling the original meanings of vrata. They can all be well construed by taking 'dhṛtavrata' in the sense of 'one who upholds or supports his ordinances'. Supposing that Prof. Apte is right in thinking that the epithet pre-eminently applies to Varuṇa it is quite arguable that what is mainly aimed at in calling Varuṇa 'dhṛtavrata' is the high moral level Varuṇa is held by the Ṛgvedic sages to maintain by punishing sinners, by looking into the truth and falsehood of men (VII. 49. 3 'satyānṛte avapaśyan janānām'), by the fact that he is styled 'kṣatriya', 'rājan' and 'samrāj' (who exacts obedience to his laws) as shown above. Therefore, the view that *vrata* means ordinances in connection with Varuṇa is far more appropriate than the theory about his seeing that the luminaries follow their tracks. In this connection the word 'dhṛtavrata'[23] in I. 25. 6

21. मधु नो द्यावापृथिवी मिमिक्षतां मधुश्चुता मधुदुघे मधुव्रते। ऋ. VI. 70. 5.

22. त्वमग्ने राजा वरुणो धृतव्रतस्त्वं मित्रो भवसि दस्म ईड्यः। ऋ. II. 1. 4.

23. तदित्समानमाशाते वेनन्ता न प्र युच्छतः। धृतव्रताय दाशुषे॥ ऋ. I. 25. 6.

becomes very important. Almost all scholars hold that that verse means '(Mitra and Varuṇa) fond of the donor who observes the laws of religious worship partake of the same offering (made by the donor) and they are not heedless about it (or do not miss it)'. Scholars hold that in this verse the word 'dhṛtavrata' applies to a human worshipper and not to a god as in all other passages. Prof. Apte (p. 430 para 37) explains that the words 'dhṛtavratāya dāśuṣe', mean 'donor who makes a gift to (Varuṇa) that is dhṛtavrata.' This construction is objectionable for several reasons. There are two deities referred to in the principal sentence (the verb is 'āśāte), while dhṛtavratāya, being singular, can only be construed with one deity. Prof. Apte further relies on VIII. 94. 2 of which he gives an interpretation which as shown above is wrong. Constructions parallel to 'dhṛtavratāya dāśuṣe' and containing an adjective of the word 'dāśuṣe' are found in other Ṛgveda passages. For example, in I. 142. 1 we have[24] 'O Agni! spread the ancient thread (i. e. sacrifice) for the worshipper who has extracted Soma juice'. Here the words 'sutasomāya dāśuṣe' do not mean 'to the worshipper who gives offerings to the god who extracts soma'. Similarly, in VIII. 5. 6 the words 'sudevāya dāśuṣe' mean 'to or for the worshipper (or donor) who worships god' (or for donor to whom gods are beneficent). These several considerations make it highly probable that 'dhṛtavratāya' is an attribute of a human being in I. 25. 6 and not necessarily of Varuṇa. If that be so, vrata in 'dhṛtavrata' must mean 'ordinances or mode of religious worship' and not 'tracks of luminaries'. We have the word 'dhṛtadakṣa' (who upholds strength i. e. who is strong or constant) applied to a priest in X. 41. 3. It is worthy of note that the Śatapatha Br. in explaining[25] 'niṣasāda dhṛtavrato Varuṇaḥ' in Ṛg. I. 25. 10 (= Vāj. S. X. 27) remarks that the king and a brāhmaṇa deeply learned in the Veda are both 'dhṛtavrata'. It is probable that even in the times of the Ṛgveda people had come to assign the same meaning to the word 'dhṛtavrata' that the Śat. Br. ascribes to it. Conceding for argument that dhṛtavratāya in I. 25. 6 refers to Varuṇa, that does not at all solve the problem of the derivation and meaning of vrata. The word 'vratanīḥ' occurs only once in Ṛgveda X.

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24. समिद्धो अग्न आ वह देवाँ अद्य यतस्रुचे। तन्तुं तनुष्व पूर्व्यं सुतसोमाय दाशुषे ॥ I. 142. 1; ता सुदेवाय दाशुषे सुमेधामवितारिणीम्। घृतैर्गव्यूतिमुक्षतम् ॥ VIII. 5. 6.

25. निषसाद धृतव्रत इति धृतव्रतो वै राजा...एष च श्रोत्रियश्चैतौ द्वौ मनुष्येषु धृतव्रतौ। शतपथ V. 4. 4.5; द्वौ लोके धृतव्रतौ राजा ब्राह्मणश्च बहुश्रुतः। गौ. ध. सू. VIII. 1.

65. 6 and probably means '(the cow) that is the carrier of vrata' i. e. of the milk on which a sacrificer has to subsist. In T. S. VI. 2. 5. 2–3 it is said that milk is the Brāhmaṇa's vrata. On p. 442 Prof. Apte refers to Sūrya being called 'vratapā' very aptly. Vratapa occurs nine times in the Ṛgveda, but the Sun is called 'vratapā' only once in I. 83. 5. Vratapā means nothing more than vratapati, which word occurs in T. S. I. 6. 6. 3[26], I. 6. 7. 2 and Vāj. S. I. 5 and is applied to Agni. In these passages 'vrata' means a religious vow such as that of a Vedic student who undertakes to study Veda after Upanayana. There is no reason why the word 'vratapā' in the Ṛgveda should not be deemed to have been used in the sense in which 'vratapati' is employed in the T. S. and Vāj. S. Similarly, in Ṛg. VII. 103. 1[27] it is said that the frogs lying silent for a year (in crevices), like brāhmaṇas observing a vrata, send forth their croaking inspired by the rains. Here 'vrata' has the meaning 'a sacred vow or observance' which is the sense in which the word is used in medieval times and is so used even upto this day.

There is one more word viz. vṛṣavrata, which is analogous to 'dhṛtavrata' and which remains to be considered. That word occurs only twice (i. e. in Ṛg. IX. 62. 11[28] and IX. 64. 1) and is an attribute of Soma. Prof. Apte (p. 485, section 48) tries to fit this word in his scheme by referring to the description of Soma as bellowing like a bull, as a bull among cows and as brandishing and sharpening his horns. One must not forget the twofold character of Soma as a very pre-eminent deity (the whole of Ṛg. IX. is a glorification of Soma) and as a beverage produced from the twigs and tendrils of the Soma plant and that these two characters become mixed up. In the process of producing Soma beverage, four sounding holes called uparavas are employed[29] (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1154–55

26. ब्राह्मणो व्रतभृद् व्रतमुपैष्यन् ब्रूयादग्ने व्रतपते व्रतं चरिष्यामीत्यग्निर्वै देवानां व्रतपतिः। तै. सं. I. 6. 7. 2; अग्ने व्रतपते व्रतमचारिषं तदशकं तन्मे राधि। तै. सं. I. 6. 6.3.

27. संवत्सरं शशयाना ब्राह्मणा व्रतचारिणः। वाचं पर्जन्यजिन्वितां प्र मण्डूका अवादिषुः॥ ऋ. VII. 103. 1. Vide निरुक्त IX. 6 which explains this verse. Persons engaged in solemn sacrifices like the Sāṁvatsarikasattras had to observe certain strict rules such as not speaking with non-Āryans, subsisting on milk &c. Vide तै. ब्रा. III. 3. 4 (यः संवत्सरं व्रतं चरति), शतपथब्राह्मण XI. 5.1. 1 and आश्व. श्रौ. सू XII. 8. 1, 3, 7, 29, (or Uttarasaṭka VI).

28. एष वृषा वृषव्रतः पवमानो अशस्तिहा। करद्वसूनि दाशुषे॥ IX. 62. 11; वृषा सोम द्युमाँ असि वृषा देव वृषव्रतः। वृषा धर्माणि दधिषे॥ IX. 64. 1.

29. Vide com. on कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र VIII. 4. 28 for the uparavas.

for 'uparavas'): This is described as the bellowing of Soma, when Soma is called a vṛṣa (bull) or vṛṣabha. Most of the great Vedic gods (Indra, Agni, Soma and others), their chariots, their weapons and even the exhilaration on drinking Soma are spoken of as bulls.[30] When Soma twigs are being pressed with stones (grāvan) the tendrils of Soma look like horns. All these descriptions about bellowing &c. apply strictly to the soma plant and are poetically transferred to the deity Soma. Prof. Apte translates 'vṛṣavrata' as 'whose behaviour or deportment is like that of a bull'. On the other theory also we can easily explain the word as meaning '(Soma) whose ordinances are powerful like a bull'. Vṛṣavrata is an attribute of god Soma and cannot be easily construed with god Soma, if vrata primarily means some physical activity and its implications are rather against Prof. Apte's theory.

The result of this long discussion is that Prof. Apte's theory of the derivation of vrata from the root 'vṛt' and his long scheme of meanings is not proved and that the derivation from the root 'vṛ' expressly stated by Yāska at least twenty-five centuries ago and accepted by most scholars has not been at all shaken. Prof. Apte probably did not anticipate that the meaning he assigned to 'vṛt' would be challenged, but I dispute that meaning also.

There are three passages of the Ṛgveda in which the words 'vṛttam na cakram' (like a round wheel) occur, viz I. 155. 6 (addressed to Viṣṇu), IV. 31. 4, V. 36. 3 (both addressed to Indra). Prof. Apte did not mention them and they have no bearing on the derivation of vrata. At the most those might have been relied upon for the meaning of the root 'vṛt'. In this discussion we have restricted ourselves to verbal forms or present participles and omitted past passive participles which sometimes depart very much from the root-meaning as in the case of 'kṛta' in Ṛgveda X. 43. 5 (kṛtam na śvaghnī vi cinoti devane). 'Vṛtta' cannot mean revolving even if vṛt meant 'to revolve', it is *vartamāna* that might have that meaning if 'vṛt' originally meant 'to revolve'. Besides, Ṛg. I. 155. 6 is obscure. It probably refers to the belt of the zodiac that goes round the sky.

It is necessary to clarify the meanings and mutual relations of the three words *ṛta, vrata* and *dharman.* The meanings (three)

30. Only one verse need be quoted to illustrate the above. Ṛg. II, 16. 6 is वृषा ते वज्र उत ते वृषा रथो वृषणा हरी वृषभाण्यायुधा। वृष्णो मदस्य त्वमीशिष इन्द्र सोमस्य वृषभस्य तृप्णुहि ॥

of 'ṛta' have been specified in H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 2–5 and the meanings of vrata have been discussed in what precedes (vide pp. 5–8). In the Ṛgveda the word is *dharman* and not *dharma*. For a brief discussion of *dharman* vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 1. In the Ṛgveda sometimes dharman is masculine and often an adjective, meaning 'upholder or sustainer' as in Ṛg. I. 187. 1, X. 92. 2. In X. 21. 3 (tve dharmāṇa āsate) the word is masculine. In other cases it is obviously in the neuter gender as in I. 22. 18 (ato dharmāṇi dhārayan), V. 26. 6, IX. 64. 1. In these passages the meaning seems to be 'religious rites or sacrifices', thus approaching vrata in one of its senses. In I. 164. 43 and 50 (= X. 90. 16) sacrifices are said to be the primeval dharmans. Vide also 'prathamā dharmā' in Ṛg. III. 17. 1 and 'sanatā dharmāṇi' in Ṛg. III. 3. 1. In some cases this sense of dharman would not do, as in IV. 53. 3, V. 63. 7. where the meaning seems to be 'fixed principles or rules of conduct'. In some cases dharman appears to mean almost the same thing as 'vrata'. For example, in VII. 89. 5[31] the sage says 'when we destroy (or violate) your *dharmans* through heedlessness (or infatuation), do not harm us, O Varuṇa, on account of that sin', which is just the same as Ṛg. I. 25. 1, where we have 'vratam' for dharmāṇi. In VI. 70. 1[32] it is said 'heaven and earth, never decaying and endowed with plenty of seed, are held firmly apart by the *dharman* of Varuṇa'. In VIII. 42. 1 (cited above) making the Heaven firmly fixed is described as one of the vratas of Varuṇa.

Though in this way in some passages even of the Ṛgveda the senses of 'vrata' and 'dharman' appear to have coalesced, there are verses where *all the three words or two of the three* occur. It may be noted that even in what are regarded by Western scholars to be later portions of the Atharvaveda (e. g. 18. 2. 7, 14. 1. 51) the word is dharman. All three words occur in Ṛg. V. 63. 7[33] 'O wise Mitra and Varuṇa! You naturally (or according to your fixed rule of conduct) guard your ordinances with the wonderful power of an *asura*; you rule over (or shine over) the whole world according to the principle of cosmic order, you establish in the heaven the Sun that is (like) a brilliant

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31. अचित्ती यत्तव धर्मा युयोपिम मा नस्तस्मादेनसो देव रीरिषः। ऋ. VII. 89. 5.

32. द्यावापृथिवी वरुणस्य धर्मणा विष्कभिते अजरे भूरिरेतसा। ऋ. VI. 70. 1.

33. धर्मणा मित्रावरुणा विपश्चिता व्रता रक्षेथे असुरस्य मायया। ऋतेन विश्वं भुवनं वि राजथः सूर्यमा धत्थो दिवि चित्र्यं रथम्॥ ऋ. V, 63. 7.

chariot'. Vrata and dharman occur in V. 72. 2 and VI. 70. 3[34]; ṛta and vrata occur in I. 65. 2, II. 27. 8, III. 4. 7, X. 65. 8. Speaking generally, 'ṛta' is the cosmic order that has been there from the most ancient times. Vrata means the laws or ordinances supposed to be laid down by all gods or by individual gods. Dharman meant religious rites or sacrifices or fixed principles. Gradually the conception 'ṛta' became faint and receded into the background and 'satya' took its place. Dharman became an all-embracing conception and vrata came to be restricted to sacred vows and rules of conduct to be observed by a person as a member of a community or as an individual.

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34. प्र प्रजाभिर्जायते धर्मणस्परि युवोः सिक्ता विषुरूपाणि सव्रता ॥ VI. 70. 3.

CHAPTER II

VRATA in Vedic Literature, Sūtras and Smṛtis; definition and importance of Vratas.

After dealing with the etymology and semantic development of the word 'vrata' from the passages of the Ṛgveda in which the word occurs, it is now time to turn to the other Vedic Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas for finding out how that word is dealt with in them. Some of the Ṛgvedic verses occur in other Vedic Saṁhitās. In several such passages vrata appears to mean 'divine ordinances' or 'ethical patterns of conduct'. For example, the verse[35] Ṛg. I. 22. 19 'Mark the deeds of Viṣṇu, the helpful friend of Indra, whereby he watches over his ordinances' occurs also in T. S. I. 3. 6. 2, Atharva VII. 26. 6, Vāj. S. VI. 4; Ṛg. VIII. 11. 1[36] 'O Agni! thou art a God that protects ordinances among (gods and) men, thou art to be praised in sacrifices' is also found in Atharva 19. 59. 1, Vāj. S. IV. 16, T. S. I. 1. 14. 4–5 and I. 2. 3. 1; Ṛg. I. 24. 15 is found in Vāj. S. XII. 12 and Atharva VII. 83 (88) 3 and XVIII. 4. 69; Ṛg. X. 191. 3 is almost the same as Atharva[37] VI. 64. 2, the latter substituting the word 'vratam' for 'manaḥ' in the former and thereby indicating that 'vrata' means 'resolve to undertake a religious observance'; Ṛg. VII. 103. 1, in which frogs that lie down silent for a year and begin to croak at the advent of the rains are compared to brāhmaṇas observing a religious vow, occurs in the Atharvaveda IV. 15. 13; Ṛg. X. 12. 5 is the same as Atharva XVIII. 1. 33; Ṛg. X. 2.4 is almost the same as Atharva XIX. 59.2; Ṛg. I. 84. 12 is equal to Atharva XX. 109. 3; in all of which the words *vratam* and *vratāni* occur. Agni is frequently called 'vratapāḥ' in the Ṛgveda (V. 2. 8, VI. 8. 2, VIII. 11. 1, X. 32. 6) and also Sūrya is so called (Ṛg. I. 83. 5.). In the other Saṁhitās Agni is styled 'vratapā' as well as 'vratapati' (protector or lord of vratas). Atharva XX. 25. 5 (Sūryo vratapā) is the same as Ṛg. I. 83. 5, Atharva XIX. 59. 1 (tvam-Agne vratapā asi) is same as

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35. विष्णोः कर्माणि पश्यत यतो व्रतानि पस्पशे । इन्द्रस्य युज्यः सखा ॥ ऋ. I. 22. 19.

36. त्वमग्ने व्रतपा असि देव आ मर्त्येष्वा । त्वं यज्ञेष्वीड्यः । ऋ. VIII. 11. 1. The पदपाठ reads देवः ; but it is possible to read the word as देवे (meaning देवेषु).

37. समानो मन्त्रः समितिः समानी समानं व्रतं सह चित्तमेषाम् । अथर्व VI. 64. 2.

Ṛg. VIII. 11. 1; Vāj. S. I. 5.[38] says 'O Agni, lord of vratas! I shall undertake a religious observance (or obligation). May I be able to carry it out, may that (undertaking) of mine succeed; here do I approach truth from untruth'. The T. S. I. 3. 4. 3 also styles Agni 'vratapati'. Here and there Vedic Saṁhitās other than the Ṛgveda do employ the word 'vrata' in the sense of 'ordinances of a god or of gods' as in T. S. IV. 3. 11. 1, 2, 3 or Atharva VII. 40 (41). 1, VII. 68 (70). 1 ('Sarasvati vrateṣu te'). But in many places in all the Saṁhitās (other than the Ṛgveda) and in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads generally the ordinary senses of vrata are two, viz. (1) religious observance or vow, or restrictions as to food and behaviour when one has undertaken a religious vow, or (2) the special food, that is prescribed for sustenance when a person is engaged in a religious rite or undertaking, such as cow's milk, *yavāgū* (barley gruel) or the mixture of hot milk and curds (called *āmikṣā*). Both meanings of vrata are given by Yāska in his Nirukta[39]. A few passages from the Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas are cited below to illustrate both meanings. For the first meaning, vide the following: T. S. II. 5. 5. 6 'this[40] is his vrata (vow); he should not speak what is untrue, should not eat flesh, should not approach a woman (for sexual intercourse), nor should his apparel be washed with water impregnated with cleansing salt; for, all these things the gods do not do'; T. S. V. 7. 6. 1[41] 'birds are indeed fire; when one who has performed Agnicayana eats the (flesh of) birds, he would be eating fire and would meet with disaster (or distress); (therefore) he should observe this vrata (not to eat bird's flesh) for a year,

38. व्रतमुपैष्यन् ब्रूयादग्ने व्रतपते व्रतं चरिष्यामीति । तै. सं. I. 6. 7. 2; अग्ने व्रतपते व्रतं चरिष्यामि तच्छकेयं तन्मे राध्यताम्। इदमहमनृतात्सत्यमुपैमि । वाज. सं. I. 5; अग्ने व्रतपते व्रतमचारिषं तदशकं तन्मेऽराधीदमहं य एवास्मि सोऽस्मि । वाज. सं. II. 28; अग्ने व्रतपते त्वं व्रतानां व्रतपतिरसि । तै. सं. I. 3 4. 3; व्रतेन त्वं व्रतपते समक्तो विश्वाहा सुमना दीदिहीह । अथर्व VII. 74 (78). 4; vide शतपथ I. 1. 1. 2 which quotes वाज. सं. I. 5 and II. 28.

39. व्रतमिति कर्मनाम निवृत्तिकर्म वारयतीति सतः । इदमपीतरद्व्रतमेतस्मादेव वृणोतीति सतः । अन्नमपि व्रतमुच्यते । यदावृणोति शरीरम् । निरुक्त II. 14.

40. तस्यैतद् व्रतम् । नानृतं वदेन्न मांसमश्नीयान्न स्त्रियमुपेयान्नास्य पल्पूलनेन वासः पल्पूलयेयुरेतद्धि देवाः सर्वं न कुर्वन्ति । तै. सं. II. 5. 5. 6.

41. वयो वा अग्निर्यदग्निचित् पक्षिणोऽश्नीयात् तमेवाग्निमद्यादार्तिमार्च्छेत् संवत्सरं व्रतं चरेत्संवत्सरं हि व्रतं नाति । तै. सं. V. 7. 6. 1.

for vrata does not extend beyond a year'. The Śāṅkhāyana[42] Br. VI. 6 prescribes 'He has to observe the vrata, viz. that he should not see the rising sun nor the setting sun'. The Tai. Ā. I. 26. 6 states 'this is the vrata for him (for him who has performed Āruṇaketuka-cayana), viz. he should not run while it is raining, should not urinate or void ordure in water, should not spit, should not bathe naked, should not step over lotus leaves or gold, should not eat (the flesh) of a tortoise'.

The Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad (I. 5. 21–23) remarks "now begins the consideration about vrata; Prajāpati indeed created the organs, which when created, vied with each other; speech stood fast (by the view) 'I shall only speak' (and do nothing else).'...Therefore one should perform only one vrata, viz. one should only breathe in and should emit breath, for fear that otherwise (if one were to engage in the activities of the other organs) wicked Death may seize him".[43] It is stated in the Tai. Up. III. 7–10 'one should not speak ill of food; that is the vrata. ...one should not shun food, that is the vrata...one should prepare much food...one should not refuse residence to a man whatever (when he comes as a stranger seeking shelter), that is the vrata; therefore one should secure plenty of food by some method or other.'[44] In the Chāndogyopaniṣad (adhyāya II, khaṇḍas 13–21) the words 'tad vratam' occur several times in relation to the injunctions when one is engaged in the *upāsanā* of several *Sāmans* not to complain about the hot sun, raining cloud, seasons, *lokas* (worlds), domestic animals, brāhmaṇas and the injunction not to eat marrow for a year (or not to eat it at all).

A few passages from the Vedic Literature may be cited for the second meaning of vrata (food for sustenance &c.) men-

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42. तस्य व्रतमुद्यन्तमेवैनं नेक्षेतास्तं यन्तं चेति। शां. ब्रा. VI. 6. जै. IV. 1. 3 refers to this text and Śabara remarks that these are प्रजापतिव्रतs, that they are पुरुषार्थ and not क्रत्वर्थ and that this text lays down a restriction that one should make a resolve not to see the rising or setting sun. आप. ध. सू. I. 11. 31. 20 (उद्यन्तमस्तं यन्तं चादित्यं दर्शने वर्जयेत्), मनु 4. 37, वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र XII. 10–12 make this and other rules applicable to all स्नातकs.

43. अथातो व्रतमीमांसा। प्रजापतिर्ह कर्माणि ससृजे तानि सृष्टान्यन्योन्येनास्पर्धन्त वदिष्याम्येवाहमिति वाग्दध्रे।... तस्मादेकमेव व्रतं चरेत्प्राण्याच्चैवापान्याच्च नेन्मा पाप्मा मृत्युराप्नुवदिति। बृह. उप. I. 5. 21–23. This passage is the basis of वेदान्तसूत्र III. 3. 43.

44. अन्नं न निन्द्यात्। तद् व्रतम्। ...अन्नं बहु कुर्वीत तद्व्रतम्। ... न कंचन वसतौ प्रत्याचक्षीत। तद् व्रतम्। तस्माद्यया कया च विधया बह्वन्नं प्राप्नुयात्। तै. उ. III. (भृगुवल्ली). 7–10.

tioned above. The T. S. (VI. 2. 5. 1.) remarks[45] 'he (dīkṣita) observes the vrata taking the milk from one udder, then from two udders, then from three, then from four; this is called *kṣurapavi* (razor-edge) vrata; barley gruel is the vrata of a kṣatriya (when dīkṣita), āmikṣā (hot milk and curds mixed) of a vaiśya.' The Śatapatha Br. provides[46] that a dīkṣita (one who has undergone the consecration ceremony for a vedic sacrifice) should subsist on milk. In another place the Śatapatha says 'for him he heats *vrata*' (i. e. the food or milk). The Ait. Br. also provides[47] that the dīkṣita first takes (the milk) from four udders as vrata on the Upasad days, then from three &c. Vide T. Ā. II. 8[48] 'milk is the vrata of a brāhmaṇa (sacrificer); *yavāgū* of a kṣatriya and āmikṣā of a vaiśya.

It appears that in the times of the Brāhmaṇas the word 'vrata' had come to have two secondary senses derived from the sense of 'religious observance or obligation'; viz. 'a proper course or pattern of conduct for a person', and 'an upavāsa' i. e. the sacrificer's staying at night near Gārhapatya fire or fasting. As illustrative of the first may be cited a passage that occurs towards the end of the Ait. Br. viz. 'this is the *vrata* for him (for the king who has performed what is called 'brahmaṇaḥ parimaraḥ') that he should not sit down before his enemy sits down (but should do so after), if he thinks (from information received) that his enemy is standing the king should also stand up; he should not lie down before his enemy (does so); if the king thinks that (the enemy) has sat down he may then himself sit down; he should never sleep before his enemy sleeps; if he thinks that the enemy is awake he should himself keep awake;

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45. अथैकं स्तनं व्रतमुपैत्यथ द्वावथ त्रीनथ चतुर एतद्वै क्षुरपवि नाम व्रतं...यवागू राजन्यस्य व्रतं...आमिक्षा वैश्यस्य पयो ब्राह्मणस्य...तै. सं. VI. 2. 3. 1-3. क्षुरपवि occurs in अथर्व XII. 5. 20 and 55.

46. अथातः पयोव्रततायै। पयोव्रतो दीक्षितः स्यात्। शतपथ IX. 5. 1. 1; अथास्मै व्रतं श्रपयति... अथास्मै व्रतं प्रयच्छति। शतपथ III. 2 2. 10 and 16.

47. चतुरोऽग्रे स्तनान्व्रतमुपैत्युपसत्सु... त्रीन् स्तनान् व्रतमुपैति...। ऐ. ब्रा. I. 25. 4. For उपसद् vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 1151-52. On the first day of upasad in the evening the milk of all four udders is to be used by the sacrificer, of three on the 2nd day in the morning, of two in the evening of 2nd day and of one udder on 3rd day morning.

48. पयो ब्राह्मणस्य व्रतं यवागू राजन्यस्यामिक्षा वैश्यस्य। तै. आ. II. 8. This passage is the subject matter of Jaimini IV. 3. 8-9 and VI. 8. 28. The sentence preceding पयो व्रतं &c. is 'न मांसमश्नीयान्न स्त्रियमुपेयान्नोपर्यासीत जुगुप्सेतानृतात्।'. Compare तै. सं. VI. 2. 5. 2-3.

even if the enemy has his head as hard as a stone (or has a stone helmet on his head), he (the king who performs the *parimara*) quickly overthrows him'.[49]

The other secondary meaning of *vrata* seems to be *upavāsa* (i. e. Yajamāna's passing the night in the Darśa-iṣṭi and the Pūrṇamāsa-iṣṭi near the Gārhapatya and other fires, or reducing his intake of food or fasting): "that he performs *upavāsa* in Darśa and Pūrṇamāsa iṣṭis is so because the gods do not partake of the offering made by one who has not undergone *vrata*; therefore he undergoes upavāsa with the thought 'the gods may partake of my offering'" (Ait. Br. VII. II)[50]

Coming to the Śrautasūtras,[51] the two principal meanings of vrata mentioned above often figure in them. For example, the Āp. Śr. S. IV. 2. 5–7, IV. 16. 11, V. 7. 6 and 16, V. 8. 1, V. 25. 2–20, IX. 3. 15, XI. 1. 7 and IX. 18. 9, Āśv. Śr. S. II. 2. 7, III. 13. 1–2, Śāṅ. Śr. S. II. 3. 26 may be referred to for the first meaning and Āp. Śr. S. X. 12. 4, X. 17. 6, XI. 15. 3 and 6 for the second (viz. food or milk &c.). The Gṛhyasūtras and Dharamasūtras also present the same meaning of vrata. For sample, the Āśv. Gṛ. III. 10. 5–7 states: these are the vratas for him, viz. he should not bathe at night, nor bathe naked, nor run while it is raining

49. तस्य व्रतम्। न द्विषतः पूर्वं उपविशेद्यदि तिष्ठन्तं मन्येत तिष्ठेतैव न द्विषतः पूर्वः संविशेद्यद्यासीनं मन्येतासीतैव न द्विषतः पूर्वः प्रस्वप्याद्यदि जाग्रतं मन्येत जागृयादेवापि ह यद्यस्याश्ममूर्धा द्विषन्भवति क्षिप्रं हैवैनं स्तृणुते। ऐ. ब्रा. VIII. 28.

50. तदाहुर्यद्दर्शपूर्णमासयोरुपवसति न ह वा अव्रतस्य देवा हविरश्नन्ति तस्मादुपवसत्युत मे देवा हविरश्नीयुरिति। ऐ. ब्रा. VII. 11 (or 32. 9). The शां. ब्रा. III. 1 has the same words. The तै सं I. 6. 7. 3 appears to refer to both these significances of upavāsa 'उपास्मिञ्छ्वो यक्ष्यमाणे देवता वसन्ति य एवं विद्वानग्निमुपस्तृणाति ... यदनाश्वानुपवसेत्पितृदेवत्यः स्यात्।'. सायण explains on ऐ. ब्रा. 'गार्हपत्यादिसमीपे यो वासः स उपवासः। यद्वा देवा अस्यापि यज्ञे समीपे वसन्तीत्येतदीयोनुष्ठानसङ्कल्प उपवासः। ... यद्वा ग्राम्याशनपरित्याग उपवासः। तत्परित्यज्यारण्याशनरूपं नियमं स्वीकुर्यात्।' अनाश्वान् is m. nom. sing. of अनाश्वस् (one who has not eaten, one who is fasting).

51. A few of these passages may be set out here: दक्षिणेनाहवनीयमवस्थाय व्रतमुपैष्यन्समुद्रं मनसा ध्यायति। अथ जपत्यग्ने व्रतं चरिष्यामीति ब्राह्मणः। वायो व्रतपत आदित्य व्रतपते व्रतानां व्रतपते व्रतं चरिष्यामीति राजन्यवैश्यौ। आप. श्रौ. IV. 3. 1–2; अथ व्रतं चरति न मांसमश्नाति न स्त्रियमुपैति नास्याग्निं गृहाद्धरन्ति नान्यत आहरन्ति। योस्याग्निमाधास्यन् स्यात् स एतां रात्रिं व्रतं चरति न मांसमश्नाति न स्त्रियमुपैति। आप. श्रौ. V. 7. 6 and 16; अत ऊर्ध्वमाहिताग्निर्व्रतचार्या होमात्। आश्व. श्रौ. II. 2. 7; आहिताग्निर्व्रते नानिष्ट्वा पशुना मांसमश्नीयादनिष्ट्वाग्रयणेन नवानामोषधीनां फलानि। शां. श्रौ. II. 3. 26. As to the second meaning of व्रत (food, milk &c) vide आप श्रौ. X. 17. 6 गार्हपत्ये दीक्षितस्य व्रतं श्रपयति दक्षिणाग्नौ पत्न्याः।; अन्नैकस्तनं व्रतं यजमानाय प्रयच्छति आप. श्रौ. XI. 15. 6.

&c.; the Pār. Gr. II. 8 says that the *snātaka* has to follow for three days after *samāvartana* certain observances such as not eating flesh, not using earthen vessels for drinking water, not seeing women, śūdras, corpses and crows, not speaking with śūdras, not urinating nor voiding ordure nor spitting in front of the sun, or he should simply speak the truth (instead of observing the other requirements of this passage). Gautama (VIII. 15), Śāṅkhāyana-gṛhya (II. 11–12), Gobhila-gṛhya (III. 1. 26–31) and others mention certain *vratas* (now obsolete) which every Vedic student was to undergo. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 370–373 for descriptions of these. The Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 1. 1 ff specifies[52] the observances to be followed by the husband and wife from the day of their marriage such as eating only twice in the day, not eating to satiety, fasting on *parvan* days. Similarly, the Āp. Dh. S. (I. 11. 30. 6, I. 11. 31) sets out the observances for *snātakas* (atha snātaka-vratāni). Pāṇini has a special sūtra 'vrate' (III. 2. 80) for explaining the formation of words from *vrata* with the affix *in* (ṇini) preceded by a substantive such as 'sthaṇḍilaśāyin' and 'aśrāddha-bhojī' (one who has taken the vow of not partaking of śrāddha food). Pāṇini (III. 1. 21)[53] also teaches the formation of a denominative verb from vrata in the sense of 'doing' (*vratayati vratam karoti*). It is the Kāśikā that adds a *vārtika* (absent in the Mahābhāṣya) that the verb so derived expresses both the eating of food and the eschewing of it.

As prāyaścittas (expiations) involved the observance of several strict rules they came to be called vratas in Manu (XI. 117, 170, 176, 181), Yājñavalkya (III. 251, 252, 254, 258), Śaṅkha (17. 6, 22, 42, 61, 62) and other smṛtis. In the Mahābhārata the word *vrata* is mainly used in the sense of a religious undertaking or vow in which one has to observe certain restrictions about food or one's general behaviour. Vide Vanaparva 296. 3, Udyoga 39. 71–72, Śānti 35. 39, Anuśāsana 103. 34. It was also applied in the epic to a course or pattern of conduct or behaviour not necessarily religious. For example, in the Sabhāparva 58. 16 Yudhiṣṭhira says that it has been his constant vow that he would not refuse dice-play when he was challenged to it.[54] Apart from

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52 पाणिग्रहणादधि गृहमेधिनोर्व्रतम्। कालयोर्भोजनम्। अतृप्तिश्चान्नस्य। पर्वसु चोभयोरुपवासः। आप. ध. सू. II. 1. 1–4.

53. मुण्डमिश्रश्लक्ष्णलवणव्रतवस्त्रहलकलकृततूस्तेभ्यो णिच्। पा. III. 1. 21; व्रताद्भोजन-तन्निवृत्त्यो च। पयो व्रतयति वृषलान्नं व्रतयति। काशिका.

54. आहूतोहं न निवर्ते कदाचित्तदाहितं शाश्वतं वै व्रतं मे। सभापर्व 58. 16.

the secondary applications of the word vrata, its principal meaning from at least the first centuries of the Christian era onwards has been that of a religious undertaking or vow, observed on a certain tithi, week day, month or other period, for securing some desired object by the worship of a deity, usually accompanied by restrictions as to food and behaviour. This is the sense in which the word *vrata* will be used in this section. Vratas may be expiatory (i. e. they will be prāyaścittas) or obligatory (such as the vratas of a brahmacārin or snātaka or householder) or they may be voluntary and self-imposed for securing some specific end. Expiatory vratas have already been dealt with in the 4th volume of the H. of Dh. under Prāyaścittas. The vratas of a brahmacārin, of snātaka and of the householder have been treated of in volume II of the H. of Dh. Vratas or vows that are more or less self-imposed will be discussed in this section of the 5th volume.

Vows are found in all religions. The Old Testament and the New Testament both bear witness to the sacredness of vows, vide Isaiah 19. 21, Job 22. 27, Psalms 22. 25, Acts 21. 23. The Jainas have five great vows and the Buddhists have the pañca-śīlas.

A great deal of discussion is found in the medieval digests on a comprehensive definition of vrata. Śabara[55] on Jai. VI. 2. 20 arrives at the conclusion that by vrata is meant a mental activity, which is a resolve in the form "I shall not do this" and gives as an illustration the sentence 'one should not see the rising or setting sun'. Medhātithi on Manu IV. 13 seems to accept this. The Agnipurāṇa[56] provides 'a restrictive rule declared by the śāstras is called vrata, which is also regarded as *tapas*; restraint of senses and other rules are but special incidents of vrata; vrata is called *tapas* because it causes hardship to the performer (of the vrata) and it is also called *niyama* since therein one has to restrain the several organs of sense'. Manu II. 3

55. तस्य व्रतमिति प्रकृत्य प्रजापतिव्रतानि समाम्नातानि । व्रतमिति च मानसं कर्मोच्यते इदं न करिष्यामीति यः सङ्कल्पः । कतमत् तद् व्रतम् । नोद्यन्तमादित्यमीक्षेतेति । यथा तदीक्षणं न भवति तथा मानसो व्यापारः कर्तव्यः । तस्य पालनम् । शबर on जै. VI. 2. 20; मानसः सङ्कल्पो व्रतमुच्यते । शास्त्रविहितमिदं मया कर्तव्यमिदं वा न कर्तव्यमित्येवम् । मेधा० on मनु IV. 13 (व्रतानीमानि धारयेत्).

56. शास्त्रोदितो हि नियमो व्रतं तच्च तपो मतम् । नियमास्तु विशेषास्तु व्रतस्यैव दमादयः ॥ व्रतं हि कर्तृसन्तापात्तप इत्यभिधीयते । इन्द्रियग्रामनियमान्नियमश्चाभिधीयते ॥ अग्निपुराण 175. 2-3. The first verse is also गरुडपुराण I. 128. 1.

declares[57] 'resolve is the root of desires, of sacrifices, of vratas and the characteristics called *yamas*—all are known to spring from resolve'. But every *saṅkalpa* entertained by any person whatever is not and cannot be called vrata. It may be noted that the Amarakośa holds[58] that the words 'niyama' and 'vrata' are synonyms and that the latter consists of fast and the like that produce merit (*puṇya*), while the Āp. Dh. S. I. 2, 57 remarks that the word *tapas* is applied to the rules of conduct prescribed for a brahmacārin ('niyameṣu tapaḥśabdaḥ'). The Mitākṣarā[59] on Yāj. I. 129 appears to indicate that vrata is a mental resolve to do something or refrain from doing something, both being enjoined as duties. It is therefore that Śrīdatta (probably taking his cue from Śabara and the Mit.) in his Samaya-pradīpa defines vrata as 'a definite resolve relating to a certain matter held as obligatory' and proceeds to lay down that it may be positive (being in the form 'I must do it') or negative ('I must not do this'). He further holds that a resolve[60] made with the addition of a condition not enjoined by śāstras is not a vrata: e. g. if a man were to declare that he would observe a fast if his father would not forbid it and that otherwise he would not, this would not be a vrata and that, since *saṅkalpa* is the principal matter in a vrata, if a man of weak intellect or an ignorant man observes a fast without saṅkalpa, it would be simply so

57. सङ्कल्पमूलः कामो वै यज्ञाः सङ्कल्पसम्भवाः । व्रतानि यमधर्माश्च सर्वे सङ्कल्पजाः स्मृताः ॥ मनु II. 3. या. III. 312-313 mention ten *yamas* (ब्रह्मचर्य, दया, अहिंसा, दम &c.) and ten niyamas (such as स्नान, मौन, उपवास, शौच &c.), while the योगसूत्र mentions only five यमs (अहिंसासत्यास्तेयब्रह्मचर्यापरिग्रहाः यमाः) and five नियमs (शौचसन्तोषतपःस्वाध्यायेश्वरप्रणिधानानि नियमाः). मनु IV. 204 and Atri verse 47 provide that one must observe yamas always (i e. they are paramount duties), while niyamas are not so. The वायुपुराण (16. 17-19) enumerates a large number of नियमs (and includes अहिंसा, अस्तेय and ब्रह्मचर्य under them). The एकादशीतत्त्व after quoting मनु II. 3 explains 'अनेन कर्मणा इदमिष्टं फलं साध्यते इत्येवंविषया बुद्धिः सङ्कल्पस्तदनन्तरमिष्टसाधनतया अवगते तस्मिन् इच्छा जायते ततस्तदर्थं प्रयत्नं कुर्वीत इत्येवं यज्ञाः सङ्कल्पसम्भवाः ।'.

58. नियमो व्रतमस्त्री तच्चोपवासादि पुण्यकम् । अमरकोश.

59. एवं श्रौतस्मार्तानि कर्माण्यभिधायेदानीं गृहस्थस्य स्नानादारभ्य ब्राह्मणस्यावश्यकर्तव्यानि विधिप्रतिषेधात्मकानि मानससङ्कल्परूपाणि स्नातकव्रतान्याह । न स्वाध्याय० । मिता. on या. I. 129.

60. स्वकर्तव्यविषयो नियतः सङ्कल्पो व्रतम्। स च द्विविधो भावविषयोऽभावविषयश्च। तथा इदं मया कर्तव्यमेव, इदं मया न कर्तव्यमेवेति। समयप्रदीप folio 2b; एवं च पिता मां न निषेधयिष्यति तदोपवासं करिष्ये नो चेन्नेत्याद्युपाधिसङ्कल्पो न व्रतम्। तदा स्याद्यदि शास्त्रीय एवोपाधिः स्यात्। एवं च सङ्कल्पस्य प्रधानत्वात् दुर्बलानां सङ्कल्पमकृत्वैवोपवासाद्याचरणं क्लेशमात्रमिति। समयप्रदीप folio 3b.

much physical hardship but no vrata. The Kṛtyaratnākara[61] mentions several definitions of vrata given by its predecessors, one of which by Deveśvara was that 'a vrata is that which is included in the vratakāṇḍa'. This last is a desperate effort at definition and leaves the inquirer hardly wiser than before. That saṅkalpa is closely connected with vrata cannot be gainsaid and follows from a verse of Laghu-Viṣṇu[62] 'the choosing of *ṛtviks* is the starting point of a sacrifice, *saṅkalpa* that of *vrata* and of a *japa* of mantras (in honour of a deity)'. Śūlapāṇi defined vrata on almost the same lines as Śrīdatta. Lakṣmīdhara in his Kṛtyakalpataru on vrata does not define vrata but begins his treatment of vrata with vratapraśaṁsā. Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar in his Introduction to the Vratakāṇḍa of the Kṛtyakalpataru remarks (p. XXIII) 'Raghunandana in his Vrata-tattva also avoids any attempt to define vrata'. Prof. Aiyangar did not notice that Raghunandana discusses the question of the definition of vrata in his Ekādaśītattva (Jiv. vol. II. p. 7) and therefore he did not repeat the definition in the Vratatattva. Raghunandana mentions[63] the definitions of vrata given by Nārāyaṇa and Śrīdatta, does not agree that vrata is a saṅkalpa but holds that vrata means various rites about which a resolve is made and also that vrata is a *niyama* (a restrictive rule) enjoined by the śāstra, characterised by *upavāsa* and the like and not every niyama such as 'ṛtukālābhigāmī syāt' (Yāj. I. 79, Manu III. 45). The Vrataprakāśa (a part of Vīramitrodaya) defines vrata as 'a special saṅkalpa concerning what is well known to the learned as vrata,' just as *mantras* are those that are well-known among the learned as mantras.[64] The Dharmasindhu (p. 9) defines vrata as a kind

61. देवेश्वरधर्माधिकारिणस्तु व्रतकाण्डपरिपठितत्वमेव व्रतमित्यूचिरे। कृ. र. p. 633. The व्रतार्क (folio 1) appears to have held the same view.

62. प्रारम्भो वरणं यज्ञे सङ्कल्पो व्रतजापयोः। नान्दीश्राद्धं विवाहादौ श्राद्धे पाकपरिक्रिया॥ लघुविष्णु q. by मद. पा p. 423, स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 17, व्रतकालविवेक p. 9.

63. दीर्घकालानुपालनीयतत्तदितिकर्तव्यताकलापसहितनियतसङ्कल्पविषयो व्रतमिति व्रतलक्षणम्। व्रतकालविवेक (in) I. H. Q. vol. 17 No. 4, p. 6; दीर्घकालानुपालनीयः सङ्कल्पो व्रतमिति नारायणोपाध्यायानां स्वरसः। एकादशीतत्व (p. 7) of रघुनन्दन; न सङ्कल्पो व्रतं किंतु सङ्कल्पविषयतत्तत्कर्मैव व्रतमिति। एकादशीतत्त्व p. 7; शास्त्रविहितो नियमो व्रतमिति तच्च उपवासादिलक्षणमित्यर्थः। तथापि तन्मात्रं व्रतमिति न वाच्यम् ' ऋतुकालाभिगामी स्यादित्यादावतिव्याप्तेः। एकादशीतत्त्व p. 8.

64. तत्र व्रतं नाम अभियुक्तव्रतप्रसिद्धिविषयः सङ्कल्पविशेषः। अभियुक्तमन्त्रप्रसिद्धिविषयमन्त्रवत्। व्रतप्रकाश folio 9a; the अहल्याकामधेनु appears to borrow this 'व्रतं नामाभियुक्तप्रसिद्धविषयमन्त्रवत् ' (folio 75 b).

of religious rite consisting of *pūjā* and the like. Although at the root of every vrata and as an urge for it, there must be a saṅkalpa it appears to me that Raghunandana and the Dharmasindhu properly represent the popular meaning of vrata. A vrata comprehends several items such as snāna (bath), the morning prayer (prātaḥ-sandhyā), *saṅkalpa*, *homa*, *pūjā* of the deity or deities in whose honour or for securing whose favour the vrata is undertaken, upavāsa, feeding of brāhmaṇas, maidens or married women or the poor and helpless (according to the nature of the vrata), gifts (of cows, money, apparel, sweetmeats &c.) and the observance of certain rules of conduct during the period of the vrata. Some of these matters will be dealt with in detail later on, but a few may be disposed off here. Some writers relying on Śātātapa said that before a vrata was undertaken a Vṛddhi-śrāddha must be performed.[65] The Agnipurāṇa (175.12) states[66] that one who undertakes a vrata must always take a bath (every day), should subsist on a limited quantity of food, should worship and honour his *guru*, gods and brāhmaṇas and should eschew kṣāra, kṣaudra, lavaṇa, honey and meat. Devala states[67] 'without partaking of food (the previous night), after bathing and concentrating one's mind, one should, after invoking the Sun and other deities to be present, commence a vrata in the morning'. The general tendency of medieval writers to go on adding details to what was originally brief is seen at work here also. The Vratakālaviveka says that before saṅkalpa, there

65. व्रताद्यारम्भे वृद्धिश्राद्धं कार्यं तदाह शातातपः। नानिष्ट्वा तु पितॄन् श्राद्धकर्म किंचित्समारभेत्। व्रतार्क folio 6 b; यदाह देवलः। व्रतोपवासनियमैः शरीरोत्तापनं नृप। व्रतशब्दोत्र स्नानदानजपहोमपूजोपवासादिपरः। एतेन व्रतखण्डप्रतिपाद्यानां धर्माणामपि साधारणत्वं सूचितम्। हेमाद्रि (व्रतखण्ड) I. p. 6.

66. नित्यस्नायी मिताहारो गुरुदेवद्विजार्चकः। क्षारं क्षौद्रं च लवणं मधुमांसानि वर्जयेत्॥ अग्नि 175. 12 (q. by निर्णयसिन्धु p. 26 with the remark that the पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय quotes it). There is no agreement about the meaning of kṣāra and lavaṇa. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. 304 note 723 for the several meanings and अग्निपु. 175. 13-14; *madhu* and *kṣaudra* are often used as synonyms. Here kṣaudra may be taken as honey collected from bee-hives and madhu as not so collected.

67. अभुक्त्वा प्रातराहारं स्नात्वाचम्य समाहितः। सूर्यादिदेवताभ्यश्च निवेद्य व्रतमाचरेत्॥ देवल q. by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 65, नि. सि. p. 24, व्रततत्त्व p. 151, व्रतकालविवेक p. 7 which explains 'अत्र प्रातर्व्रतमाचरेदित्यन्वयः' and quotes वराहपुराण in support 'प्रातः सङ्कल्पयेद्विद्वानुपवासव्रतादिषु। नापराह्णे न मध्याह्ने पित्र्यकालौ हि तौ स्मृतौ॥'; 'सङ्कल्पस्य पूर्वं नारायणस्मरण-नमस्कारौ विहितौ। यथा योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः। ध्यायेन्नारायणं नित्यं स्नानादिषु च कर्मसु। &c. This is बृहद्योगियाज्ञवल्क्य VII. 33 'ध्यायेन्नारायणं देवं नित्यं स्नानादिकर्मसु।'

should be remembrance of Nārāyaṇa and namaskāra to him, as laid down by Yogiyājñavalkya. There is difference of opinion about the worship of Gaṇeśa.[68] The Vratakālaviveka quotes the Padmapurāṇa for the order in which the several deities are to be worshipped and honoured after *saṅkalpa* and refutes the idea that the worship of Gaṇeśa should always precede the worship of other deities. Though the general rule is that[69] the *saṅkalpa* of a vrata is to be made in the morning, still there are some passages to the contrary. For example, the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa[70] (Uttara 11. 6–8) provides that on the evening of Āṣāḍha Full Moon one should declare a resolve as follows 'from tomorrow for one month in Śrāvaṇa, I shall take a bath, observe *brahmacarya*, take one meal only after evening, sleep on the ground, will be compassionate to all living beings'.

There is a difference between *homa* and *pūjā*. A homa with Vedic mantras, according to ancient authorities, cannot be performed by women and śūdras. Though theoretically the three varṇas were entitled to perform homa with Vedic mantras some learned brāhmaṇas held the view that in the *Kaliyuga* no proper kṣatriyas and vaiśyas existed.[71] Even as to Śūdra[72] some writers like Kamalākarabhaṭṭa went so far that a śūdra could not read and study even purāṇas but should only listen to their

68. तदनन्तरमादित्यादिदेवतापूजनमाह पद्मपुराणम्। आदित्यं गणनाथं च देवीं रुद्रं यथाक्रमम्। नारायणं विशुद्धाख्यमन्ते च कुलदेवताः। केचित्तु ... आदौ गणेशपूजनं वर्णयन्ति। तन्न। क्रमविधायकपद्मपुराणवचनविरोधात्। व्रतकालविवेक p. 8. The व्रततत्त्व (p. 152) quotes the verse आदित्य &c. and remarks that गणेशपूजन comes first where the worship of the sun is not concerned.

69. तस्मादुपपत्त्या आचारेण च तिथिव्रतादौ प्रातरेव व्रतग्रहणम्। यत्र तु विशिष्टे तद्बाधकावतारस्तत्र त्यज्यतेपि, यथा प्रायश्चित्तव्रते व्रतं निशामुखे ग्राह्यं बहिस्तारकदर्शनात्—इत्येकभक्तानन्तरं रात्रौ सङ्कल्पविधानम्। कृ. र. pp. 55–56.

70. आषाढपूर्णिमायां तु सन्ध्याकाले ह्युपस्थिते। सङ्कल्पयेन्मासमेकं श्रावणे श्वः प्रभृत्यहम्। स्नानं करिष्ये नियता ब्रह्मचर्ये स्थिता सती। भोक्ष्यामि नक्तं भूशय्यां करिष्ये प्राणिनां दयाम्। इति सङ्कल्प्य पुरुषो नारी वा ब्राह्मणान्तिके। प्राप्यानुज्ञां ततः प्रातः सर्वसामग्रिसंयुतः। भविष्य (उत्तर 11. 6–8).

71. Vide the discussion in the H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 380–382 about the existence of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas in modern times.

72. अत्र केचित्। वैदिकमन्त्रो विप्रस्य, पौराणस्तु शूद्रैः पठनीयः ... पाद्मोक्तेरित्याहुः। गौडा अप्येवम्। तन्न। 'नाध्येतव्यमिदं शास्त्रं वृषलस्य तु संनिधौ' इति कौर्मे पुराणनिषेधेन वेदस्य दूरापास्तत्वात्। अध्येतव्यं ब्राह्मणेनैव वैश्येन क्षत्रियेण च। श्रोतव्यमेव शूद्रेण नाध्येतव्यं कदाचन। ... तस्माच्छूद्रैर्विना विप्रं न श्रोतव्यं कदाचनेति तत्रैव पुराणाधिकारे भविष्योक्तेश्च। नि. सि. p. 392. The भविष्य passage is in ब्राह्मपर्व 1. 71–72 'श्रोतव्यमेव शूद्रेण नाध्येतव्यं कथंचन॥'

recital by brāhmaṇas. The result was that most people performed only *pūjā* and not homa in Agni. According to most writers the homa was to be performed in honour of that deity for whose favour the vrata was performed. According to Vardhamāna and a few others the homa in a vrata may be in honour of the deity of the vrata or may be a vyāhṛtihoma.[73] It is stated by the Agnipurāṇa[74] that there is *japa*, homa and also gifts at the end of all vratas in general and the Viṣṇudharmottara observes that those who perform upavāsavrata should inaudibly mutter the mantras of that deity, should meditate on that deity, should listen to stories about that deity, should worship the image of that deity, should take the names of that deity and listen to others singing the names. Pūrvamīmāṁsā writers made a distinction between *homa, yāga* and *dāna*. Śabara[75] on Jai. IV. 2. 28 puts the distinction in a nutshell by saying that 'giving up what belongs to one is common to all the three, but *yāga* means simply giving up something intending it for a deity and accompanying it with a mantra; in *homa* there is in addition the throwing of a thing in fire; dāna consists in abandoning a thing that belongs to one and creating the ownership of another in that thing.' In another place (on Jai. IX. 1. 6), Śabara refers to the argument that yāga is nothing but the worship of a deity (api ca yāgo nāma devatāpūjā).

Manu II. 176 and Yāj. I. 99, 100, 102 show that *Devapūjā* is different from[76] *homa* and was performed after the latter according to Marīci and Hārīta quoted in the Smṛticandrikā, Smṛti-muktā-

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73. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 207-211 for the description of a model homa and the order of the several parts in a homa. The four oblations with the Vyāhṛtis would be भूः स्वाहा, भुवः स्वाहा, स्वः स्वाहा, भूर्भुवः स्वः स्वाहा with ओम् prefixed to each.

74. जपो होमश्च सामान्यव्रतान्ते दानमेव च। अग्निपु. 175 60; विष्णुधर्मे। तज्जप्यजपनं ध्यानं तत्कथाश्रवणादिकम्। तदर्चनं च तन्नामकीर्तनश्रवणादयः। उपवासकृतामेते गुणाः प्रोक्ता मनीषिभिः॥ नि. सि. p. 24; व्र. का. वि. p. 11 quotes a similar verse from देवीपुराण 'तद्ध्यानं तज्जपश्चैव तत्कथाश्रवणादिकम्। उपवासकृतां ... मनीषिभिः'॥

75. तदुक्ते श्रवणाज्जुहोतिरासेचनाधिकः। जै. IV. 2.28, on which शबर remarks: यजतिददातिजुहोतिषु सर्वेषूत्सर्गः समानः। तत्र यजतिर्देवतामुद्दिश्योत्सर्गमात्रं, जुहोतिरासेचनाधिकः, ददातिरुत्सर्गपूर्वकः परस्वत्वेन सम्बन्ध इत्येन एषां विशेष इति।; vide शबर on जै. VII. 1. 5 'एष च यजिः यद्द्रव्यं देवतामुद्दिश्य मन्त्रेण त्यज्यते।'.

76. तत्र हारीतः। कुर्वीत देवतापूजां जपयज्ञादनन्तरम्। स्थण्डिले प्रतिमायां वा जलेऽग्नौ हृदयेऽपि वा॥ मरीचिरपि। विधाय देवतापूजां प्रातर्होमादनन्तरम्। स्थण्डिले प्रतिमायां वा वह्नौ वा हृदयेपि वा॥ स्मृतिच. I. p. 198, स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक) p. 383.

phala and other digests. Certain matters connected with devapūjā such as the questions whether images of gods were worshipped in the times of the Ṛgveda and the Saṁhitās, whether the worship of images arose spontaneously among the Vedic Aryans or whether it was derived from some other race or sectarians or from śūdras and Dravidian tribes, have already been dealt with at some length in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 705–712. Similarly, descriptions of devapūjā and the several items and stages in the procedure of devapūjā have been set out in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 726–735. A few matters either not set out there at all or briefly set out may be spoken of here. It should be noted that ordinarily there are 16 upacāras[77] (items of showing honour) in the procedure of devapūjā, but they may be increased to 36 or 38 or reduced to 14, 12, 10 or 5 and there is no complete unanimity on the question of the names of the 16 upacāras and their order. The Brahmavaivartapurāṇa sets out what the sixteen, twelve and five upacāras are. The Vratārka quotes verses enumerating 38, 16, 10 or 5 upacāras. If a person is unable to offer even five upacāras then he should offer two, viz. sandalwood paste and flowers and if he cannot do even that, then he may offer only devotion. So says the Kālikāpurāṇa quoted in Varṣakriyā-kaumudī p. 157. From Śabara's *bhāṣya* on Jai. V. 1. 4 it follows that long before his day (not later than 4th century A. D.) the order (*krama*) of the upacāras had been settled.[78] Medieval works like the Vratārka (folio 23 b ff) and V. K. K. pp. 200–201

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77. For 38 उपचारs vide व्रतराज p. 44. 36 उपचारs are enumerated in एकादशीतत्त्व p. 58 quoting from आह्निकचिन्तामणि. They are not set out here for reasons of space. The 16 उपचारs quoted from प्रपञ्चसार by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 156 and ए. त. p. 59 are: आसनं स्वागतं पाद्यमर्घ्यमाचमनीयकम्। मधुपर्काचमस्नानवसनाभरणानि च। सुगन्धसुमनोधूपदीपनैवेद्यवन्दनम्। प्रयोजयेदर्चनायामुपचारांश्च षोडश। अर्घ्यपाद्याचमनकमधुपर्काचमा अपि। गन्धादयो निवेद्यान्ता उपचारा दश क्रमात्। गन्धादयो निवेद्यान्ताः पूजा पञ्चोपचारिकी। उपचारैर्यथाशक्ति देवतामन्वहं यजेत्।. The व. क्रि. कौ. (p. 157) proceeds: 'अत्यन्ताशक्तावुपचारद्वयेनापि पूजामाह कालिकापुराणे।... अभावे गन्धपुष्पाभ्यां तदभावे च भक्तितः।'. The व. क्रि. कौ. p 156 notes that there is slight difference in the order in which some upacāras are offered 'अत्र अर्घ्यानन्तरं पाद्यमाचमनीयं चोक्तम्। शारदातिलकादिषु पाद्याचमनीयानन्तरमर्घ्यमुक्तम्। कालिकापुराणे पाद्यार्घ्याचमनीयक्रम उक्तः'. Vide ब्रह्मवैवर्त (ब्रह्मखण्ड) chap. 26.90–92 for उपचारs.

78. यथा चादृष्टार्थेषूपदिश्यमानेषु कश्चिद् ब्रूयात्—देवाय धूपो देयः पुष्पाण्यवकरितव्यानि, चन्दनोऽनुलेप्तव्यः उपहारोऽस्मा उपहर्तव्यः, एवं कृते देवस्तुष्यतीति। तमन्यः प्रतिब्रूते। नैतदेवं न प्रथमं धूपो दातव्यः प्रथमं पुष्पाण्यवकरितव्यानीति। शबर on जै. V. 1. 4.

(quoting Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa 62. 8–14) prescribe for all vratas in general the recital of each of the sixteen verses of the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90) with each of the sixteen upacāras in order (viz. āvāhana, āsana, pādya, arghya, ācamanīyaka, snāna, vastra, yajñopavīta, anulepana (or gandha), puṣpa, dhūpa, dīpa, naivedya, tāmbūla, dakṣiṇā, pradakṣiṇā); while some works associate with each of these one or more Paurāṇika mantras also. It should not be supposed that these upacāras (particularly puṣpa, gandha, dhūpa, dīpa and naivedya) were absent in the Vedic age and came into prominence at a very late stage by being borrowed from non-Aryan people. The Aśvins are described as wearing wreaths of blue lotuses (puṣkarasrajā) in Ṛg X. 184. 2 and Atharva III. 22. 4; the Maruts also are spoken of as wearing wreaths (Ṛg. V. 53. 4). In numerous passages the Ṛgveda refers to the casting of offerings (*havya*) mixed with clarified butter in Agni (e. g. Ṛg. III. 59. 1 and 5).[79] The gods are even asked to *eat* apūpa, puroḍāśa, dhānā, milk, curds, honey &c. in Ṛg. III. 53. 8, III. 52. 1–7, IV. 32. 16, VIII. 91. 2, in Atharva XVIII. 4. 16–26. The underlying conception in these passages is the same as that involved in offering *naivedya* to an image. In the Śatapatha Br.[80] the word *upacāra* appears to have been used in the sense of 'honour' or 'mode of showing honour.' In the Tai. Ā. X. 40[81] occurs a mantra called 'Medhā-janana' which was recited in the ear of a child in the *jātakarma* 'may god Savitṛ, goddess Sarasvatī and the gods Aśvins wearing wreaths of blue lotuses produce in you intelligence'. There is evidence that long before the time of the gṛhyasūtras several of the sixteen upacāras were well-known. The Nighaṇṭu (III. 14) enumerates 44 verbs that have the sense of 'worship' among which 'pūjayati' is

79. मित्रो जनान्यातयति ... मित्राय हव्यं घृतवज्जुहोत ॥ ऋ. III, 59. 1; अपूपमद्धि सगणो मरुद्भिः सोमं पिब वृत्रहा शूर विद्वान् ॥ ऋ. III. 52. 7; पुरोळाशं च नो घसो जोषयासे गिरश्च नः । ऋ III 22.3; ताँ ऊ न्वस्य सवनस्य पीतये आ वो वाजा ऋभवो वेदयामसि ॥ ऋ. IV. 36. 2. This last is a precursor of the idea of नैवेद्य, which word should be derived from निवेद्य (what is presented or offered) on the analogy of words like चातुर्वर्ण्य and त्रैलोक्य (from त्रि+लोक). The कुलार्णवतन्त्र (*ullāsa* 17. 80) derives it in this way ' निवेदनाद्भवेत्तृप्तिर्नैवेद्यं तदुदाहृतम् '.

80. अधस्तादिव हि श्रेयस उपचारः । शतपथ I. 1. 1. 11 'from below as it were (i. e. from a lower level) honour is to be shown to one who is superior'.

81. कर्णयोरुपनिधाय मेधाजननं जपति। मेधां ते देवः सविता मेधां देवी सरस्वती। मेधां ते अश्विना देवावाधत्तां पुष्करस्रजाविति। आश्व. गृ. I. 15. 2. This *mantra* is Tai. Ā. X. 40. 1.

included. The Nirukta in explaining the word 'supāṇiḥ' occurring in Ṛg. III. 33. 6 states that the word 'pāṇi' is[82] derived from 'paṇ' to offer pūjā and supports this derivation by saying that people worship gods by joining together their hands. It is clear that the Nighaṇṭu treated 'pūjayati' as a verb occurring in the Vedas and that folding the hands (i. e. namaskāra) was a item of worship long before the Nirukta. While explaining the word 'saparyan' occurring in Ṛg. III. 31. 1 the Nirukta offers 'pūjayan' as a synonym. From Pāṇini[83] V. 3. 99 and the Mahābhāṣya thereon it is clearly seen that in the days of the former images of gods were made for sale and also for worship. Patañjali expressly says that the rule applies to images which were worshipped and which gave livelihood to the *Pujaris* of those images and not to images made for sale. Vide also Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini I. 1. 25. The Āśv. Gṛ.[84] provides that when *madhuparka* is to be offered to a ṛtvik, an ācārya, a bride-groom, a king or a snātaka or a relative (like father-in-law, paternal or maternal uncle), a seat, water for washing the feet, arghya water, water for ācamana, honey mixture, a cow are to be announced to the guest three times in each case. In another place, the same sūtra[85] speaks of the presentation of sandal-wood paste, flowers, incense, lamp and garment to the brāhmaṇas invited at a śrāddha. In these two passages alone nine of the 16 *upacāras* are mentioned. The word pūjā took on a secondary meaning, viz. (honour without use of gandha, puṣpa &c.) even in the times of Dharmasūtrās (vide Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 9, 'nityā ca pūjā yathopadeśam'). Yāj. (I. 229 ff) mentions in śrāddha *āvāhana, arghya, gandha, mālya, dhūpa, dīpa* &c. When the worship of images became common, the

82. पाणिः पणायतेः पूजाकर्मणः। प्रगृह्य पाणी देवान् पूजयन्ति। निरुक्त II. 26; it may be noted that the Nighaṇṭu III. 5 enumerates ten verbs meaning 'paricaraṇa' (waiting upon) one of which is सपर्यति, while 44 verbs of which पूजयति is one are separately enumerated as meaning 'अर्चति'.

83. जीविकार्थे चापण्ये। पा. V. 3. 99; मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः। भवेत्तासु न स्यात्। यास्त्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति। महाभाष्य. The Mauryas greedy of gold or wealth manufactured images of Śiva, Skanda for sale; those images would be called 'Śivaka &c.' but those that were set up for worship and became the means of livelihood to *pujaris* (priests) were called 'Śiva,' 'Skanda' &c. On पा. I. 1. 25 the महाभाष्य says 'काश्यपग्रहणं पूजार्थम्.'

84. विष्टरः पाद्यमर्घ्यमाचमनीयं मधुपर्को गौरित्येतेषां त्रिस्त्रिरेकैकं वेदयन्ते। आश्व. गृ. I. 24. 7. Note the word वेदयन्ते here.

85. एतस्मिन्काले गन्धमाल्यधूपदीपाच्छादनानां प्रदानम्। आश्व. गृ. IV. 8. 1.

upacāras that had been offered for showing honour and worship to worthy men were by a natural analogy employed in it. In my view the theory that pūjā and the upacāras were borrowed from the Dravidians or some non-Aryan people cannot be held to be proved, is quite speculative and that 'pūjā' of images of gods was an indigenous development. Medieval writers were careful to point out that there was no essential difference between yāga (vedic or other sacrifice) and pūjā, as in both there was the giving of some substance intending it for a deity. Prof. J. Charpentier contributed a paper on 'the meaning and etymology of pūjā' to the Indian Antiquary vol. 56. pp. 93–99 and pp. 130 ff. I demur to his conclusions. He points out that 'pu' in Tamil means 'flower', that the word pūjā is derived from Dravidian 'pūcu', 'pūsu' to paint or daub' (p. 133) and asks the question why red colour is used in the worship of Gods; he himself answers it by suggesting that it was a substitute for blood. There is no reason whatever for assuming that pūjā was derived from 'pu' and not from 'puṣpa' (flower) which was known to the Ṛgveda (II. 13. 7 'puṣpiṇīḥ' and X. 97. 3 'puṣpavatīḥ'). There is no sound reason to assume that 'pūcu' (to paint) existed thousands of years ago in Dravidian languages and was not a more recent acquisition, when the word pūjā can be traced a thousand years before any existing literary work in any Dravidian language.[86]

Some works on vratas treat at great length the several upacāras, particularly flowers that should be offered to the various images worshipped, the consequences of offering those flowers, the various kinds of fragrant substances (*gandha*) to be offered or the incense to be burnt, the nature of the foods &c. Vide for example, Hemādri (on vrata) vol. I. pp. 49–51, Kṛtyaratnākara pp. 70–71, 77–79, Varṣakriyākaumudī pp. 156–181. For reasons of space it is not possible to treat of these matters here. Besides, H. of Dh. vol. II. (pp. 731–734) deals at some length with the unguents, the flowers, the lamps, the naivedya to be offered in the ordinary *devapūjā*. A few matters not mentioned there are set out here for the sake of completeness of treatment. The Sm. C. I. p. 201 quotes the Padmapurāṇa[87] to the effect that sandalwood is holy among unguents (gandha), *agaru* (Agalochum)

86. तत्र पूजा नाम देवतोद्देशेन द्रव्यत्यागात्मकत्वाद्याग एव। पूजाप्रकाश। p. 1, following Śabara quoted above on p. 33 note 75.

87. पद्मपुराणेपि। गन्धेभ्यश्चन्दनं पुण्यं चन्दनादगरुर्वरः। कृष्णागरुस्ततः श्रेष्ठः कुङ्कुमं तु ततो वरम्॥ स्मृतिच. I. p. 201.

is better than sandalwood, dark *agaru* is still better and saffron is preferable to dark *agaru*. Hemādri (on vrata vol. I. pp. 43–44) quotes passages from several purāṇas defining[88] *catuḥsama* as tvak i. e. cinnamon, patraka (cassia leaf), lavaṅga i. e. cloves, and saffron (or two parts of musk, four of sandalwood, three of saffron and one of camphor) and sarvagandha as saffron, sandalwood, *uśīra* (fragrant roots of a plant), *mustā*, lāmajja (root of fragrant grass), camphor and the three perfumed things viz. *tvak*, cardamom and *patraka* and Yakṣakardama as camphor, *agaru*, musk, sandalwood and *kakkola*. The Agnipurāṇa (chap. 202. 1) first states that Hari is pleased by the offerings of flowers, perfumes, incense, lamps and *naivedya* and then specifies the flowers that are fit for offering to the deities and that are unfit (verses 2–15). The Kalpataru on vrata (pp. 180–181) quotes the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (Brāhmaparva 197. 1–11) for stating the consequences of using various flowers in worship, viz. worship with mālatī flowers leads the worshipper in the presence of god, worship with *karavīra* flowers confers health and incomparable prosperity, by the flowers of Mallikā the worshipper becomes endowed with all pleasures, with puṇḍarīka (lotuses) he secures bliss and lasting wealth, with flowers of the fragrant *kubjaka* he secures highest prosperity, with lotuses (white and blue) he secures spotless fame, with various *mukurakas* (Jasminium zambac) he is freed from disease, worship with Mandāra flowers destroys all kinds of leprosy, and with bilva flowers he obtains wealth, with *arka* flowers the Lord Sun confers blessings, with a garland of *bakula* flowers the worshipper has a beautiful daughter, the Sun worshipped with Kiṁśuka flowers does away with trouble, with Agastya flowers the deity gives success and worship with lotuses gives a beautiful wife, with vanamālā the worshipper becomes free from tiredness; the worshipper of the Sun with Aśoka flowers makes no mistakes, and the Sun worshipped with *japā* (china rose) flowers frees the worshipper from trouble. About dhūpa (incense burnt in worship) a good deal is said in the digests. The Kalpataru

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88. लिङ्गपुराणे। आज्यं क्षीरं मधु तथा मधुरत्रयमुच्यते। त्वक् पत्रकलवङ्गानि केशरं च चतुःसमम्॥ गरुडपुराणे। कस्तूरिकाया द्वौ भागौ चत्वारश्चन्दनस्य च। कुङ्कुमस्य त्रयश्चैकः शशिनः स्याच्चतुःसमम्॥ वृद्धगर्गः। कुङ्कुमं चन्दनोशीरं मुस्ता लामज्जकेशरम्। कर्पूरं त्रिसुगन्धं च सर्वगन्धः प्रकीर्तितः। त्वगेलापत्रकैस्तुल्यैस्त्रिसुगन्धः प्रकीर्तितः॥ गरुडपुराणे। कर्पूरमगुरुश्चैव कस्तूरी चन्दनं तथा। कक्कोलं च भवेदेभिः पञ्चभिर्यक्षकर्दमः॥ हेमाद्रि on व्रत vol. I. pp. 43–44, व्रतराज p. 16. त्वच् is cinnamon and पत्रक is *Laurus cassia*, लवङ्ग clove.

(on vrata pp. 182–183)[89] observes as follows: The Sun comes near (i. e. favours) a worshipper who burns sandalwood and confers desired objects when one burns *agaru* as dhūpa; one who desires health should burn *guggulu;* the Sun is always pleased by the use of piṇḍāṅga (i. e. *silhaka*) and confers health, wealth and the highest bliss; a man secures blessedness by using *kundaka* (the exudation of *sallakī*) as dhūpa and trade becomes fruitful by using śrīvāsaka (*sarala*) as dhūpa and one gets wealth by burning rasa (myrrh) and sarjarasa (resin of the śāl tree). Bāṇa in the Kādambarī (pūrvārdha, para 56) refers to the practice of burning *guggulu* in the temple of Caṇḍikā. Kalpataru (on vrata pp. 6–7), Hemādri (on vrata) vol. I. pp. 50–51, Kṛtyaratnākara p. 78 quote several verses from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa defining dhūpas called 'amṛta', 'ananta', yakṣāṅga, mahāṅga. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa[90] remarks: the *jūti* is the best among flowers, kundaka is the best dhūpa, saffron is best among fragrant substances, sandalwood among unguents; ghee is best for lighting lamps and *modaka* sweets among naivedya foods. It may be noted that the burning of guggulu and other substances had a practical end in view, viz. the destruction of fleas and bees.[91]

It is no doubt true that in most vratas brāhmaṇas are to be fed, but one should not run away with the idea that the blind, the poor and the helpless were altogether forgotten. In the case of many vratas it is expressly provided that food should be given to the blind, the poor and the helpless. In describing the Aviyoga-vrata, both the Kalpataru (on vrata p. 75) and Hemādri quote a long passage from the Kālikāpurāṇa in which it is provided that on the day of the vrata tasteful and well-flavoured food and drink without stint should be distributed to the helpless, the blind and

89. अगुरुं चन्दनं मुस्ता सिह्लकं वृषणं तथा। समभागं तु कर्तव्यं धूपोऽयममृताह्वयः॥ श्रीखण्डं ग्रन्थिसहितमगुरुं सिह्लकं तथा। मुस्तां तथेन्दुं भूतेश शर्करां च दहेत् त्र्यहम्। इत्येषोऽनन्तधूपश्च कथितो देवसत्तम॥ भविष्य q. by कल्पतरु (on व्रत p. 6), हे. (on व्रत vol. I. p. 50).

90. पुष्पाणां प्रवरा जाती धूपानां कुन्दको वरः। गन्धानां कुङ्कुमं श्रेष्ठं लेपानां चन्दनं वरम्॥ दीपदाने घृतं श्रेष्ठं मोदकाश्च निवेदने। भविष्यपुराण (ब्राह्मपर्व 198. 19 q. by कल्पतरु on व्रत p. 183).

91. त्रिफलार्जुनपुष्पाणि भल्लातकशिरीषकम्। लाक्षा सर्जरसश्चैव विडङ्गश्चैव गुग्गुलुः। एतैर्धूपो मक्षिकाणां मशकानां विनाशनः॥ गरुडपुराण I. 177. 88–89.

the deaf.[92] Vide also Kalpataru (on vrata) p. 390 (on Harivrata), p. 391 (on Pātravrata), p. 397 (Mahāvrata), Hemādri and Kṛtyaratnākara p. 481 on Śivarātrivrata, Kṛtyaratnākara p. 461 (on Mitrasaptamī). The Bhaviṣya (Uttara, 22. 33–34)[93] recommends that one observing a vrata should provide food for the blind, the distressed and the helpless according to his means. As in the case[94] of śrāddhas, particularly at Gayā, the Purāṇas often enjoin lavish expenditure on vratas and condemn stinginess or spending less on them than one is able to spend. Vide Matsya 100. 36. The Bhaviṣyottara[95] on Ubhayadvādaśīvrata states 'the performer of Ubhayadvādaśīvrata being solely devoted to Kṛṣṇa should not be tricky (spend less) in spending wealth'. In respect of Aviyogavrata the Kālikā-purāṇa provides 'the performer free from trickiness about wealth should give an equivalent to the brāhmaṇas or the couple if he is unable (to give pearls and precious stones)'. Vide also Padma VI. 39. 21, Matsya 62. 34, 93. 109, 95. 32, 98. 12.

There are certain virtues that the person undergoing a vrata has to cultivate. The Agnipurāṇa speaks[96] of ten virtues that

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92. दीनान्धबधिरादीनां तद्दिने चानिवारितम्। कल्पयेदन्नपानं च सुमृष्टं रुच्यमात्मनः॥ हेमाद्रि (व्रत I. 443), कृत्य. र. p. 455; 'प्रणम्य भोजयेद्भक्त्या व्रतिनश्च द्विजैः सह। कल्पयेद्भोजनं श्रेष्ठं सर्वेष्वेव तपस्विषु॥ दीनान्धकृपणानां च सर्वेषामनिवारितम्। हे. (on व्रत) II. p. 382 (पात्रव्रत) from नरसिंहपुराण, कृत्यकल्पतरु (व्रत) p. 391 from कालिकापुराण, कृ. र. p. 455.

93. प्रभाते स्नापनं कृत्वा तद्भक्तानां च भोजनम्। दीनान्धकृपणानां च यथाशक्त्या च दक्षिणाम्॥ हेमाद्रि (व्रत) vol, II. p. 859 (from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर); दीनान्धदुःखितानां च तद्दिने चानिवारितम्। कल्पयेदन्नदानं चालोचयञ्छक्तिमात्मनः॥ भविष्य (उत्तर 22. 33).

94. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p 404 notes 908a and 909 for the emphasis on lavish expenditure on śrāddhas in general and particularly on śrāddhas at Gayā. कर्तव्याः शक्तितो देया विप्रेभ्यो दक्षिणानघ। न वित्तशाठ्यं कुर्वीत भक्त्या तुष्यति केशवः॥ मत्स्य 100. 36.

95. उभयद्वादशीयोगाच्छ्रद्दधानो नरोत्तम। वित्तशाठ्यं न कुर्वीत कृष्णैकगतमानसः॥ भविष्योत्तर q. by हे. (व्रत) I. 1021; एतत्सर्वं सारयुक्तमाचार्याय निवेदयेत्। व्रतिनां ब्राह्मणानां वा मिथुनानामथापि वा। अशक्तो निष्क्रयं दद्याद्वित्तशाठ्यविवर्जितः। कालिकापुराण q. by हे. (on अवियोगतृतीयाव्रत) I. p. 443; मत्स्य 95. 32 'न वित्तशाठ्यं कुर्वीत कुर्वन् दोषात्पतत्यधः। धनवान् वित्तशाठ्येन यः करोति प्रजागरम्। तेनात्मा हारितो नूनं कितवेन दुरात्मना॥; पद्म VI. 39. 21; सर्वपापहरां देवि सौभाग्यारोग्यवर्धिनीम्। न चैनां वित्तशाठ्येन कदाचिदपि लङ्घयेत्। नरो वा यदि वा नारी वित्तशाठ्यात्पतत्यधः। मत्स्य 62. 34 (on अनन्ततृतीयाव्रत).

96. क्षमा सत्यं दया दानं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः। देवपूजाग्निहवनं सन्तोषोऽस्तेयमेव च। सर्वव्रतेष्वयं धर्मः सामान्यो दशधा स्मृतः। अग्निपु. 175. 10–11 (reads ०ग्निहरणं). These verses are quoted as from भविष्यपुराण by कृत्यकल्पतरु (व्रत) p. 5, समयप्रदीप folio

(*Continued on next page*)

must be cultivated as common to all vratas viz. 'forbearance, truthfulness, compassion, charity, purity (of body and mind), curbing the organs of sense, worship of deities (or images), offerings into fire, contentment, not depriving another of his property. This ten-fold dharma is declared as common to all vratas.' Devala prescribes: '*brahmacarya* (celibacy), purity, truthfulness and giving up of flesh-eating—these four are the highest (virtues) in vratas. Brahmacarya is lost by looking at (stranger) women, touching them and engaging in talk with them, but not by sexual intercourse with one's wife during the allowed days after her monthly illness'. The Nāradīyapurāṇa remarks[97] 'brahmacarya is prescribed for being observed in all vratas and it is declared that generally sacrificial food is eaten'. *Haviṣyānna* is variously defined. Manu[98] says 'the food proper for hermits (such as *nīvāra*), milk, juice of soma plant, flesh that has not become putrid, and akṣāralavaṇa (natural salt)—these are declared to be (fit) sacrificial food by nature'. Though flesh was offered in śrāddhas in the times of the several early smṛtis such as that of Yāj. flesh must be excluded from the list of proper foods in the case of vratas owing to the express provisions contained in Devala-smṛti (cited above) and others. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 149 n. 343 for *haviṣya* food. The Kṛtyaratnākara[99] quotes a long passage from the Samayapradīpa on what food should be partaken in vratas viz. 'first come yavas (barley), on failure of them *vrīhi* (rice), on failure of this, other food except māṣa (black beans), *kodrava*, gram, *masūra* (a kind of pulse), *cīna* and kapittha'. There are somewhat conflicting passages in the several Purāṇas about the foods that are acceptable or

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(Continued from last page)

4 a, हेमाद्रि (व्रत) I. p, 330, कृ. र. p. 416, कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन p. 454. The लिङ्गपुराण, पूर्वार्ध 84. 22 is क्षमा ... निग्रहः। सर्वव्रतेष्वयं धर्मः सामान्यो रुद्रपूजनम्॥; देवलः। ब्रह्मचर्यं तथा शौचं सत्यमामिषवर्जनम्। व्रतेष्वेतानि चत्वारि वरिष्ठानीति निश्चयः॥ स्त्रीणां तु वीक्षणात्स्पर्शात्ताभिः सङ्कथनादपि। निष्यन्दते ब्रह्मचर्यं न दारेष्वृतुसंक्रमात्॥ q. by अपरार्क p. 199, नि. सि. p. 27; अपरार्क explains 'स्त्रीणां परस्त्रीणां वीक्षणात् ताभिरन्यस्त्रीभिरेव सङ्कथनात् संयोगप्रलापाच्च। दारेषु वीक्षणात्स्पर्शात्संकथनात् तद् ब्रह्मचर्यं न नश्यति। संक्रमणं सन्तानोत्पादनार्थं सम्भोगः।'.

97. व्रतेष्वेतेषु सर्वेषु ब्रह्मचर्यं विधीयते। भोजने तु हविष्यान्नं सामान्यत उदाहृतम्॥ नारदीयपुराण, पूर्वार्ध 110. 48.

98. मुन्यन्नानि पयः सोमो मांसं यच्चानुपस्कृतम्। अक्षारलवणं चैव प्रकृत्या हविरुच्यते॥ मनु. III. 257 (कुल्लूक explains अनुपस्कृतं पूतिगन्धादिरहितं मांसम्).

99. समयप्रदीपे। प्रथमं यवास्तदभावे व्रीहयस्तदलाभे माषकोद्रवचणकसर्षपमसूरचीनकपित्थवर्जमन्यदप्यन्नं सैन्धवं मानससम्भवं लवणं तत्तु सांभरीति प्रसिद्धम्। कृ. र. p. 400.

should be rejected. For example, the Agnipurāṇa[100] (in 175. 12) first states that kṣāra, lavaṇa, honey and flesh should be eschewed in vrata, then (in 175. 13–14) includes among kṣāra all cereals in pods except sesame and *mudga*, and among corn wheat and kodravas and several others are included in kṣāra group (i. e. they are to be eschewed in vrata) and proceeds (175. 14–15) 'rice, ṣaṣṭika (corn that ripens in sixty days from the date of sowing), mudga, kalāya (peas), sesame and yava, śyāmāka (millet), nīvāra (wild rice grains), wheat and others are beneficial (i. e. allowed) in vratas, while one should give up (in vrata) kūṣmāṇḍa (pumpkin gourd), alābu (bottle gourd), vārtāka (egg plant), pālaṅkī (a kind of vegetable) and pūtikā. The Padmapurāṇa[101] provides that one who is observing nakta-vrata must observe six things, viz. haviṣya meals, bath, truthfulness, small quantity of food, worship of Agni and sleeping on the ground (not on a cot). The Bhujabala[102] says: all should avoid while observing vrata the use of bell metal (vessel), flesh, *masūra*, gram, kodrava, vegetables, honey and the food cooked in another's house. Hārīta lays[103] down what should be avoided on the day of vrata: one should avoid on the fast day talk with one guilty of heavy sins, heterodox sectarians and atheists and speaking what is untrue and obscene. The Śāntiparva says 'one engaged in vrata should not converse with women, śūdras and *patita*'. The Bṛhadyogi-Yājñavalkyasmṛti[104] observes: one

100. अग्निपुराण 175. 12–17 are stated by the नि. सि. p. 26 to have been quoted in the पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय; the verses (14–17) व्रीहिषष्टिकमुद्गाश्च ... हितमीरितम् are quoted from the अग्निपुराण by हे. (व्रत) I. p. 332.

101. हविष्यभोजनं स्नानं सत्यमाहारलाघवम्। अग्निकार्यमधःशय्यां नक्तभोजी षडाचरेत्॥ पद्मपु. q. by हे. (व्रत) I. p. 333, which explains 'अग्निकार्यमत्र महाव्याहृतिमन्त्रैराज्यहोमः'. The verse is quoted from देवीपुराण by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 66.

102. कांस्यं मांसं मसूरं च चणकं कोद्रवं तथा। शाकं मधु परान्नं च व्रते सर्वो विवर्जयेत्॥ भुजबल (D. C. transcript p. 331). The same verse is quoted from गरुडपुराण by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 62 (reads परान्नं च वर्जेदुपवसन् स्त्रियम्).

103. व्रतदिने वर्ज्यान्याह हारीतः। पतितपाषण्डिनास्तिकसम्भाषानृताश्लीलादिकमुपवासदिने वर्जयेत्। व्र. का. वि. p. 10; स्त्रीशूद्रं पतितं चापि नाभिभाषेद् व्रतान्वितः। शान्तिपर्व 35. 39.

104. स्त्रीशूद्रपतितांश्चैव पाषण्डिनं रजस्वलाम्। जपकाले न भाषेत व्रतहोमादिकेषु च॥ यदि वाग्यमलोपः स्याज्जपादिषु कथंचन। व्याहरेद्वैष्णवं मन्त्रं स्मरेद्वा विष्णुमव्ययम्॥ बृहद्योगिया. VII. 147–148. The first is quoted in वी. मि. (आह्निक) p. 315. बृहस्पति (collected by Aiyangar) has a similar verse 'श्वशूद्र... रासभं च रजस्वलाम्। ... स्नानहोमादिकेषु च॥'. बृहद्योगिया. VII. 148 is q. by स्मृतिच. I. p. 150, परा. मा. I. p. 306, वी. मि. (आह्निक) p. 316, कृ. र. p. 49.

should not talk at the time of japa or vrata or homa and the like to women, śūdras, *patita*, sectarians, a woman in her monthly illness; if there be a failure in the restraint of speech (with these) in japa and the rest, he should recite a mantra addressed to Viṣṇu or remember Viṣṇu who is imperishable.

The Purāṇas extol, as in the case of pilgrimages, the performance of vratas to the skies. Certain vratas like those to be undergone by a Vedic student had ceased to be in vogue and vratas associated with Vedic sacrifices also had become rare in the centuries before the Christian era. In the gṛhya and dharma sūtras and in ancient smṛtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya what were called vratas in the Purāṇas did not occupy any very prominent position. During the early centuries of the Christian era Buddhism and Jainism were influential rivals of the ancient sacrificial system. In order to wean away common people from those two schisms it is very probable that learned followers of the Vedic system hit upon the glorification of vratas and promised heaven and otherworldly and spiritual rewards to those who performed vratas that were comparatively easy and within reach of all instead of sacrifices and also adopted some of the practices of common folks as vratas, e. g. kukkuṭī-markaṭī-vrata in Bhaviṣyottara 46. 1–43, Sītalā-vrata (Vratārka folio 111 b –113 b, N. S. p. 123). The Brahma-purāṇa[105] says 'the reward that is secured by the worship of the Sun for a single day cannot be secured by hundreds of Vedic sacrifices or by brāhmaṇas to whom the fees stated in the texts are paid'. The Padmapurāṇa[106] extols Jayantīvrata by saying that in the body of the man who performs it all holy places and deities reside. The Garuḍapurāṇa[107] quoted by Hemādri states that the Kāñcanapurīvrata described by it is more purifying than even the Ganges, Kurukṣetra, Kāśī and Puṣkara. The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa (Uttara 7. 1) provides that a man crosses easily the deep ocean of hells by means of the boat of vratas, *upavāsas*

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105. एकाहेनापि यद्भानोः पूजायाः प्राप्यते फलम्। यथोक्तदक्षिणैर्विप्रैर्न तत्क्रतुशतैरपि॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 29. 61.

106. तस्य सर्वाणि तीर्थानि देहे तिष्ठन्ति देवताः। करोति यो नरो भक्त्या जयन्तीं कृष्णवल्लभाम्॥ पद्म III. 4. 27; यदेतत्ते समाख्यातं गम्भीरं नरकार्णवम्। व्रतोपवासनियमप्लवेनोत्तीर्यते सुखम्॥ भविष्य (उत्तर 7. 1).

107. न गङ्गा न कुरुक्षेत्रं न काशी न च पुष्करम्। पावनानि महाभागे यथेदं व्रतमुत्तमम्॥ गरुड॰ q. by हे. (on व्रत) II p. 869.

and *niyamas*. In the Mahābhārata[108] (and the Padmapurāṇa VI. 53. 4–6) it is stated that the Vedic rites and rites prescribed by Manu cannot be performed in Kaliyuga and that therefore it declares to Yudhiṣṭhira something that would be an easy remedy, requiring little wealth and causing little trouble but securing great rewards and that would be the essence of Purāṇas, viz. one should not eat on the Ekādaśī of both fortnights; he who does not eat food on Ekādaśī does not go to hell. About the Ubhaya-dvādaśīvrata described in the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa it is said that Prabhāsa,[109] Gayā, Puṣkara, Vārāṇasī, Prayāga or holy places to the east or west thereof, or to the north are not superior or equal to the Kārtika vrata. The Anuśāsana-parva[110] proclaims that there is no higher *tapas* than upavāsa (fasting) or even equal to it and that poor men can secure the rewards of sacrifices by resorting to the upavāsa described. Hemādri quotes two verses on Arkavrata from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa stating that if a man observes for a year *nakta* on the 6th and 7th tithis in each fortnight he obtains the merit secured by those who perform the Vedic sacrifices called *sattras* or who observe the vow of speaking the truth.

In the Varāhapurāṇa the question[111] asked is 'how can a poor man reach God' and the reply is that he can do so by *vratas*

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108. श्रुतास्ते मानवा धर्मा वैदिकाश्च श्रुता मया। कलौ युगे न शक्यन्ते ते वै कर्तुं नराधिप॥ सुखोपायमल्पधनमल्पक्लेशं महाफलम्। पुराणानां च सर्वेषां सारभूतं वदामि ते॥ एकादश्यां न भुञ्जीत पक्षयोरुभयोरपि। ...एकादश्यां न भुञ्जन्ति न ते यान्ति यमालयम्। पद्म IV. 53. 4 ff; these are quoted from महाभारत by हेमाद्रि (व्रत I. p. 1089).

109. प्रभासं नाधिकं पार्थ न गया न च पुष्करम्। वाराणसी न वा तद्वत् प्रयागमथवापि च। तीर्थानि च ततः पूर्वं पश्चिमानि जनेश्वर। सर्वाण्येव नृपश्रेष्ठ उदीचीदिग्भवानि च। न समानि महाबाहो व्रतान्ते कार्तिकस्य च। हे. (व्रत) I. p. 1021 quoting भविष्योत्तर.

110. नास्ति वेदात्परं शास्त्रं नास्ति मातृसमो गुरुः। न धर्मात्परमो लाभो तपो नानशनात्परम्॥ ब्राह्मणेभ्यः परं नास्ति पावनं दिवि चेह च। उपवासैस्तथा तुल्यं तपः कर्म न विद्यते॥ उपोष्य विधिवद्देवास्त्रिदिवं प्रतिपेदिरे। ऋषयश्च परां सिद्धिमुपवासैरवाप्नुवन्॥ अनुशासन 106. 65–67. The first verse is quoted by हेमाद्रि (व्रत) I. p. 317 from the महाभारत and the 2nd from Padmapurāṇa. The two mss. of कृत्यकल्पतरु (on व्रत) pp. 1–2 appear to have had these verses. दरिद्रैर्मनुजैः पार्थ प्राप्तं यज्ञफलं यथा। उपवासानिमान् कृत्वा गच्छेच्च परमां गतिम्॥ अनुशासन 107. 41–42.

111. अधनेन कथं देवः प्राप्यते तद्वदस्व मे। वित्तेन च विना दानं दातुं विप्र न शक्यते॥ अल्पायासेन (अनायासेन?) लभ्येत येन देवः सनातनः। तन्मे विशेषतो ब्रूहि सर्ववर्णैः कृतं भवेत्। वराहपुराण 39. 17–18; the reply is contained in वराह 39. 23–24 'आराधयामास विभुं देवं नारायणं विभुम्। उपवासैर्व्रतैर्दिव्यैर्नियमैश्च पृथग्विधैः। कालेन महता तस्याः प्रसन्नो गरुडध्वजः॥'; अनग्नयस्तु ये विप्रास्तेषां श्रेयो विधीयते। व्रतोपवासनियमैर्नानादानैस्तथा नृप। देवादयो भवन्त्येव प्रीतास्तेषां न संशयः। विशेषादुपवासेन तिथौ किल महीपते। भविष्य, ब्राह्मपर्व 16. 12–14.

and fasts. The Liṅgapurāṇa (pūrvārdha 83. 4) provides that one who for a year observes *nakta* (eating only once in the evening) and worship of Śiva on the 14th and 8th tithis in each pakṣa (fortnight) secures the reward of all sacrifices and reaches the highest goal. The Bhaviṣya asserts that brāhmaṇas who have no sacred fires (śrauta or smārta) benefit in this way that gods become pleased with them by (the observance of) vratas, fasts, restrictive rules of conduct and various kinds of gifts, particularly by a fast on special tithis.

The keynote struck by the Matsya, Brahma and other Purāṇas is how to secure great rewards with little effort. The Brahma-purāṇa remarks that by merely taking in Kaliyuga the name of Keśava a man obtains the same rewards that one got in *kṛta-yuga* by deep meditation, in Tretā by performing sacrifices and in Dvāpara by worship (of images). The Matsya says: The great sages do not commend sacrifices which involve killing (of animals); those whose wealth is *tapas* became firmly placed in heaven by making gifts, according to their means, of particles of grains (collected from fields &c.), roots, fruits, vegetables and water vessels and that *tapas* is superior for (several) reasons to sacrifices. The Padmapurāṇa reaches the peak of exaggeration when it says 'no one except Hari will be able to recount the merit of him who offers a lamp on the day of Hari in Kārtika with devotion' or 'Viṣṇuvrata is the highest, a hundred solemn Vedic sacrifices are not equal to it'. The Skandapurāṇa[112] (quoted by Hemādri on vrata vol. I. pp. 318–321) contains a long eulogy of vrata, one verse of which may be cited here 'Gods attained their position through restrictive observances (vratas); they shine forth as stars by virtue of the vratas (they performed)'.

There were certain differences between Vedic sacrifices and vratas. The promised reward of most sacrifices was heaven, while Purāṇas promised that most vratas would confer tangible benefits in this very life. Further, vratas could be performed by all, including śūdras, maidens, married women, widows, even prostitutes.

There were vratas for the *brahmacārin* (called Veda-vratas) and for the snātaka. These have been already dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 370–374 and pp. 412–415 respectively. That

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112. देवत्वं देवताः प्राप्ता नियमान्नियमान्विते। तारारूपा ज्वलन्त्येते नियमात्तु तपोधने॥ स्कान्द q. by हे. (on व्रत) I. p. 320, व्र. प्र. folio 9 a.

vratas (in the medieval sense) existed even in the first centuries before and after the Christian era follows from the Āp. Dh. S. and from the dramas of Kālidāsa, from the Mṛcchakaṭika and the Ratnāvali. The Āp. Dh. S. II. 8. 18 prescribes a vrata for one year which is equal in its merit to brahmacārivrata for 48 years and Āp. Dh. S. II. 8. 18–19 to Āp. Dh. S. II. 8. 20 prescribe two modes of a vrata to be begun on Tiṣya (Puṣya) nakṣatra to be observed by a person desirous of prosperity. Vide S. B. E. vol. II. pp. 145–148. Hemādri (vrata II. p. 628 quotes Āp. Dh. S. II. 8. 20. 3–9), explains the sūtras and calls this Āpastambokta Puṣyavrata.

In the Śākuntala (Act. II) the dowager queen (mother of Duṣyanta) sends a message that on the 4th day from the date of the message her fast (vrata) would end.[113] The Vikramorvaśīya (III) appears to refer to a vrata called in later times Rohiṇī-candraśayana-vrata (vide Hemādri vol. II. pp. 599–600). It may be noted that in the above works royal ladies are described as observing vratas. In the Raghuvaṁśa Kālidāsa alludes to an Āsidhāra-vrata (XIII. 67). The Mṛcchakaṭika (Act I) speaks of an upavāsa (a vrata) called Abhirūpapati which appears to have been somewhat like the Bhartṛprāptivrata described by Hemādri (vol. I. pp. 1199–1200). The Ratnāvali (Act I at end) describes Madanamahotsava which reminds us of the same described in Hemādri (vol. II. pp. 21–24). It appears, however, that the number of vratas in the first centuries of the Christian era was not very large. Gradually, however, the number of vratas increased by leaps and bounds and their total number, as seen from the list furnished at the end of this section, would be in the region of one thousand. One of the earliest digests on *tithis* and astrological matters in relation to Dharmaśāstra is the Rājamārtaṇḍa of king Bhoja (1st half of 11th century A. D.). It mentions only a few vratas (about 24). The next important extant work is the Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara (1st half of 12th century A. D.) who mentions in the vratakāṇḍa about 175. A comparatively later work viz. the Vratakālaviveka of Śūlapāṇi (1375–1430 A. D.), which discusses the rules about the proper times for observing vratas, mentions only 11 vratas. Hemādri's is the largest published work on vratas, containing as it does

113. आगामिनि चतुर्थदिवसे प्रवृत्तपारणो मे उपवासो भविष्यति &c. । शाकुन्तल II before the verse कृत्ययोर्भिन्नदेशत्वात्; 'आदिष्टोऽस्मि सनियमया काशिराजपुत्र्या व्रतसम्पादनार्थं मया ... पूर्वं याचितो महाराजः । मणिहर्म्यपृष्ठे सुदर्शनश्चन्द्रस्तत्र संनिहितेन देवेन प्रतिपालयितुमिच्छामि यावद्रोहिणीसंयोग इति । विक्रमोर्वशीय III.

about 2200 printed pages in the B. I. edition. It deals with about 700 vratas. This shows that towards the end of the thirteenth century, when foreign invaders had seized the larger part of India and were ruthlessly razing temples to the ground and converting by force and fraud thousands to their faith, the men of the day, both learned and ignorant, were expending vast intellectual labour and huge sums of money on vratas, pilgrimages and śrāddhas, blissfully ignorant of and blind to the political and religious dangers that engulfed them all.

The vratakośa edited by M. M. Gopinath Kaviraja (in the Sarasvatībhavana series in 1929) lists 1622 vratas, but that list is unduly swollen and inflated for various reasons.[114] For example, the Aṣṭakā-śrāddhas and Anvaṣṭakā-śrāddhas are included and have nine numbers assigned to them. There are twelve numbers assigned to Anantavrata because it is performed for twelve months from Mārgaśīrṣa, but Hemādri (on vrata vol. II. pp. 667–671) treats it as one vrata. Upavāsavrata is given four numbers, the only reference given being Hemādri (vrata) II. p. 509 (only 1½ lines from Matsya). Hemādri (vrata II. pp. 748–52, 757 and so on) describes *Ekabhakta* twelve times in each month from Caitra to Phālguna and then on II. p. 863 refers to him who performs Ekabhaktavrata for one year. The Vratakośa gives 13 separate numbers (2 for Ekabhakta and 11 for Ekabhukta, for this latter form there being no authority of Hemādri who calls all the 13 Ekabhaktavrata). Grahaśānti is given five numbers. It is unnecessary to multiply examples. If properly sifted the number would be much smaller than 1000.

When a person undertakes a vrata he must see to it that he finishes it; for dire consequences are laid down for him who gives it up through heedlessness. Chāgaleya declares[115] 'when

114. It has to be remembered that several different vratas are mentioned under the same name, also that different names are given to the same vrata and that some śāntis, utsavas and snānas also are described in works on vratas.

115. गृहीतव्रताकरणे छागलेयः । यो गृहीत्वा व्रतं मोहान्नाचरेत्काममोहितः । जीवन्भवति चाण्डालो मृतः श्वा चैव जायते ॥ मद. पा. p. 784, व्र. का. वि. p. 9, व्रततत्त्व p. 153 (quoting from प्राय. विवेक), नि. सि. p. 26 (quoting from मदनरत्न and reading पूर्वं व्रतं गृहीत्वा यो न चरेत्). कल्पतरु (on व्रत) p. 4 has पूर्वं व्रतं गृहीत्वा च नाचरेत् &c. क्रोधात्प्रमादाल्लोभाद्वा व्रतभङ्गो भवेद्यदि । दिनत्रयं न भुञ्जीत मुण्डनं शिरसोथ वा ॥ अग्निपु. 175, 40–41 q. by पृथ्वीचंद्रोदय acc. to नि. सि. p. 26. The verse occurs in

(*Continued on next page*)

a person, having first undertaken a vrata, does not carry it out, being led away by some desire, he while alive becomes (i. e. is to be treated as) a cāṇḍāla and after death becomes a dog'. In such a case where through greed, infatuation or inadvertence a man is guilty of breaking his vrata, he has to undergo three days' fast and also shave his head and then begin the vrata (the remainder acc. to Nirṇayasindhu, the whole of it acc. to Śūlapāṇi). The Varāhapurāṇa states 'that man who undertakes a vrata on ekādaśī day but does not, owing to foolishness, finish it, reaches a very evil state'.

Death in the midst of a vrata did not deprive the performer of the merit for which he began it. Aṅgiras[116] provides 'if a person that has begun some religious act for some benefit dies before the rite is finished, he secures the merit that is the reward (of that act) after his death; Manu so declared'.

No one should undertake a vrata in the midst of *āśauca* (impurity on birth and death). But it is provided by the Viṣṇudharmasūtra[117] (22. 49) that āśauca does not affect the king in doing his royal duties, nor those undergoing a vrata in the carrying out of the vrata. Similarly, Laghu-Viṣṇu observes: in the case of vratas, sacrifices, marriages, in śrāddha, homa, worship (of an image), in *japa*, impurity does not affect after they are begun, but it affects before they are begun (i. e. is an obstacle to beginning these after impurity). Yāj. III. 28-29 are similar verses. It is laid down in the śāstras[118] that danger (to the

(*Continued from last page*)

गरुडपुराण I. 128.19. 'प्रायश्चित्ताम्नानादतिक्रान्तव्रतानुष्ठानं नास्तीति गम्यते यत्तु-प्रायश्चित्तं ततः कृत्वा पुनरेव व्रती भवेदिति वचनात्, यच्चातिक्रान्तमपि व्रतं कार्यमेवेति शूलपाणिः, तन्मध्ये लोपे व्रतशेषसत्त्वे ज्ञेयम्।' नि. सि. p. 26; व्रततत्त्व (pp. 152-153) has these verses (with slight variations). व्र. का. वि. p. 9 has these verses from साम्बपुराण, reads लोभान्मोहात्प्रमादाद्वा, उपवासत्रयं कुर्यात् कुर्याद्वा केशमुण्डनम् and explains 'वाशब्दः समुच्चये तेन मुण्डनं च कुर्यात्'. यो गृहीत्वा व्रतं मोहादेकादशीदिने नरः। न समापयते तस्य गतिः पापीयसी भवेत्॥ वराह० q. by ए. त. p. 2.

116. यो यदर्थं चरेद्धर्ममसमाप्य मृतो यदि। स तत्पुण्यफलं प्रेत्य प्राप्नोति मनुरब्रवीत्॥ अङ्गिरस् q. by व्र. का. वि. p. 9, व्रततत्त्व p. 152, ए. त. p. 11.

117. न राज्ञां राजकर्मणि न व्रतिनां व्रते न सत्रिणां सत्रे। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22. 49; सूतके मृतके कार्यं प्रारब्धं पूजनोज्झितम्। अग्निपु. 175. 42; व्रतयज्ञविवाहेषु श्राद्धे होमार्चने जपे। प्रारब्धे सूतकं न स्यादनारब्धे तु सूतकम्॥ लघुविष्णु q. by मद. पा. p. 423, व्रततत्त्व p. 152.

118. सर्वभूतभयं व्याधिः प्रमादो गुरुशासनम्। अव्रतघ्नानि पठ्यन्ते सकृदेतानि शास्त्रतः॥ q. by कल्पतरु on व्रत p. 5, हे. (on व्रत) vol. I. p. 334, व्र. का. वि. p. 9, ए. त. pp. 8-9 (from देवल).

observer of vrata) from all beings, disease, forgetfulness, the command of one's *guru* do not break a vrata provided these occur only once (during the period of the particular vrata). It is provided by the Matsya-purāṇa, Agni and Satyavrata[119] that in the case of women that have commenced a vrata of long duration there is no stoppage of the vrata if they have monthly illness in the midst of the vrata or they become pregnant or are delivered of a child and that they should get the rites performed by another as long as they are impure, but physical acts (such as fasting) may be done by them. There are certain other matters that do not affect the observance of a vrata, viz. (drinking)[120] water, (partaking of) roots, fruits and milk and sacrificial offering, the desire (or command) of a brāhmaṇa, the order of one's guru and medicine. Hemādri remarks that the drinking of milk and the rest that follow do not affect vrata if the performer is a woman, a child or one who is in extreme pain. A person observing vrata[121] should eschew all this, viz. anointing the body or the head with oil, chewing tāmbūla, applying sandalwood paste and whatever else would increase physical strength or passion.

What actions do not detract from the observance of upavāsa will be discussed later.

A few words about homa may be said here. Women could not offer homa with mantras (Manu IX. 18). Homa could be performed for them through a priest. When no particular substance is specified the *āhuti* (offering) into fire is to be of

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119. यत्तु सत्यव्रतः—प्रारब्धदीर्घतपसां नारीणां यद्रजो भवेत्। न तत्रापि व्रतस्य स्यादुपरोधः कथंचनेति—तत्प्रतिनिधिना कारयेदित्येतत्परम्। तदुक्तं मदनरत्ने मात्स्ये—अन्तरा तु रजोयोगे पूजामन्येन कारयेदिति। नि. सि. p. 29; गर्भिणी सूतिका नक्तं कुमारी च रजस्वला। यदाऽशुद्धा तदान्येन कारयेत् क्रियते सदा॥ मत्स्यपुराण q. by व्र. का. वि. p. 10, व्रततत्त्व p. 152; अग्नि. (175. 39-40) has the same verse but reads कारयेत क्रियाः सदा. The printed मत्स्य 62. 34 reads गर्भिणी... कुमारी वाथ रोगिणी। यदाशुद्धा... कारयेत्प्रयता स्वयम्॥. The गरुडपुराण I. 128.18 is: प्रारब्धतपसां स्त्रीणां रजो...कायिकं स्वयमेव वा॥. व्र. का. वि. explains अशुद्धा पूजादिकं कारयेत्। कायिकमुपवासादिकं सदा शुद्धया अशुद्धया वा स्वयं क्रियते।.

120. अष्टौ तान्यव्रतघ्नानि आपो मूलं फलं पयः। हविर्ब्राह्मणकाम्या च गुरोर्वचनमौषधम्॥ उद्योगपर्व 39. 71-72, अग्निपु. 175. 43, स्कन्द (acc. to हे. व्रत I. p. 333) and विष्णुरहस्य (acc. to हे. व्रतखण्ड II. p. 771). 'पयःपानादीनामव्रतघ्नत्वं स्त्रीबालात्यन्तपीडितव्रतविषयम्' हे. (व्रत) I, p. 333; व्र. का. वि. p. 10 ascribes it to बौधायन.

121. गात्राभ्यङ्गं शिरोभ्यङ्गं ताम्बूलं चानुलेपनम्। व्रतस्थो वर्जयेत्सर्वं यच्चान्यद्बलरागकृत्॥ q. by हे. (on व्रत) vol. I. p. 1009, व्र. का. वि. p. 10 (from the मिताक्षरा).

clarified butter (Karmapradīpa of Gobhila I. 113).[122] The number of āhutis may be 108, 28 or 8 or as many as are expressly specified. The Samayapradīpa (folio 4 b) has a long discussion about the fire in which *homa* is to be made. One who is an āhitāgni (who has established the sacred Vedic fires) should employ the fire established by him when he was married, as laid down by Yāj. (I. 97). According to some, the rule of Yāj. applies only to gṛhya rites that are laid down in the Gṛhyasūtras and that even an āhitāgni should employ ordinary fire for his vratas. One who has no *smārta* fire should also perform vrata homas in ordinary fire by himself or through a priest.

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122. होमो ग्रहादिपूजायां शतमष्टाधिकं भवेत् । अष्टाविंशतिरष्टौ वा यथाप्राप्ति विधीयते ॥ देवीपुराण q. by वर्धमान (acc. to नि. सि. p. 25).

CHAPTER III

Persons entitled to engage in Vratas, objects desired by means of Vratas, classifications of Vratas and literature on Vratas, times for Vratas

One important matter is that of vratādhikāriṇaḥ (persons entitled to engage in a vrata). Persons of all castes including śūdras are entitled to perform vratas. Devala states:[123] 'there is no doubt that (men of) all *varṇas* are released from sins by observing vratas, fasts and restrictive rules of behaviour and by mortification (lit. heating) of the body.' Women are also entitled to perform vratas. In fact the purāṇas and digests prescribe several vratas for women alone. Manu, Viṣṇu Dh. S. and several purāṇas provide that a woman cannot perform a separate sacrifice, a separate vrata or a separate fast by herself, she is honoured in heaven by waiting upon her husband.[124] Viṣṇu Dh. S. (25. 16)[125] further provides that a woman who observes a vrata in which a fast enters while her husband is alive deprives her husband of his life and herself goes to hell. Whatever act of benefit in the other world a woman does without the consent of her father, husband or son yields no fruit to her.[126] The medieval digests interpreted these verses as meaning that before performing a vrata, a maiden has to secure the consent of her father, a married woman of her husband and a widow of her son and that with the consent of the persons specified a woman

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123. व्रतोपवासनियमैः शरीरोत्तापनैस्तथा । वर्णाः सर्वेपि मुच्यन्ते पातकेभ्यो न संशयः ॥ देवल q. by हे. (व्रत) I. p. 326, व्रतार्क folio 4a.

124. नास्ति स्त्रीणां पृथग्यज्ञो न व्रतं नाप्युपोषणम् । पतिं शुश्रूषते येन तेन स्वर्गे महीयते ॥ मनु. V. 155, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 25. 15. The मार्कण्डेयपुराण reads the 2nd half as 'भर्तृशुश्रूषयैवैता लोकानिष्टान् व्रजन्ति हि' and आदित्यपुराण as 'पतिं शुश्रूषते या तु तेन स्वर्गे महीयते ॥'. Vide हे. (on व्रत) I p. 326 and व्र. का. वि. p. 11.

125. पत्यौ जीवति या योषिदुपवासं व्रतं चरेत् । आयुः सा हरते भर्तुर्नरकं चैव गच्छति ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 25. 16. व्रतार्क folio 5 quotes it and explains 'इति विष्णुवचनं भर्त्रननुज्ञापरम् ।'. अङ्गिरस् (v.40) is almost the same.

126. नारी खल्वननुज्ञाता पित्रा भर्त्रा सुतेन वा । विफलं तद्भवेत्तस्या यत्करोत्यौर्ध्वदेहिकम् ॥ आदित्यपुराण q. by हे. (on व्रत) I. p. 327, नि. सि. p. 22, व्य. म. p. 113 (ascribes to कात्यायन); हेमाद्रि explains 'पित्रेति कन्यात्वे भर्त्रेति सौभाग्यदशायां सुतेति वैधव्यदशायाम्'.

could perform an independent vrata for herself. The digests are supported in this view by the sūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita[127] that it is the rule for women that they should practise vratas, fasts, restrictive observances and worship (or sacrifices) with the consent of their husbands. The Liṅgapurāṇa[128] provides: with the bidding (i. e. permission) of their husbands, women should perform *japa*, gifts, *tapas* and all else. Opinion was divided whether a woman could get *homa* performed through another. About the incapacity of women for mantras,[129] vide Manu II. 66, IX. 18 and Yāj. I. 13. The Vyavahāramayūkha following Parāśara held that a śūdra could get the homa in adoption[130] performed through a brāhmaṇa and that the same rules apply to women and śūdras and therefore a woman could get a homa required in vrata performed through a brāhmaṇa. Rudradhara (author of Śuddhiviveka) and Vācaspati held that a woman and a śūdra have no right to perform homa with Vedic mantras. The Nirṇayasindhu[131] supports the Vyavahāramayūkha on the question of homa in a vrata to be observed by a woman. But it appears that Nīlakaṇṭha, author of the Vyavahāramayūkha, was of a different opinion when composing the Prāyaścittamayūkha.[132] Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 78 note 186 on this point. It is provided in the Matsya that a woman who is pregnant or is recently delivered of a child should only observe *nakta* instead of a fast and a

127. व्रते स्थिता पत्यौ जीवत्यपि भर्तुरनुज्ञया व्रतादिपरा—कामं भर्तुरनुज्ञया व्रतोपवासनियमेज्यादीनामारम्भः स्त्रीधर्मः- इति शङ्खलिखितस्मरणात्। स्मृतिच. II. p. 291, समयप्रदीप folio 5 b and व. क्रि. कौ. p. 67 (read नियमेज्यादीनामभ्यासः).

128 नियोगादेव तत्कार्यं भर्तॄणां द्विजसत्तमाः। जपं दानं तपः सर्वमस्वतन्त्रा यतः स्त्रियः। लिङ्ग (पूर्वार्ध) 84. 16.

129. नास्ति स्त्रीणां क्रिया मन्त्रैरिति धर्मे व्यवस्थितिः। मनु IX. 18.

130. समन्त्रकहोमस्तु तेन (शूद्रेण) विप्रद्वारा कार्यः। उपवासो व्रतं होमस्तीर्थस्नानजपादिकम्। विप्रैः सम्पादितं यस्य सम्पन्नं तस्य तत्फलम्—इति पराशरोक्तेः। स्मार्तहरिनाथाप्येवमेव।. उपवासो व्रतं° is पराशर VI. 63-64. The नि. सि. (pp. 29-30) holds that in पराशर there is no question of employing a brāhmaṇa as an agent or substitute, but all that Parāśara means is that a religious action when carried out by brāhmaṇas yields the fullest rewards.

131. यद्यपि मेधातिथिना भार्यात्ववदृष्टरूपं दत्तकत्वं होमसाध्यमुक्तं स्त्रियाश्च होमासम्भवस्तथापि व्रतादिवद्विप्रद्वारा होमादि कारयेदिति हरिनाथादयः सम्बन्धतत्त्वेऽप्येवम्। नि. सि. III. पूर्वार्ध p. 249.

132. स्त्रीणां शालाग्निहोम एव न भवति तस्यैव प्रकृतत्वात्। लौकिकेऽग्नौ भवत्येव। स च विप्रद्वारेति केचित्। उपवासो व्रत ... तत्फलमिति पराशरोक्तेः। तन्न ... एतेन पद्महार्णवमदनरत्नयोः स्त्रीशूद्रादेर्विप्रद्वारा समन्त्रकौ जपहोमौ भवत इति परास्तम्॥ प्राय. म. p. 13 (ed. by Gharpure).

maiden or other female who is impure (in monthly illness or otherwise) should get her vrata performed through another, but, whether pure or impure, she may perform bodily acts (such as a fast) by herself (vide Tithitattva pp. 121–122).

If a person is unable owing to disease or accident or the like to perform a vrata personally he could get it performed through a *pratinidhi* (a representative). Certain rules were laid down about this. It is stated in the Satyāṣāḍhaśrautasūtra[133] 'there is no pratinidhi (representative or substitute) in the case of the owner (the *Yajamāna*), the wife, the son, the (proper) place and time (for an act), the fire, the deity (to be invoked such as Agni, Indra), a rite and a text (to be prescribed for being employed in a rite)'. All religious acts are arranged in three classes, viz. *nitya* (obligatory), naimittika (to be performed when a certain *nimitta* or occasion arises or event happens) and kāmya (performed out of a desire to secure some object). Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV pp. 60–61 note 150 for further details. The Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana[134] has the following rules about *pratinidhi* in these three kinds of acts. 'No pratinidhi (substitute) is allowed in the case of kāmya rites, a substitute is allowable in the case of nitya and naimittika rites; some recognized a substitute even in a kāmya rite after it is once begun; there is no substitute for a mantra or the deity or the fire (Gārhapatya, Āhavanīya or Dakṣiṇāgni), a *kriyā* (such as *prayāja*) or *īśvara* (the svāmin or *yajamāna*); some say that a substitute is not allowed in the case of (a prescribed) place or time. An *agnihotrin* can substitute, (if his wife is dead &c.) an image of her made of gold or kuśas but a woman cannot proceed with a rite putting forward some

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133. न स्वामित्वस्य भार्यायाः पुत्रस्य देशस्य कालस्याग्नेर्देवतायाः कर्मणः शब्दस्य च प्रतिनिधिर्विद्यते। सत्याषाढश्रौत III. 1. Compare आप. श्रौ. 24. 4. 1 and जै. VI. 3. 18–21 for similar rules, particularly VI. 3. 18 and 21 'न देवताग्निशब्दक्रियमन्यार्थसंयोगात्। तथा स्वामिनः फलसमवायात् फलस्य कर्मयोगित्वात्'.

134. काम्ये प्रतिनिधिर्नास्ति नित्ये नैमित्तिके हि सः। काम्येऽप्युपक्रमादूर्ध्वमन्ये प्रतिनिधिं विदुः॥ न स्यात् प्रतिनिधिर्मन्त्रे देवेऽग्नौ कर्मणीश्वरे। न च प्रतिनिधिर्देशकालयोरित्यथापरे॥ ...सौवर्णी कुशपत्नी वा पत्न्यभावेऽग्निहोत्रिणः।... पत्युः प्रतिनिधिं कृत्वा पत्नी नैवं समाचरेत्॥ त्रिकाण्डमण्डन II. 2–3 and 8. गोभिलस्मृति III. 10 states that when Rāma performed solemn sacrifices he had by his side the golden image of Sītā. Vide Aparārka pp. 114–115 and Sm. C. I. p. 167 for discussion whether an image of gold or kuśas can be a proper substitute for absent or dead wife. नि. सि. p. 30 and व्रतराज p. 13 quote the above verses of त्रिकाण्डमण्डन somewhat differently. The first verse is quoted by तिथितत्त्व p. 71 (reads last pāda as 'केचिदिच्छन्ति सत्तमाः)'.

substitute or effigy in place of the husband.' If a person is unable, after undertaking a vrata, to carry it out, he should get it done by a representative. Such representatives are: son, wife, brother, husband, a sister, a pupil, purohita (for dakṣiṇā) and a friend. Paiṭhīnasi[135] states that a wife might carry on the vrata undertaken by the husband and the husband may do so for the wife; if both are unable a stranger may carry it out; in this way there is no break of vrata. Kātyāyana[136] says:—one who observes a fast for the sake of his father or mother, brother, husband and particularly for his guru secures one hundred-fold merit; if a person observes a fast on Ekādaśī in place of his maternal grand-father and the like they and their representative each obtain the full fruit thereof. These rules about pratinidhi apply to men of all *varṇas*.[137]

It is somewhat remarkable that the Vratārka quotes from Hemādri[138] a passage of the Devīpurāṇa to the effect that even mlecchas were authorized to perform vratas, if they had faith in them. In the Śāntiparva (65. 13–25) Indra is made to say to king Māndhātā that even Yavanas, Kirātas, Gāndhāras, Cīnas, Śabaras, Barbaras, Śakas, Āndhras and several others should serve their parents, they could perform rites laid down in the Veda, they could make offerings to their (deceased parents), may dig wells (for the use of all people) and may make gifts to brāhmaṇas. The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa[139] states that the Haihayas, Tālajaṅghas, Turks, Yavanas and Śakas desiring to reach the status of brāhmaṇas observed fasts on the first tithi (*pratipad*).

135. प्रतिनिधयश्च निर्णयामृते पैठीनसिः। भार्या पत्युर्व्रतं कुर्याद्भार्यायाश्च पतिर्व्रतम्। असामर्थ्ये परस्ताभ्यां व्रतभङ्गो न जायते॥ नि. सि. p. 29; का. नि. p. 262 quotes पैठीनसि.

136. कात्यायनः। पितृ-मातृ-भ्रातृ-पतिगुर्वर्थे च विशेषतः। उपवासं प्रकुर्वाणः पुण्यं शतगुणं लभेत्। मातामहादीनुद्दिश्य एकादश्यामुपोषणे। कृते ते तु फलं विप्राः समग्रं समवाप्नुयुः॥ का. नि. pp. 262–263, नि. सि. I. p. 29; असामर्थ्ये शरीरस्य व्रते च समुपस्थिते। कारयेद्धर्मपत्नीं वा पुत्रं वा विनयान्वितम्। भगिनीं भ्रातरं शिष्यं ब्राह्मणं दक्षिणादिभिः। पितृमातृपतिभ्रातृस्वसृगुर्वादिभूभुजाम्। अदृष्टार्थमुपोष्यापि स्वयं च फलभाग्भवेत्॥ वराहपुराण q. by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 58, हेमाद्रि (on व्रत) vol. I. p. 1004.

137. इदं च सर्ववर्णसाधारणमविशेषात्। नि. सि. p 29.

138. क्वचिन्म्लेच्छानामप्यधिकारो हेमाद्रौ देवीपुराणे। स्नातैः प्रमुदितैर्हृष्टैर्ब्राह्मणैः क्षत्रियैर्नृपैः। वैश्यैः शूद्रैर्भक्तियुक्तैर्म्लेच्छैरन्यैश्च मानवैः। स्त्रीभिश्च कुरुशार्दूल तद्विधानमिदं शृणु॥ व्रतार्क folio 4 a and b.

139. हैहयैस्तालजङ्घैश्च तुरुष्कैर्यवनैः शकैः। उपोषिता ह्यत्रैव ब्राह्मणत्वमभीप्सुभिः। इत्येषा परमा पुण्या शिवा पापहरा तथा। भविष्य, ब्राह्मपर्व 16. 61–62.

Another remarkable matter is that the Mahābhārata provides that brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas should not engage in a continuous fast for more than three days and that vaiśyas and śūdras can observe a continuous fast for two days only and a fast for three days is not laid down for these two classes by those who know *dharma*. Devala also has a similar provision.[140]

The bulk of the vratas practised in medieval and modern times are kāmya i. e. performed for the purpose of securing some object in this world or sometimes the next world or both. Most of the vratas are really secular though under the garb of religion and, though certain disciplines (such as fast, worship and celibacy, truthfulness) have to be observed, breathe a frankly materialistic attitude; they are meant to appeal to the ordinary human cravings that rule the whole world. The desired objects are legion and it is impossible to set them out in detail. Some idea about them may however be conveyed. The Agnipurāṇa mentions *dharma* (puṇya), progeny, wealth beauty or good fortune, virtues, fame, learning, long life, wealth, purity, enjoyment of pleasures, heaven and mokṣa (release from the round of births and deaths) as the objects to be sought by the observance of vratas. The Kalpataru[141] on vrata says that vrata is the highest means of securing the several *lokas* (such as Brahmaloka, Śivaloka, Vaikuṇṭha) and the enjoyment of pleasures and triumph; that in Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali ages respectively kings Sujaya, Rāma, Dhanañjaya and Vikrama became lords of the whole world by means of vratas, that Śaṅkara declared to Hari in various treatises that *vrata* is the one (supreme) observance for man, that though many observances are laid down in each *yuga* they do not come up even to

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140. ब्रह्मक्षत्रे त्रिरात्रं तु विहितं कुरुनन्दन। चतुर्थभक्तक्षपणं वैश्ये शूद्रे विधीयते। त्रिरात्रं न तु धर्मज्ञैर्विहितं धर्मदर्शिभिः॥ अनुशासनपर्व 106. 11 and 13; वैश्याः शूद्राश्च ये मोहादुपवासं प्रकुर्वते। त्रिरात्रं पञ्चरात्रं वा तयोः पुष्टिर्न विद्यते॥ देवल q. by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 67 which remarks: पुष्टिः फलम्। एतेन काम्यस्यैव निषेधः।. This verse of देवल is almost the same as अनुशासन 106. 12 which reads '० प्रचक्रिरे। त्रिरात्रं वा द्विरात्रं वा तयोर्व्युष्टि० '. ब्र. प्र. folio 9 b reads व्युष्टिः (which means फलं).

141. कीर्तिसन्ततिविद्यादि-सौभाग्यारोग्यवृद्धये। नैर्मल्यभुक्तिमुक्त्यर्थं कुर्वे व्रतपते व्रतम्॥ धर्मं देहि धनं देहि सौभाग्यं गुणसन्ततिम्। कीर्तिं विद्यां देहि चायुः स्वर्गं मोक्षं च देहि मे॥ अग्नि० 175 44 and 57. व्रतमेव परं लोकसाधनं भोगसाधनम्। व्रतेनैव जयो यस्मात्तस्मात्सर्वो व्रतं चरेत्॥ ... एको धर्मो मनुष्याणां व्रतमेव महात्मना। प्रोक्तो नानाविधैस्तन्त्रैः शङ्करेण हरिं प्रति॥ सन्ति यद्यपि भूयांसो लोके धर्मा युगे युगे। तथापि व्रतधर्मस्य कलां नार्हन्ति षोडशीम्॥ देवता दितिपुत्राश्च सिद्धा गन्धर्वकिंनराः। ऋषयश्च परां सिद्धिमुपवासैरवाप्नुवन्॥ कल्पतरु (on व्रत) pp. 1-2, हे. on व्रत I. p. 318 (for last verse).

the 16th part of the observance of vratas, that the virtuous daughter of Vikrama named Vasundharā, residing in the country of Daśārṇa, attained *mokṣa* through vratas and that gods, sages, *siddhas* and others attained highest perfection by means of upavāsas (fasts).

Classification of vratas: As the vratas to be treated of in this section are almost all self-imposed or voluntary, they may be divided into three classes. The Padmapurāṇa[142] observes: 'ahiṁsā (abstaining from causing injury), truthfulness, not depriving a person of his property by wrongfully taking it, *brahmacarya* (continence), freedom from crookedness or hypocrisy—these are mental vratas that lead to the satisfaction (or favour) of Hari; eating once only in the day, *nakta* (eating only once after sunset), fast (for the whole day), not begging (i. e. subsisting on food that one gets without asking for it)-this is physical vrata for human beings; study of the Veda, recounting-(the name of) Viṣṇu, speaking the truth, freedom from backbiting these are vratas of speech.

Another classification can be based on the time for which a vrata may last, i. e. only for a day or a fortnight (pakṣa), a month, season, *ayana* (time of the stay of the Sun in the northern or southern hemisphere), year, or years. A vrata may be for one year or for more years than one or for a person's lifetime. In speaking of vratas performed in a certain month, the question of an intercalary month will have to be considered and will be dealt with in the next section on Kāla etc. Similarly, the matter of tithis occupies a very large place in works on dharmaśāstra and will have to be discussed. The subject of Kāla and muhūrta will be dealt with in the next section. Though tithis properly pertain to that section, they will be dealt with here, since tithis are the most important topic in relation to the various observances that are to be performed throughout a year as their basis. The largest number of vratas are tithi-vratas. It is therefore that Hemādri begins his treatment of individual vratas with tithi-vratas (from part I, p. 335 to part II p. 519) and passes on

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142 अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं ब्रह्मचर्यमकल्कता। एतानि मानसान्याहुर्व्रतानि हरितुष्टये॥ एकभुक्तं तथा नक्तमुपवासमयाचितम्। इत्येवं कायिकं पुंसां व्रतमुक्तं नरेश्वर॥ वेदस्याध्ययनं विष्णोः कीर्तनं सत्यभाषणम्। अपैशुन्यमिदं राजन् वाचिकं व्रतमुच्यते॥ पद्म IV. 84. 42-44, वराह 37. 4-6 (with slight variation); हेमाद्रि (on व्रत) I. p. 321 quotes the first two verses from वराहपुराण and reads अकल्मषं for अकल्कता and उपवासादिकं च यत् in the 2nd verse. अकल्कता is explained as अकुटिलता by the मिता. on या. III. 312 and as दम्भरहितता by अपरार्क.

in order to vāravratas (part II pp. 520–592), nakṣatravratas (part II pp. 593–706), Yogavratas (part II pp. 707–717), Karaṇavratas (part II pp. 718–726), Saṅkrāntivratas (part II pp. 727–743), māsavratas (part II pp. 800–857), ṛtuvratas (part II pp. 858–861), saṁvatsaravratas (part II pp. 862–867), prakīrṇaka (miscellaneous) vratas (part II pp. 867–1002). The Kṛtyakalpataru (on vrata) on the other hand begins with vāravratas (pp. 8–34), then deals with tithivratas (pp. 35–398), nakṣatravratas (pp. 399–417), māsavratas (pp. 418–430), saṅkrāntivratas (pp. 431–434), saṁvatsaravratas (pp. 434–451) and prakīrṇavratas (pp. 452–459). Most of the works on vrata[142a] after dealing with some general matters begin their treatment of vratas with tithivratas. The Samayapradīpa has a different mode of treatment, viz. that it begins with Gaṇeśavratas (i. e. vratas in which Gaṇeśa is the deity), then with vratas in which the Sun is the deity, then Śivavratas, Viṣṇuvratas and so on. Some vratas are performed not only on a certain tithi, but also require the existence of a certain month or weekday or nakṣatra or all of these. Another classification may be based on the persons competent to perform vratas; most vratas are meant for all men and women; some like Haritālikā and Vaṭasāvitrī are meant for women alone, some are to be performed by men alone; while there are others to be performed only by kings or kṣatriyas or by vaiśyas.

There is an immense literature on vratas. There is no topic of Dharmaśāstra except probably that of tīrthayātrā and of śrāddha on which the Purāṇas wax so eloquent as on vrata. Some of the Purāṇas contain thousands of verses on vrata. For example, the Brāhmaparva of the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (in chapters 16–216) contains over 7500 verses and the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the same Purāṇa over five thousand verses on vratas; the Matsyapurāṇa (chapters 54–92 and 95–101) has about 1230 verses on vrata (most of which occur in the Padmapurāṇa V chap. 20 ff), the Varāhapurāṇa (chap. 39–65) spends about 700 verses and the Viṣṇudharmottara about 1600 verses on vratas. On a modest calculation the Purāṇas contain about twenty-five thousand verses at least on vratas. It is difficult to draw a strict line between vratas and utsavas; what are called utsavas have also an element of religious rites and conversely many vratas have some element of being a festival. In this work I have included

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142 a. अथ संवत्सरकृत्ये निरूपणीये प्रायशः कर्माधिकरणतया विहितानां तिथीनां प्राधान्यात्। प्रथमं तावत्तिथिस्वरूपनिरूपणपूर्वकं कर्मोपयुक्तभागा निरूप्यन्ते। व. क्रि. कौ. p. 2.

several observances which some people may regard as purely utsavas and not vratas at all.

The topic of vratas is rather inextricably mixed up with discussions on Kāla and tithi. The nibandhas (commentaries and digests) on vratas are numerous. In this section I shall mention works that deal with vratas alone or with vratas in relation to *tithis*, but not works on kāla in general and muhūrta. This is rather an arbitrary arrangement and it is possible that there would be some repetition and overlapping. A verse in the Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana names seven predecessors that had expounded kāla in relation to religious rites, viz. Jitendriya, Śaṅkhadhara, Andhūka, Sambhrama, Harivaṁśa and Yogloka. Some of these writers must have been earlier than the first half of the 11th century A. D. as in the Malamāsatattva Raghunandana states that Andhūkabhaṭṭa mentions in his work how in *śake* 955 (1033–34 A. D.) there was on Amāvāsyā Tulāsaṅkrānti and the Vṛścikasaṅkrānti on the pratipad and again on Amāvāsyā Dhanus-saṅkrānti. This establishes that Andhūkabhaṭṭa wrote his works about 1035 A. D. But the works of all those seven writers on kāla have not yet been discovered. Two other works ascribed to king Bhoja of Dhārā[143] dealt among other matters with kāla and vratas (in the 2nd quarter of the 11th century). One of them, the Rājamārtaṇḍa, is available in Mss and, besides expounding the astrological significance of tithis, week days, nakṣatras, Yogas, deals (in verses 1136–1292 and 1327–1405) with several vratas and the proper times for them viz. Ekādaśī, Saptamyarkavrata, Agastyārghyadāna, Śravaṇadvādaśī, Rohiṇyaṣṭamī, Haritālī-caturthī, Durgotsava, Kaujāgara, Pretacaturdaśī, Sukharātri, Bhrātṛ-dvitīyā, Dīpadāna, Kārtikasnāna, Māghasnāna, Maghāsaptamī, Bhiṣmāṣṭamī, Puṣyadvādaśī, Aśokāṣṭamī, Caitrāvalī, Sāvitrīvrata, Pāṣāṇacaturthī, Araṇyaṣaṣṭhī, Daśaharā, Saṅkrānti. The Rājamārtaṇḍa has not so far as I know yet been published, though hundreds of verses therefrom are quoted in the medieval digests. It is at present the earliest extant work of a nibandha form treating of vratas. Another work dealing with vratas and ascribed to Bhoja is the one cited as Bhūpāla-samuccaya or Bhūpāla-kṛtyasamuccaya, or Kṛtyasamuccaya on *vratas*, *dānas* &c. This

143. Vide my paper on 'King Bhoja and his works on Dharmaśāstra and Astrology' in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, vol. XXIII pp. 94–127, where I deal with the Rājamārtaṇḍa on pp. 108–118 and with Bhūpālakṛtyasamuccaya on pp. 124–126.

last work has not yet been unearthed and is found quoted in such medieval digests as the Kṛtyaratnākara.

Apart from the Vedic Literature, sūtras, epics, Purāṇas and Rājamārtaṇḍa, I mainly rely in this section on vratas on the following works (those that I consulted in ms. form being expressly indicated and the works being arranged in chronological order as far as possible): Kṛtyakalpataru (portion on vratas) of Lakṣmīdhara; Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana; Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmaṇi (on vrata); Samayapradīpa of Śrīdatta (ms.); Kṛtyaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara; Kālādarśa of Ādityasūri (ms.), Kālanirṇaya or Kāla-mādhava and Kālanirṇayakārikā; Tithiviveka, Vratakālaviveka and Durgotsavaviveka of Śūlapāṇi; Nirṇayāmṛta of Allāḍanātha; Varṣakriyākaumudī of Govindānanda; Kālasāra of Gadādhara; the Tithitattva, Ekādaśītattva, Janmāṣṭamītattva, Durgārcanapaddhati, Kṛtyatattva and Vratatattva of Raghunandana, Vrataprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya) of Mitramiśra (ms. from Anūpa Sanskrit Library) and Samayaprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya); Samayamayūkha or Kālamayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha; Vratārka of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa (ms.); Tithyarka of Divākara; Daśanirṇaya[144] of Hārīta Veṅkaṭanātha; Vratodyāpana-kaumudī of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa Ghāre; Vratarāja of Viśvanātha; Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi of Viṣṇubhaṭṭa; Ahalyā-kāmadhenu (ms. in Scindia Oriental Institute, 1767–1771 A. D.); Dharmasindhu of Kāśīnātha. Of these the most important for vratas are Kṛtyakalpataru (from which even Hemādri, and Kṛtyaratnākara borrow many passages), Hemādri on vrata, Kālanirṇaya of Mādhava, Kṛtyaratnākara, Varṣakriyākaumudī, the works of Raghunandana and the Nirṇaya-sindhu. Works like Vratārka and Vratarāja, though exhaustive, borrow *verbatim* long passages from Hemādri and others. The treatment of vratas in several of the above-mentioned works is often uneven; for example, the Varṣakriyākaumudī disposes of the observances of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd tithis in two pages (28–30), while it devotes twenty-two pages to Ekādaśī (pp. 42–64).

It must be emphasized here that this section is concerned with the vratas described or mentioned in *works* on *Dharmaśāstra*. Even so the number of vratas is extremely large. No attempt is made here to include all *vratas* observed by women or by

144. This was edited in 1902 *saṁvat* in Grantha characters at Mysore. The ten निर्णय्s are on श्रीकृष्णजयन्ती, कृत्तिकादीपोत्सव, उपाकर्म, प्रवर, समानप्रवर, विवाह्यकन्या, स्थालीपाक, भक्ष्याभक्ष्य, उत्सव, एकादशी.

primitive tribes or by the illiterate people all over India or contained in works written in the several regional languages such as Bengali, Hindi or Marathi. The inclusion of such observances would entail an enormous amount of labour, would expand the work to huge proportions and would be beyond the proper scope of the History of Dharmaśāstra. Further, to tabulate all the vratas and festivals of all common people and to study the folk life of villagers, forest-dwellers and mountain inhabitants in the States of the continent of India would be beyond the capacity of a single worker and would require the co-operative effort of a large team of workers spread over years. When done, that work would be a monumental one on the social anthropology of India. In this connection I may mention Prof. B. K. Sarkar's work 'Folk element in Hindu culture' and the paper on 'a study of vrata rites in Bengal' contributed by Mr. S. R. Das[145] to 'Man in India' (1952) vol. 32, pp. 207-245. Some writers have already published works dealing with the observances of common people such as Mrs. Stevenson's 'Rites of the twice-born', Underhill's 'Hindu religious year', B. A. Gupte's 'Hindu holidays and ceremonials', R. C. Mukerj's 'Ancient Indian fasts and feasts', Mr. Rigvedi's Marathi work on 'History of Aryan festivals' (ed. of 1924). In these books (except in the last and rarely in Underhill's) texts from Dharmaśāstra are generally conspicuous by their absence.

Times for beginning Vratas: Apart from the vratas that have to be performed on certain fixed tithis or times, elaborate provisions are made that vratas in general and several other religious rites are to be begun only at certain auspicious times or in certain astrological conditions. A few of these are set out

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145. It should not, however, be supposed that I agree with all the propositions in the above two; for example, the meaning which Mr. S. R. Das assigns to Lakṣmī in Ṛg. X. 71. 2 (viz. beauty) is not acceptable to me. I hold that 'Lakṣmī' there also is the opposite of *alakṣmī* as the word 'bhadrā' applied to Lakṣmī suggests and as in Ṛg. X. 155. 1 the idea of alakṣmī is clearly conveyed. I do not subscribe to the view that the idea of a malignant spirit was unknown to the poets of Ṛgveda times and that they had to go to the aboriginal people for that idea. Note the verses अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते भद्रैषां लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधि वाचि ॥ ऋ. X. 71. 2; अरायि काणे विकटे गिरिं गच्छ सदान्वे । शिरिम्बिठस्य सत्वभिस्तेभिष्ट्वा चातयामसि ॥ ऋ. X. 155 1. The निरुक्त (VI. 30) explains this verse at length and states that Bhāradvāja destroyed Alakṣmī and the Bṛhad-devatā (VIII. 60) says that Ṛg. X. 71 removes Alakṣmī.

here by way of sample. Gārgya[146] says 'when Jupiter and Venus have set (i. e. are not observable owing to their being near the Sun in the sky) or when they are in the stage of being called *bāla* and *vṛddha* and in an intercalary month one should not begin a vrata nor perform its *udyāpana* (the rite of closing a vrata).' The childhood of Jupiter and Venus is a certain period after they set and senility (*vṛddhatva* or *vārdhaka*) is a certain period preceding their setting. There is no unanimity on the length of these periods and the periods differ in different countries and also depend on whether there is a season of distress or difficulty, but Varāhamihira[147] states the longest provided should be accepted. The Rājamārtaṇḍa has several verses on this, one of which may be set out here: Venus[148] is *bāla* for ten days when it rises in the west, but is *bāla* for three days after rising in the east; Venus is vṛddha for one pakṣa (15 days) when it rises in the east, but is *vṛddha* for five days before it sets in the west. Gārgya observes:[149] Venus and Jupiter are (held to be bāla) in the Vindhyas whether in the east or west for ten days, but for seven days in the country of Avanti (of which Ujjayinī was capital); in the country of Vaṅga (Bengal) and among Hūṇas (they are bāla) respectively for six and five days. It is further provided in the[150] Devīpurāṇa that one should not undertake any religious act when Jupiter or Venus is in the sign of the Lion. Similarly, Lalla[151] remarks that all (religious) actions are

146. अस्तगे च गुरौ शुक्रे बाले वृद्धे मलिम्लुचे। उद्यापनमुपारम्भं व्रतानां नैव कारयेत्॥ गार्ग्य q. by हेमाद्रि (व्रत) vol. I. p. 245, नि. सि. p. 23 (मदनरत्ने गार्ग्यः), व्रतराज p. 2; compare 'रविणा संयुते जीवे सिंहसंस्थे गुरौ तथा। अस्तंगते तथा शुक्रे बाले वृद्धे तथैव च॥ व्रतं यानं विवाहं च विद्यां पार्थिवदर्शनम्।... सर्वथा नैव कुर्याच्च करणे मरणं भवेत्॥ q. by कालविवेक p. 135; रविणासत्तिरन्येषां ग्रहाणामस्त उच्यते। ततोर्वाग्वार्धकं विद्यादूर्ध्वं बाल्यं प्रकीर्तितम्॥ ब्रह्मसिद्धान्त q. by हे. (on व्रत) vol. I. p. 246, नि. सि. p. 16.

147. बहवो दर्शिताः काला ये बाल्ये वार्धकेऽपि च। ग्राह्यास्तत्राधिकाः शेषा देशभेदादुतापदि॥ वराहमिहिर q. by हे. (व्रत vol. I. p. 246), नि. सि. p. 16.

148. बालो दशाहान्युदितः परेण पूर्वेण बालो दिवसत्रयं च। वृद्धस्तु पूर्वेण स पक्षमेकं पश्चादृतः पञ्च दिनानि शुक्रः॥ राजमार्तण्ड (verse 1071, folio 67 b). This is ascribed to वसिष्ठ in भुजबल pp. 272-273 verse 1230.

149. शुक्रो गुरुः प्राक् च पराक् च बालो विन्ध्ये दशावन्तिषु सप्तरात्रम्। वङ्गेषु हूणेषु च षट् च पञ्च शेषे च देशे त्रिदिनं वदन्ति॥ गार्ग्य q. by हे. (व्रत I. p. 246), नि. सि. p. 16 (as occurring in मदनरत्न).

150. सिंहस्थं च गुरुं शुक्रं सर्वारम्भेषु वर्जयेत्। देवीपुराण quoted by व्रतार्क folio 2 b.

151. गुरुक्षेत्रगतो भानुर्भानुक्षेत्रगतो गुरुः। गुर्वादित्यः स विज्ञेयः सर्वकर्मसु गर्हितः॥ लल्ल q. by स. म.

condemned when done in what is called Gurvāditya (that is when the sun is in the house of Jupiter viz. sign of Pisces and when Jupiter is in the house of the Sun, viz. Lion). The Vratarāja remarks that one is to avoid Jupiter in the Lion sign for religious acts only to the north of the Narmadā and elsewhere only in Siṁhāṁśa (i. e. the first quarter of the nakṣatra Pūrvā-phalgunī). The Ratnamālā[152] provides that Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are auspicious (confer success) in all (religious) acts; but on Sunday, Tuesday and Saturday only such actions succeed as are expressly prescribed for performance on those days. Bhujabala remarks that Tuesday is unfavourable for all auspicious acts but that it is commended for agriculture, study (of the Sāmaveda) and for battles.[153]

The philosophical discussions on Time and on its division into year, *ayana* (the Sun's apparent motion in the two regions of the celestial sphere), *ṛtus* (seasons), māsa (month), pakṣa (half month,) week, days &c. will be taken up in the next section. But the exact determination of the question as to the day on which a *tithivrata* is to be performed when the *tithi* spreads over two days occupies a very large space in works on dharmaśāstra.

The word *tithi* by itself does not occur in the Ṛgveda and the other Vedic Saṁhitās. But the idea must have been there even in the Ṛgveda. Amāvāsyā is explained in later works as being of two kinds, viz. Sinīvālī (day on which amāvāsyā is mixed with the 14th tithi) and Kuhū (when amāvāsyā is mixed with the first tithi of the next fortnight). Similarly, Paurṇamāsī is of two kinds, Anumati (mixed with the 14th tithi) and Rākā (mixed with the *Pratipad* of the next pakṣa). In the Ṛgveda Sinīvālī is[154] raised to the position of a divinity, is described as the sister of the gods, offerings are made to her and she is implored to bestow progeny on the worshippers. The Bṛ. Up. VI. 4. 21 implores Sinīvālī and the Aśvins to implant an

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152. सोमसौम्यगुरुशुक्रवासराः सर्वकर्मसु भवन्ति सिद्धिदाः। भानुभौमशनिवासरेषु च प्रोक्तमेव खलु कर्म सिध्यति॥ रत्नमाला III. 15 quoted by नि. सि. p. 23, व्रतराज p. 4; भुजबल (p. 10) quotes from भीमपराक्रम a similar verse, भृगुजीवेन्दुजेन्दूनां वाराः सर्वत्र सिद्धिदाः। सूर्यसौरारवारास्तु शस्ताः स्वोक्तेषु कर्मसु॥

153. कुजदिनमनिष्टं स्यात् सर्वमङ्गलकर्मणि। कृष्यध्ययनयुद्धेषु प्रशस्तो भूमिनन्दनः॥ भुजबल p. 209.

154. सिनीवालि पृथुष्टुके या देवानामसि स्वसा। जुषस्व हव्यमाहुतं प्रजां देवि दिदिड्ढि नः॥ या सुबाहुः स्वङ्गुरिः सुषूमा बहुसूवरी। तस्यै विश्पत्न्यै हविः सिनीवाल्यै जुहोतन॥ ऋ. II. 32. 6-7 : अथर्व VII. 46. 1-2. The first is also वाज. सं. 34. 10.

embryo in the wife. Rākā also[155] is similarly treated in the Ṛgveda (II. 32. 4-5 = Atharva VII. 48. 1-2). Ṛg. X. 59. 6 and X. 167. 3 treat Anumati as a deity, prayers are offered to her to enable the worshippers to see the Sun going up and to bestow happiness and she is spoken of in the same breath with Soma, Varuṇa and Bṛhaspati. The Vāj. S. prays[156] 'May Anumati approve to-day of our sacrifice'. It should be noted that the Nirukta (XI. 29) holds[157] a discussion on Anumati and Rākā, viz. the Nairuktas (etymologists) say that Anumati and Rākā are goddesses (wives of gods), while the Yājñikas hold that they are two kinds of Paurṇamāsī; it is known (in Śruti) that the first Paurṇamāsī is Anumati and the later is Rākā. Similarly, the Nirukta holds a discussion on Sinīvālī and Kuhū (XI. 31). The Atharvaveda (VI. 11. 3) mentions Prajāpati, Anumati and Sinīvālī together. The word Kuhū occurs in the Atharvaveda and is applied to a deity that is invoked to come to the sacrifice and to bestow on the worshipper wealth and a heroic son. In the Tai. S. I. 8. 8. 1 and Śat. Br. IX. 5. 1. 38 mention is made of these four, viz. of Anumati, Rākā, Sinīvālī and Kuhū, as recipients of *caru* (oblation of boiled rice). How these names were coined in the distant past is an insoluble riddle. Anumati can be derived from root *man*, but why the tithi of the Full Moon mixed with the 14th tithi was so called is more than anyone can say. Kuhū may be plausibly derived from *kuha* 'where' (as in Ṛg. I. 24. 10, X. 40. 2) as the day when the moon is invisible and when primitive people asked in wonder the question 'where does the moon go'. But Rākā and Sinīvālī defy attempts at any plausible etymology. Eminent philologists, instead of

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155. राकामहं सुहवां सुष्टुती हुवे शृणोतु नः सुभगा बोधतु त्मना। सीव्यत्वपः सूच्याच्छिद्यमानया ददातु वीरं शतदायमुक्थ्यम्॥ ऋ. II. 32. 4 q. by निरुक्त XI. 31; कुहूं देवीं सुकृतं विद्मनापसमस्मिन्यज्ञे सुहवा जोहवीमि। सा नो रयिं विश्ववारं नि यच्छाद् ददातु वीरं शतदायमुक्थ्यम्॥ अथर्व VII. 47. 1. The first half occurs in मैत्रायणीसंहिता IV. 12. 6 (reads कुहूमहं and सुहवां) and the निरुक्त XI. 33 quotes the whole of the मैत्रायणी verse.

156. अनु नोऽद्यानुमतिर्यज्ञं देवेषु मन्यताम्। वाज. सं. 34. 9; अन्विदनुमते त्वं मन्यासै शं च नस्कृधि। क्रत्वे दक्षाय नो हिनु प्र ण आयूंषि तारिषः। काठकसंहिता 13. 16, quoted and explained by the निरुक्त (XI. 30).

157 अनुमतिः राका इति देवपत्न्यौ इति नैरुक्ताः पौर्णमास्यौ इति याज्ञिकाः। या पूर्वा पौर्णमासी सा अनुमतिः, या उत्तरा सा राका इति विज्ञायते। अनुमतिः अनुमननात्। निरुक्त XI. 29. It may be noted that the words या पूर्वा ... राका occur in the मैत्रायणीसंहिता IV. 3. 5 and in the ऐ. ब्रा. 32. 9 which latter is quoted in note 165.

admitting ignorance, are not wanting, who following the traditions of the very ancient etymologist Yāska (who says in Nirukta II. 1 '*na tveva na nirbrūyāt*), suggest that the word Sinīvālī is made up by combining the Babylonian-Akkadian word 'sin' (meaning moon) with Dravidian 'vel' (white light)[158]. 'Amāvāsyā' (New Moon) is addressed as a deity by itself in Atharva[159] VII. 79 (84) 1–4, the first of which calls upon Amāvāsyā to come to the sacrifice and bestow wealth and a valiant son and the second of which hints at the derivation of the word from 'amā' (meaning 'together' or 'home') and '*vas*' (to dwell). The Śat. Br.[160] remarks "this king Soma i. e. the moon is the food of the gods; when he (the moon) is not seen on this night either in the east or in the west, he comes to this world (i. e. the earth) and enters the waters and the herbs here; he is the wealth of the gods and their food; when he dwells on this night together (with waters and herbs) it (that night) therefore is called 'Amāvāsyā'. The Ait. Br. (40. 5) states that on amāvāsyā the moon enters the sun. The Āp. Dh. S. also echoes this idea that on the Amāvāsyā night the Sun and the Moon dwell together (are near each other). So amāvāsyā is so called either because the moon was supposed to dwell together with waters and herbs on the earth that night or because the Moon dwells in the Sun on that night. Darśa has the same sense as amāvāsyā and means 'the day on which the moon is seen by the sun alone (and by no one else)'. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1009 and note 2274. Names are sometimes given by contraries e. g. a fool is called a wise man or a brave person may be called 'timid'. Amāvāsyā may have been called darśa because the moon is not

158. Vide 'Bhāratakaumudī' (in honour of Prof. R. K. Mukerji) part I. p. 208 for this etymology put forward by Dr. S. K. Chatterji. Such etymologies are based on certain assumptions for which there is absolutely no evidence whatever, such as the word 'Vel' being used by the Dravidians thousands of years ago, that the vedic Indians were aware of both words 'Sin' (moon) and 'Vel' used by different peoples and could weld them together thousands of years ago and had no word of their own to denote what is meant by Sinivālī.

159. अहमेवास्म्यमावास्या३ मा मा वसन्ति सुकृतो मयीमे। मयि देवा उभये साध्याश्चेन्द्रज्येष्ठाः समगच्छन्त सर्वे ॥ अथर्व VII. 79 (84). 2.

160. एष वै सोमो राजा देवानामन्नं यच्चन्द्रमाः स यत्रैतां रात्रिं न पुरस्ताद् न पश्चाद् ददृशे तदिमं लोकमागच्छति स इहैवापश्चौषधीश्च प्रविशति स वै देवानां वस्वन्नं ह्येषां तद्यदेष एतां रात्रिमिहामा वसति तस्मादमावास्या नाम। शतपथ I. 6. 4. 5. Vide also VI, 2, 2. 16. आश्रित्यताममावास्यां पश्यतः सुसमागतौ। अन्योन्यं सूर्यचन्द्रौ तौ यदा तद्दर्श उच्यते ॥ मत्स्य quoted by K. N. p. 311.

seen that day (but would be visible the next day). Another tithi that is famous in the Vedic Literature is Aṣṭakā[161] (8th tithi after the full moon in any month, but particularly in Māgha) on which offerings were made to the pitṛs (departed ancestors). Even in very remote times people could have easily marked the four main phases of the moon, viz. Full Moon, half moon (8th day thereafter when half of the moon's orb shines), Moon's total absence and 8th day thereafter; and after noting these phases it must not have been very difficult to make close calculations about the periods intervening between the Full moon and the half moon, the New moon and half moon. As a matter of fact the Tai. Br.[162] expressly says that the moon is worn away on the 15th and becomes full on the 15th i. e. before the Tai. Br. it was well-known that there were 30 lunar days (tithis) in a lunar month. It is stated in the Śat. Br.[163] 'the joints of Prajāpati, while he was engaged in creating beings, became loose (or collapsed); the saṁvatsara is indeed Prajāpati and the joints of it (of saṁvatsara) are the two junctions of day and night, Paurṇamāsī, Amāvāsyā and the beginnings (first days) of the seasons'. The words Paurṇamāsī and Amāvāsyā occur very frequently in the Atharvaveda, the Tai. S. and other Vedic texts, though the two words do not occur in the Ṛgveda. The Atharvaveda says[164] that Paurṇamāsī was the first among days and nights and was worthy of sacrifice. The Ait. Br.[165] has an interesting passage: "they

161. For Aṣṭakā, vide H. of Dh., vol. IV pp. 353-357.

162. चन्द्रमा वै पञ्चदशः। एष हि पञ्चदश्यामपक्षीयते। पञ्चदश्यामापूर्यते। तै. ब्रा. I. 5. 10. 5.

163. प्रजापतेर्ह वै प्रजाः ससृजानस्य पर्वाणि विसस्रंसुः। स वै संवत्सर एव प्रजापतिस्तस्यैतानि पर्वाण्यहोरात्रयोः सन्धी पौर्णमासी चामावास्या चतुर्मुखानि। शतपथ I. 6. 3. 35.

164. पौर्णमासी प्रथमा यज्ञियासीदह्नां रात्रीणामतिशर्वरेषु। अथर्व VII. 80. 4.

165. तदाहुर्यद्दर्शपूर्णमासयोरुपवसति न ह वा अव्रतस्य देवा हविरश्नन्ति तस्मादुपवसत्युत मे देवा अश्नीयुरिति। पूर्वां पौर्णमासीमुपवसेदिति पैङ्ग्यमुत्तरामिति कौषीतकं या पूर्वा पौर्णमासी सानुमतिर्योत्तरा सा राका। या पूर्वामावास्या सा सिनीवाली योत्तरा सा कुहूः। यां पर्यस्तमियादभ्युदियादिति सा तिथिः। ऐ. ब्रा. 32. 9. It may be remembered that Sāyaṇa notes that this section (khaṇḍa) and the next are not recited by some and are not therefore explained by them. The last sentence probably means that that is the tithi (on which a specific religious act is to be performed) with reference to which the sun sets or with reference to which it rises i. e. these words embody in a somewhat obscure form the same idea to which Devala gives expression in the following two verses: यां तिथिं समनुप्राप्य अस्तं याति दिवाकरः। सा तिथिः सकला ज्ञेया स्नानदानजपादिषु॥ यां तिथिं समनुप्राप्य उदयं याति भास्करः। सा तिथिः सकला ज्ञेया दानाध्ययनकर्मसु॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 214.

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(wise men) say that when a sacrificer dwells near his sacrificial fire, that is due to his thought that the gods will partake of his offerings, since they do not eat the offering of a sacrificer who does not abide by certain observances'. The opinion of the sage Paiṅgi is that the sacrificer should stay near his sacrificial fires (or fast) on the previous Paurṇamāsī (i. e. Paurṇamāsī mixed with 14th), while the opinion of Kauṣītaki is that he should do so on the later one (i. e. the Paurṇamāsī mixed with *pratipad*). The previous Paurṇamāsī is called Anumati, the later one is called Rākā, while the previous Amāvāsyā is called Sinīvālī and the later one is called Kuhū. That is the tithi (on which a religious rite should be performed), it is the one, being associated with which the sun sets and the sun rises." This passage shows that differences of opinion had arisen long before the time of the Ait. Br. as to on what day a particular rite associated with a certain fixed tithi was to be performed when the tithi was spread over two days. There are references in Tai. S. and the Brāhmaṇa literature which show that in those ancient days the duration of tithis and therefore the actual position of the moon could not sometimes be very accurately determined beforehand. A man about to perform an iṣṭi on New Moon (*darśeṣṭi*) does certain acts that are done on the day previous to amāvāsyā such as using the sour curds from last night's milking for coagulating the sacrificial food (i. e. milk), separating the calves from the cows in the afternoon with a *palāśa* twig; and taking some husked rice, he thinks, owing to cloudy weather or through miscalculation, that the moon would not be seen in the sky the next morning, does not actually set apart a few handfuls of husked rice (meant as *nirvāpa* for the gods) or sets them apart, then the next day the moon is seen in the sky (i. e. the next day is really 14th tithi instead of amāvāsyā). It is then prescribed that he has to perform an expiatory rite called Abhyuditeṣṭi. Vide Tai. S. II. 5. 5. 1–2 and Śat. Br. XI. 1. 4. 1–2 quoted[166] below.

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In व. क्रि. कौ. p. 15 and ब्र. का. वि. p. 233 the second half of both verses is the same viz. सा तिथिः ... स्नानदानव्रतादिषु. The स्मृतिच. II. p. 351 reverses the order and reads यां तिथिं ... उदयं याति भास्करः। सा ... स्नानदानजपादिषु and यां तिथिं ... अस्तं याति दिवाकरः। ... ज्ञेया दानाध्ययनकर्मसु॥. As observed by व. क्रि. कौ. Devala means that in स्नान, दान and व्रत the tithi at sunrise is to be preferred.

166. यस्य हविर्निरुप्तं पुरस्ताच्चन्द्रमा अभ्युदेति त्रेधा तण्डुलान् विभजेत् &c.। तै. सं. II. 5. 5. 1–2 ; तद्वैके दृष्ट्वोपवसन्ति श्वो नोदितेत्यभ्रस्य वा हेतोरनिर्ज्ञाय वाथोतोपवसन्त्यथै-तमभ्युदेति स यद्यगृहीतं हविरभ्युदियात् प्रज्ञातमेव तदेषैव व्रतचर्या यत् पूर्वेद्युर्दुग्धं दधि

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The word tithi does not occur in the Saṁhitās, but it occurs in the Ait. Br. cited above and in the gṛhya and dharma sūtras.

The Gobhilagṛhyasūtra[167] when prescribing a day for the setting up of sacred fires mentions the coincidence of an auspicious *tithi* and *nakṣatra* and in another place refers to the worship of the lord of the tithi and of the nakṣatra and of the tithi itself. The Kauṣītaki-gṛhya (I. 25) speaks of offerings to the tithi on which a child was born and prescribes that the dedication of ponds, wells and tanks was to be made in the bright half of a month and on an auspicious tithi (V. 2).

The Nirukta[168] while deriving the word *atithi* applied to Agni in Ṛg. V. 4. 5 gives two explanations, one of which is 'one who approaches the houses of others on special *tithis*'. Pāṇini furnishes no sūtra relating to the word *tithi*, but it is possible to argue that the affix *titha* which he mentions in explaining words like 'bahutitha'[169] was a relic of the word tithi. Patañjali expressly mentioned Paurṇamāsī tithi. Vide 'India Antiqua', the volume of studies presented to Dr. J. Ph. Vogel pp. 109–112 for Prof. Edgerton's paper on affix 'titha'. From the above discussion it would be clear that the ideas and divergences of views about the proper tithis for certain religious acts existed in the Vedic times (at least before Ait. Br.) three thousand years

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हविरातञ्चनं तत्कुर्वन्ति प्रतिमुञ्चन्ति वत्सांस्तान् पुनरपाकुर्वन्ति तानपराह्णे पर्णशाखयापाकरोति। तद्यथैवादः प्रज्ञातमामावास्यं हविरेवमेव तद्यद्यु व्रतचर्यां वा नोदाशंसेत गृहीतं वा हविरभ्युदियादितरथो तर्हि कुर्यात् &c.। शतपथ ब्रा. XI. 1. 4. 1–2. These passages form the subject of पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र VI. 5. 12–15. Vide my notes to व्यवहारमयूख pp. 277–279. The निर्वाप in the New Moon and Full Moon rites is of four *muṣṭis* (handfuls) of rice or yavas.

167. तथा तिथिनक्षत्रपर्वसमवाये। गोभिलगृह्य I. 1. 13; अथ जुहोति प्रजापतये तिथये नक्षत्राय देवताया इति। दैवतमिष्ट्वा तिथिं नक्षत्रं च यजेत। गोभिलगृह्य II. 8. 12 and 20.

168. अतिथिः अभ्यतितः गृहान् भवति। अभ्येति तिथिषु परकुलानि इति वा॥ निरुक्त IV. 5. Here अ in अतिथि is supposed to stand for the root अत् (or इ?). Compare मनु. III. 112 about अतिथि. The word तिथि is derived from 'tan' to spread by many medieval writers. तन्यन्ते कलया यस्मात्तस्मात्तास्तिथयः स्मृताः। सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि q. by माधव p. 98, पु. चि. p. 32. The कालमाधव says: तनोति विस्तारयति वर्धमानां क्षीयमाणां वा चन्द्रकलामेकां यः कालविशेषः सा तिथिः, यद्वा यथोक्तकलया तन्यते इति तिथिः। (p. 98).

169. बहुपूगगणसङ्घस्य तिथुक्। पा. V. 2. 52.

ago and that the word *tithi* itself must be held to have been in use about 800 B. C., if not earlier still.[170]

Tithi is defined as the time or period required by the moon to gain twelve degrees on the sun. As the Sūryasiddhānta states 'tithi is the lunar day in which the moon leaving the sun (at the last moment of Amāvāsyā), traverses twelve degrees (*bhāgas*) towards the east every day.'[171] The moon's motion is irregular and therefore the moon traverses twelve degrees sometimes in 60 ghaṭikās, sometimes in more (up to about 65) and sometimes in less ghaṭikās up to about 54. The result is that one unit day may be co-terminous with one tithi, but often a unit day has two tithis i. e. in the morning it may be the 6th tithi, but in the afternoon, evening and night it may be the 7th. It is possible that in a single civil day (from sunrise to sunrise) there may be three tithis e. g. on Monday morning there may be only two ghaṭikās left of the 6th tithi, then the 7th tithi may be only 56 ghaṭikās in duration and then the 8th may follow for the last two ghaṭikās of that unit day. Conversely, a single tithi may touch three days. For example, the last two ghaṭikās of Monday may be the first two ghaṭikās of the 6th tithi, then the 60 ghaṭikās of Tuesday may be occupied by the 6th tithi and two more ghaṭikās (the last) of the 6th tithi may spread on to Wednesday morning. A unit day which spreads over three tithis is declared by the Rājamārtaṇḍa to be very holy[172] (or auspicious); while on the other hand a tithi touching three days is said to be inauspicious for marriage, for marching on an invasion, for an auspicious religious act or an act meant to

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170. पूर्णमासादण्। वार्तिक 2 (on पा. IV. 2, 35) on which महाभाष्य says 'पूर्णमासादण् वक्तव्यः। पूर्णमासो वर्ततेऽस्मिन् काले पौर्णमासी तिथिः।'. It appears from this that both कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि are speaking of पूर्णिमान्त months.

171. अर्काद्विनिःसृतः प्राचीं यद्यात्यहरहः शशी। भागैर्द्वादशभिस्तत् स्यात्तिथिश्चान्द्रमसं दिनम्॥ सूर्यसिद्धान्त q. by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 2, तिथितत्त्व p. 2; while कालमाधव (p. 100) quotes सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि as अर्का...शशी। तच्चान्द्रमानमंशैस्तु ज्ञेया द्वादशभिस्तिथिः॥ त्रिंशांशश्च तथा राशेर्भाग इत्यभिधीयते। आदित्याद्विप्रकृष्टस्तु भागद्वादशकं यदा। चन्द्रमाः स्यात्तदा राम तिथिरित्यभिधीयते॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 72. 11–12 q. by कालमाधव p. 101, तिथितत्त्व p. 2, पु. चि. p. 32.

172. वसिष्ठः। एकस्मिन्सावने त्वह्नि तिथीनां त्रितयं यदा। तदा दिनक्षयः प्रोक्तस्तत्र साहस्रिकं फलम्॥ ति. त. p. 119; त्र्यहस्पृग्दिवसश्चैव महापुण्यतमः स्मृतः। तिथित्रयस्य संस्पर्शात् त्र्यहस्पृक् स उदाहृतः॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 81 a, verse 1431 q. by शुद्धिकौ. p. 214; अरुणोदय आद्या स्याद् द्वादशी सकलं दिनम्। अन्ते त्रयोदशी प्रातस्त्रिस्पृशा सा हरेः प्रिया॥ हे. on काल p. 261 (quoting ब्रह्मवैवर्त).

advance prosperity.[173] If a tithi begins immediately before sunrise or its beginning coincides with sunrise and ends after the following sunrise the name of the tithi (as pratipad, dvitīyā or so on as the case may be) is coupled with both divasas (civil days) involved, so that two tithis of the same denomination appear one after another. This is called vṛddhi of the particular tithi. If a tithi begins sometime after sunrise on one morning and ends before sunrise on the following day it cannot be coupled with any day and is therefore deleted or omitted in the pañcāṅga (almanac) and there is *tithi-kṣaya*. As a tithi is normally shorter than the civil day kṣaya occurs more frequently than *vṛddhi*.

From the words of the Gobhilagṛhya quoted above it follows that long before the days of that work the several tithis were deemed to have certain deities as their lords (or presiding deities). Among the earliest extant enumerations about *tithipatis* (lords of tithis) is that in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira (chap. 98. 1–2) which sets them[174] out as follows (the tithis and their lords being mentioned in order):–1st Brahmā, 2nd Brahmā, 3rd Hari, 4th Yama, 5th the moon, 6th Kārtikeya, 7th Indra, 8th Vasus, 9th Nāgas, 10th Dharma, 11th Śiva, 12th Savitṛ, 13th Madana, 14th Kali, 15th Viśvedevas and of Amāvāsyā the pitṛs. He further says that one should do on those tithis the acts that are appropriate to the lords of those tithis. It appears that other writers differed somewhat from Varāhamihira, e. g. the Ratnamālā sets[175] out the lords of tithis according to the Purāṇas as follows:–1st Agni, 2nd Brahmā, 3rd Girijā, 4th Gaṇeśa, 5th Nāga, 6th Viśākha (Skanda), 7th the Sun, 8th Śiva, 9th Durgā, 10th Yama, 11th Viṣṇu, 12th Hari, 13th Madana, 14th Śiva, 15th the Moon. The Skandapurāṇa (I. 1. 33. 78–82)

173. विवाहयात्राशुभपुष्टिकर्म सर्वं न कार्यं त्रिदिनस्पृशीह। शुद्धिदीपिका q. by शुद्धिकौ. p. 212.

174. कमलजविधातृहरियमशशाङ्कषड्वक्त्रशक्रवसुभुजगाः। धर्मेशसवितृमन्मथकलयो विश्वे च तिथिपतयः॥ पितरोऽमावास्यायां संज्ञासदृशाश्च तैः क्रियाः कार्याः॥ बृहत्सं. 98. 1–2 (99. 1–2 in Kern's ed.).

175. वह्निर्विरिञ्चिर्गिरिजा गणेशः फणी विशाखो दिनकृन्महेशः। दुर्गान्तको विष्णुहरिस्मराश्च शर्वः शशी चेति पुराणदृष्टाः॥ रत्नमाला II. q. by निर्णयामृत p. 30; हे. (on व्रत) II. p. 235 quotes from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 83. 22–24 'अग्नि-ब्रह्माम्बिकेभास्य-नाग-स्कन्द-विरोचनाः। शिव-दुर्गा-यमेन्द्राश्च विष्णु-काम-शिवेन्दुकाः॥ पितरश्चेत्यमी प्रोक्ता मुनिभिस्तिथिदेवताः।; हे. (on काल) p. 646 quotes from पितामह the lords of तिथिs somewhat differently as धनद, श्री, भवानी, गणेश, नाग, गुह, भास्कर, दुर्गा, मातरः, वासुकि, ऋषि, चक्रपाणि, कामदेव, शिव, धातृ respectively of 1st to 15th, अमावास्या being पित्र्य.

states what tithis are specially dear to what gods such as 8th and 14th to Śiva, 4th to Gaṇeśa, 9th to Caṇḍikā. The Garuḍa (I. 137. 16–19) and Nārada-purāṇa (I. 56. 133–135) specify what deities are to be worshipped on the tithis from the first to 15th.

Varāhamihira divides tithis into five[176] groups, viz. Nandā, Bhadrā, Vijayā or Jayā, Riktā and Pūrṇā and states that on those tithis the acts that are appropriate or suited to the lords of the tithis should be done and become crowned with success and the fruits of actions done on these five classes of tithis yield results similar to their names. The same applies to *karaṇas* and *muhūrtas*. The result is Nandā tithis are 1st, 6th, 11th; Bhadrās are 2nd, 7th, 12th; Vijayās 3rd, 8th, 13th; Riktās are 4th, 9th and 14th; Pūrṇās are 5th, 10th, 15th. This is also brought out in the Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa, which also prescribes what should be done or not done on the tithis from the 1st to the 15th and provides that certain combinations of tithis and certain weekdays yield success and all rewards, viz. Nandā tithi on Friday, Bhadrā on Wednesday, Jayā on Tuesday, Riktā on Saturday, and Pūrṇā on Thursday.

The Tithitattva (pp. 27–28) quotes a long passage specifying the loss a man suffers by eating fifteen specified things from the 1st to the 15th tithi respectively. The Nirṇayasindhu (p. 32) quotes verses from Muhūrta-dīpikā and Bhūpāla[177] (i. e. Bhoja) which specify the edibles and certain actions that are respectively to be given up on the tithis from the first to the 15th and on amāvāsyā. On the other hand, Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (Brāhmaparva 16. 18–20) quoted by the Kalpataru on vrata p. 35 specially recommends the eating of certain things on each of the 15 tithis from *pratipad* (the first) viz. milk, flowers (on 2nd), anything

176. नन्दा भद्रा विजया रिक्ता पूर्णा च तास्त्रिविधाः। यत्कार्यं नक्षत्रे तद्दैवत्यासु तिथिषु तत्कार्यम् ॥ करणमुहूर्तेष्वपि तत् सिद्धिकरं देवतासदृशम् ॥ बृहत्संहिता 98. 2–3; नन्दा भद्रा विजयाश्चाथ रिक्ताः। पूर्णाश्चैताः फलमेवं विदध्युः ॥ बृहद्योगयात्रा (of वराह०) III. 1. रत्नमाला (II. 7–9) enumerates the actions that should be done on the five kinds of तिथिs (नन्दा, भद्रा &c.). शत्रुवधाग्निविषप्रयोगाद्यनिष्टकर्म चतुर्थ्यादिरिक्तातिथिषु कार्यम्। निर्णयामृत p 44; नन्दां भृगौ सोमसुते च भद्रां भौमे जयां सूर्यसुते च रिक्ताम्। पूर्णां गुरौ पञ्चसु पञ्च एते जयावहाः सर्वफलप्रदाश्च ॥ आथर्वणज्योतिष (तिथिप्रकरण, 12th verse).

177. भूपालः। कूष्माण्डं बृहती क्षारं मूलकं पनसं फलम्। धात्री शिरः कपालान्त्रं नख-चर्मतिलानि च। क्षुरकर्माङ्गनासेवां प्रतिपत्प्रभृति त्यजेत् ॥ नि. सि. p. 32. धात्री means आमलक, शिरः = नारिकेलं, कपालं = अलाबु, अन्त्रं = पटोलकम्, नखं शिम्बी, चर्म = मसूरिका. The तिथितत्त्व (pp. 27–28) details the results of what follows from eating the forbidden fruits &c. on the respective tithis specified.

except salt (on 3rd), sesame, milk, fruits, vegetables (on 7th and 8th), flour, food uncooked by fire, ghee (on 11th), pāyasa (rice boiled in milk), cow's urine, *yavas*, water in which *kuśas* have been dipped. The Vāmanapurāṇa[178] (14. 48–51) prescribes what actions should not be done on the groups of tithis called Nandā &c., on certain week days and on certain nakṣatras.

The method of reckoning time by tithis is a very early one and is indigenous to India. Though Western scholars have from time to time put forward various theories about the so-called Greek influence on Indian astronomy and astrology and about the Indian Nakṣatra system being borrowed from the Chinese (Biot) or from the Babylonians (Weber) or from the Arabs (Sedillot), no western scholar has had the courage, so far as I know, of alleging that the system of tithis is not indigenous but is borrowed from some non-Indian source. The theories about Greek influence will be briefly dealt with in the next section.

Vedic (and Smṛti) injunctions are of two kinds, (1) those that urge a person to do a thing such as 'one should fast on Ekādaśī in both pakṣas', (2) those that dissuade a person from doing something as in 'one should not eat food on Ekādaśī'. Tithis are thus an *aṅga* of the two kinds of injunctions. According to Garga,[179] tithi, nakṣatra and vāra (week day) are a means of *puṇya* (merit) and *pāpa* (demerit, sin) by being subsidiary to the principal rite prescribed, but they are not able to produce the above result independently.[180]

Tithi is of two kinds,[181] *pūrṇā* (complete or full) and *sakhaṇḍā*. When a single tithi covers the whole day from sun-

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178. नन्दासु नाभ्यङ्गमुपाहरेच्च क्षौरं च रिक्तासु जयासु मांसम्। पूर्णासु योषित्परिवर्जनीया भद्रासु सर्वाणि समारभेत॥ नाभ्यङ्गमर्के न च भूमिपुत्रे क्षौरं च शुक्रेऽथ कुजे च मांसम्। बुधे च योषां न समाचरेत शेषेषु सर्वाणि सदैव कुर्यात्॥ चित्रासु हस्ते श्रवणे च तैलं क्षौरं विशाखाप्रतिपत्सु वर्ज्यम्। मूले मृगे भाद्रपदासु मांसं योषिन्मघाकृत्तिकसोत्तरासु। वामनपुराण 14.48–51, q. by भुजबल p. 343 and कृ. र. p. 548.

179. तिथिनक्षत्रवारादि साधनं पुण्यपापयोः। प्रधानगुणभावेन स्वातन्त्र्येण न ते क्षमाः॥ गर्ग q. by तिथितत्त्व p. 4 (which explains प्रधानस्य विधेयकर्मणो गुणभावेनाङ्गत्वेन), पु. चि. p. 33.

180. तदुक्तं निर्णयामृते। काले हि कर्म चोद्यते न कर्मणि काल इति। अतश्च विध्यङ्गत्वेन तिथयो निर्णेतव्याः। तनोति विस्तारयति चन्द्रकलां यः कालविशेषः सा तिथिः। यथोक्तकलया तन्यत इति वा तिथिः। तिथ्यर्क p. 3, which quotes from का. नि. the passage तनोति ... तिथिः cited in this note; the words काले हि ... कालः occur in मद. पा. p. 184 also.

181. Some works do not make this elaborate division of tithi found in Dharmasindhu. The Nirṇayasindhu speaks of only śuddhā and viddhā; so the Tithyarka also speaks of only two सम्पूर्णा and खण्डा. संपूर्णोक्ता स्कन्दपुराणे—प्रतिपत्प्रभृतयः सर्वा उदयादोदयाद्रवेः। सम्पूर्णा इति विख्याता हरिवासरवर्जिताः॥ इति स्मृतिच. II. p. 357, तिथ्यर्क p. 3.

rise for sixty nāḍikās (or ghaṭikās) the tithi is pūrṇā, i. e. the tithi begins exactly at sunrise and ends with the next sunrise and is exactly 60 ghaṭikās in extent. All others than this are sakhaṇḍa; these latter again are of two kinds śuddhā and viddhā (pierced by or intermixed with another).[182] A śuddhā tithi is one that extends from sunrise to sunset or (in the case of some tithis like śivarātri) up till midnight; other sakhaṇḍa tithis are called *viddhā*. *Vedha* is of two kinds, morning vedha and evening vedha; the former generally occurs when after six ghaṭikās from sunrise a tithi touches or gets merged with the next tithi, while the latter (evening vedha) generally occurs when a tithi touches another tithi six ghaṭikās before sunset. In the case of certain tithis the period prescribed may exceed six ghaṭikās.

When the tithi in question is 60 ghaṭikās in extent and begins with sunrise (i. e. when it is pūrṇā) there is no difficulty at all. When a tithi is śuddhā in the sense given by the Dharmasindhu then also there is generally no difficulty. Some general rules have to be kept in mind. Śruti says[183] 'forenoon is for the gods, midday for men and afternoon for pitṛs'. Manu (IV. 152) says: one should carry out morning duties, decorating the body, bath, brushing the teeth, applying collyrium to the eyes and worship of gods in forenoon alone'. Therefore all religious acts prescribed for being performed by day on certain tithis for gods must be begun in the morning even if the tithi is mixed with another on that day, but all vratas to be performed in the evening or night have to be performed on the tithi existing in the evening or night even[184] though it may be mixed up (viddhā) with another tithi. Another matter to be noted is that in both halves of the month all tithis may affect the previous tithi and following tithi by three muhūrtas (i. e. six nāḍīs or ghaṭikās).[185] Some tithis produce *vedha* by a larger number of

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182. आदित्योदयवेलाया आरभ्य षष्टिनाडिकाः । तिथिस्तु सा हि शुद्धा स्यात्सार्वतिथ्यो ह्ययं विधिः ॥ इति कालमाधवीयधृतनारदीयात् । सा हि शुद्धा सैव शुद्धा नान्येत्यर्थः । ति. त. pp. 87–88; सूर्यास्तमनपर्यन्तं यस्मिन् वारे तु या तिथिः । विध्यते सा त्वखण्डा स्यान्न्यूना चेत् खण्डसंज्ञिता ॥ नारदीय I. 56. 154.

183. पूर्वाह्णो वै देवानां मध्यन्दिनो मनुष्याणामपराह्णः पितृणाम् । शतपथ II. 4. 2. 8.

184. अहःसु तिथयः पुण्याः कर्मानुष्ठानतो दिवा । नक्तादिव्रतयोगे तु रात्रियोगो विशिष्यते ॥ जाबालि q. by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 5, तिथितत्त्व p. 5.

185. पक्षद्वयेऽपि तिथयस्तिथिं पूर्वां तथोत्तराम् । त्रिभिर्मुहूर्तैर्विध्यन्ति सामान्योऽयं विधिः स्मृतः ॥ पैठीनसि q. in नि. सि. p. 17; नागो द्वादशनाडीभिर्दिक्पञ्चदशभिस्तथा । भूतोष्टादशनाडीभिर्दूषयत्युत्तरां तिथिम् ॥ स्कन्दपुराण q. by नि. सि. p. 18. In the system of expressing numerals by words नाग, दिक्, भूत represent five, ten and fourteen respectively. The verse नागो ... तिथिम् is राजमार्तण्ड folio 70 a, verse 1130 (in ABOR I. vol. 36 p. 309).

ghaṭikās e. g. the 5th makes ṣaṣṭhī affected by twelve nāḍīs, 10th makes 11th viddhā by 15 nāḍīs, &c. Viddhā tithis are in some cases fit for performing religious acts, sometimes they are not. All rites[186] of the śrauta or smārta type, vrata, dāna and every other act enjoined by the Veda do not yield proper reward as long as there is no determination of the tithi proper for it. That tithi which covers up the time (such as morning), noon, whole day &c. at which a religious act is prescribed to be done is the proper one for[187] that act. The first principle to[188] remember is that Kāla (the time prescribed for a rite) is not a mere detail, but it is a *nimitta* (an occasion) on the happening of which a rite is to be performed and that therefore what is done at some time other than the prescribed one is practically as good as not done. There is a text of the Tai. S. II. 2. 5. 4 which indicates this principle about Kāla. It says 'that man is cut off from the heavenly world, who desiring to perform the darśa-pūrṇamāsa rites transgresses the time of full Moon or New Moon'. Hemādri[189] strongly emphasizes the performance of rites

186. श्रौतं स्मार्तं व्रतं दानं यच्चान्यत्कर्म वैदिकम्। अनिर्णीतासु तिथिषु न किंचित्फलति द्विज॥ नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 29. 2).

187. कर्मणो यस्य यः कालस्तत्कालव्यापिनी तिथिः। तया कर्माणि कुर्वीत ह्रासवृद्धी न कारणम्॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर q. by नि. सि. p. 18, धर्मसिन्धु p. 8; यदा तिथिरेकस्मिन्दिनेऽहोरात्रयोगिनी अपरस्मिंश्च अहर्मात्रयोगिनी रात्रिमात्रयोगिनी वा तदोपवासादावहोरात्रसाध्ये उभययोगिन्येव ग्राह्या नान्यतरमात्रयोगिनी कर्मकालव्यापित्वात्। दिवा रात्रौ व्रतं यच्च एकमेव तिथौ स्मृतम्। तस्यामुदययोगिन्यामाचरेत्तु व्रतं व्रती। इति विशेषवचनाच्च। का. त. वि. p. 10. This last verse is q. from पद्मपुराण by तिथिविवेक (P. O. vol. VII p. 92) and the व. क्रि. कौ. p. 14 quotes it from वायुपुराण. वृद्धयाज्ञ० quoted in का. नि. p. 141 has कर्मणो यस्य ... न कारणम्॥. गार्ग्य also has a similar verse.

188. Vide जैमिनि VI. 2. 23–26 for the proposition that all religious acts such as agnihotra must be performed at the time prescribed. शबर on जै. VI. 2. 25 remarks 'न कालो गुणः। निमित्तं ह्येतदित्युक्तम्। तस्मादन्येषु कालेष्वविहितत्वात्कृतमप्यकृतं स्यात्।'. The तै. सं. passage which is employed as an indication (liṅga) is अव वा एष सुवर्गाल्लोकाच्छिद्यते यो दर्शपूर्णमासयाजी सन्नमावास्यां वा पौर्णमासीं वातिपादयति। II. 2. 5. 4. Vide मद. पा. p. 184.

189. गणिताज्ज्ञायते कालः काले तिष्ठन्ति देवताः। वरं त्वेकाहुतिः काले नाकाले लक्षकोटिशः॥ लौगाक्षि q. by हे. (on काल p. 923). हेमाद्रि then proceeds (on काल p. 924) 'यत्तु मुख्यकालातिक्रमे नित्यनैमित्तिकानां गौणकालेऽनुष्ठानं तत् कश्चित् शिष्टगर्हापरिहार-मनःपरितोषाद्यर्थं कश्चिदनुकल्पत्वेन कालान्तरविधिरित्यनवद्यम्। उपदिष्टकालातिक्रमे चाधिकाराभावादेव मुख्यद्रव्यलोभान्मुख्यकालातिक्रमो न कार्यः ... तदेवमेतत्सिद्धं वचनमन्तरेण गौणकालग्रहणं न कार्यं सति तु वचने गौणस्य तस्मात्परस्यापि ग्रहणं कार्यमिति।. Vide मद. पा. pp. 184 and 186 for similar views.

on the proper time and states that a gauṇakāla is resorted to for escaping from the censure of *śiṣṭas* or for the solace of one's mind or because there is no other alternative. If a tithi can be had on two days and at the required time or if it does not exist on both days at the time required or it extends only up to a part of the time for which it is required, then the decision is arrived at, as a general rule, by what is called 'yugmavākya' to be cited below.[190] Suppose, for example, that a vrata is to be performed at noon on a certain tithi, then that tithi may exist at noon on two days or suppose that the tithi begins one or two ghaṭikās after noon and ends on the next day one or two ghaṭikās before noon, then the decision as to which tithi (whether *pūrva-viddhā* or *para-viddhā*) is proper for the act would have to be decided as a general rule by the *Yugmavākya*. The *Yugmavākya* may be translated as follows: 'The pairs (or combinations) of the following tithis lead to great reward, viz. of the 2nd and 3rd tithis, of the 4th and 5th, of the 6th and 7th, of the 8th and 9th, of the 11th and 12th, of the 14th with pūrṇimā (Full moon tithi) and of Amāvāsyā with the 1st: the reverse (i. e. combinations or pairs of other tithis) results in great loss; such combinations destroy all former (accumulated) merit.' In these verses there are seven pairs and they are mutually applicable. The question may be asked: on what tithi a vrata prescribed for the 2nd tithi should be performed if the 2nd is combined with the first on one day (that is, it is *pūrvaviddhā*) and is also combined with the 3rd on the next day (i. e. it is *paraviddhā*). The reply is: as a general rule the day on which the 2nd is combined with the 3rd tithi should be the proper one for the dvitīyāvrata and not the day on which 2nd tithi is combined with the first. Similarly, in the case of a vrata to be performed on tṛtīyā, if the 3rd tithi occurs on one civil day combined with the 2nd and on the next day it is combined with the 4th, then the proper day as a general rule for a tṛtīyā-vrata is the one on which the 2nd and 3rd tithis are in combination and not the other day on which the 3rd and 4th tithis combine. The result of this passage is that combinations of 1st and 2nd tithi, of the 3rd and 4th, of 5th and 6th, of 7th and 8th, of the 9th and 10th, of the 10th and 11th, of 12th and

190. यदा त्वेका तिथिर्दिनद्वये कर्मयोग्या विहितकाले लभ्यते न वा लभ्यते तदा कदा कर्मानुष्ठानमिति संशये युग्मवचनादेव व्यवस्थामाह गृह्यपरिशिष्टम्। व. क्रि. कौ. p. 3; मध्याह्नव्यापिनी दिनद्वये कर्मकाले व्याप्तौ, अव्याप्तौ, तदेकदेशव्याप्तौ वा युग्मवाक्यादिना पूर्वविद्धाया परविद्धाया वा तिथेर्ग्राह्यत्वम्। धर्मसिन्धु p. 8.

13th, of 13th and 14th, of Pūrṇimā with the first and of Amāvāsyā with 14th are generally excluded as improper.[191]

It may be stated here that the rules laid down in the above verses (of yugmavākya) are riddled with exceptions. Some say that these rules apply only to tithis of the bright half and not to those of the dark half. But many works such as Aparārka (p. 216), Kālanirṇaya (p. 172), Vratakālaviveka (P. O. vol. VII. p. 87), Nirṇayasindhu (p. 18) hold that the passage applies to tithis of the dark half also, since the express mention of Amāvāsyā in combination with *pratipad* is an indication in that direction. It would be noticed that the *yugmavākya* (even though held to be applicable to the dark half) does not refer to the first tithi of the dark half, the 10th and 13th tithis of both halves. Their combinations with the preceding or following tithis will be governed by express texts where available and by other considerations in other cases, such as the verse 'in the bright half that tithi should be preferred which exists at the time the sun rises and, in the dark half, that tithi should be preferred which exists when the sun sets.'[192] Another important rule is that where there are express texts prescribing a particular combination of *viddhā tithis* as more appropriate for a vrata or other

191. युग्माग्नियुगभूतानां षण्मुन्योर्वसुरन्ध्रयोः। रुद्रेण द्वादशी युक्ता चतुर्दश्या च पूर्णिमा ॥ प्रतिपद्यप्यमावास्या तिथ्योर्युग्मं महाफलम्। एतद् व्यस्तं महादोषं हन्ति पुण्यं पुरा कृतम् ॥. These are quoted by हे. (on काल p. 67). In the system of expressing numerals by words युग्म, अग्नि, युग, भूत, मुनि, वसु, रन्ध्र and रुद्र stand respectively for 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11. These verses are ascribed to different sources in the medieval digests. The स्मृतिच. II. p. 350 and Aparārka (pp. 214, 216), नि. सि. p. 18 call it *nigama* (vedic text); while कालविवेक p. 475, व्र. का. वि. (p. 214), व. क्रि. कौ. (p. 3) ascribe it to गृह्यपरिशिष्ट and तिथितत्त्व p. 3 calls it both निगम and गृह्यपरिशिष्ट. These verses are अग्निपुराण 175. 36-37 and गरुड I. 128. 16-17. The कालादर्श (folio 9 a) ascribes the verses to पैठीनसि. They are the same as राजमार्तण्ड folio 69 b and 70 a, verses 1123-24 (ABORI vol. 36 p. 309). The समयप्रदीप (folio 7 b) explains these verses at great length and remarks 'अयं च युग्मादिविधिरहोरात्रसाध्योपवासादिकर्मणि तिथिद्वैधे सति सर्वत्र बोद्धव्यः। देवपूजादावपि दिनद्वये विहितपूर्वाह्णादिगामितिथिलाभे सति। यदा त्वेकस्मिन्नेव दिवसे विहितकाललाभः तदा तत्रैव कर्म न तु व्यस्तनिन्दाश्रवणात्तत्रापि युग्मादरः।'. The कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन discusses these verses at great length (pp. 475-502) and concludes 'यत्तु विष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचनं—सा तिथिस्तदहोरात्रं यस्यामभ्युदितो रविः। तया कर्माणि कुर्वीत ह्रासवृद्धी न कारणम् ॥—तदयुग्मतिथिविषयमेव। ... तस्मादुभयदिने प्राप्तौ कुत्र क्रिया इति सन्देहे युग्मतिथिषु युग्मवचनं, अयुग्मासु तु वृद्धिह्रासादिवचनम्।' pp. 501-502.

192. तथा च मार्कण्डेयः। शुक्लपक्षे तिथिर्ग्राह्या यस्यामभ्युदितो रविः। कृष्णपक्षे तिथिर्ग्राह्या यस्यामस्तमितो रविः ॥ q. by हे. (on काल) p. 93, का. नि. p. 231, का. वि. p. 501 (where it is said that संभ्रमभट्ट had quoted it).

religious rite, that express rule prevails and not the rule derived from this yugmavākya.[193] For example, it is laid down in the very place (where the yugmavākya occurs) that the 6th tithi, 8th tithi, amāvāsyā and the 13th of the dark half are to be preferred (for religious rites) when in combination with the following tithis (i. e. 7th, 9th, 1st of bright half and 14th of dark half respectively) and others (than those mentioned in the first half such as the 7th, 9th) are to be preferred when combined with those preceding them.[194] The application of special considerations may be further illustrated by the following. The same tithi may be preferred if *pūrvaviddhā* in one vrata and as paraviddhā in other cases owing to the difference in the deities of the vratas. For example, Skandaṣaṣṭhī is preferred as pūrvaviddhā, but Mandāraṣaṣṭhī is preferred as paraviddhā (because the deity is Mandāra and not Skanda). Sometimes, although the devatā is the same, it will have to be pūrvaviddhā and sometimes paraviddhā as in the Vināyaka-vrata which requires mid-day as the proper time. If the 4th exists at midday and then is mixed up with 5th, but did not exist at midday the previous day, then 4th mixed with 5th will be preferred; but if mixed with the 3rd before noon and not mixed with 5th at time of midday, 4th mixed with third will be preferred. Sometimes it depends on the fact whether it is bright or dark fortnight. Śukla pratipad will be preferred if pūrvaviddhā, but kṛṣṇa pratipad will be preferred as uttaraviddhā. The rites for *pitṛs* are not governed by yugma-vākya. The gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa provides that the pitṛs attend on that tithi which exists at the time when the sun sets; that tithi and afternoon are assigned for the pitṛs by Brahmā himself.[195] Sometimes even a combination not approved by yugmavākya has to be accepted for the performance of a rite e. g. when aṣṭamī with Rohiṇī nakṣatra exists (in Kṛṣṇajanmavrata) the fast should be observed on that Aṣṭamī, though it may be combined with 7th tithi (and not on 9th as yugmavākya

193. युगाद्या वर्षवृद्धिश्च सप्तमी पार्वतीप्रिया । रवेरुदयमीक्षन्ते न तत्र तिथियुग्मता ॥ देवीपुराण q. by व. क्रि. कौ 249, V. R. 248. This verse expressly says that in the case of Yugādi tithis, of the tithi of birth and 7th tithi which is related to Durgā, the tithi at sunrise is to be preferred whether it be mixed with a tithi mentioned in the Yugmavākya or not.

194. तथा युग्मवचनम् । षष्ठ्यष्टम्यप्यमावास्या कृष्णपक्षे त्रयोदशी । एताः परयुताः पूज्याः पराः पूर्वयुतास्तथा ॥ का. वि. p. 476, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 4.

195. यथास्तं सविता याति पितरस्तामुपासते । तिथिं तेभ्योऽपराह्णो हि स्वयं दत्तः स्वयम्भुवा ॥ गृह्यपरिशिष्ट q. by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 16, ब्र. का. वि. p. 86, तिथिविवेक p. 232.

requires).[196] Sometimes, even though a tithi be pūrṇā, it is passed over in favour of a viddhā one.[197] Suppose there is Ekādaśī in the bright half from sunrise to sunrise on a certain day and there is Ekādaśī on the next day for two ghaṭikās, then there is Dvādaśī for 59 ghaṭikās in extent; thus trayodaśī commences the day after just one ghaṭikā *after sunrise.* According to this verse of Pracetas there is to be no upavāsa on the Ekādaśī, though it is pūrṇā, but the fast will be observed on Dvādaśī, and the *pāraṇā* in order to be celebrated on dvādaśī will have to be during the first ghaṭikā of the third day from ekādaśī or earlier. But if the Dvādaśī in this case be only for 55 ghaṭikās, trayodaśī will begin three ghaṭikās before sunrise; if *pāraṇā* be done at sunrise it will be on the 13th and not on the 12th. In this latter case, according to Pracetas, the Upavāsa will have to be on the pūrṇā Ekādaśī in order that the pāraṇā may be on 12th. It has to be further remembered that the positive prescription about celebrating a vrata or the like on the fixed tithi is governed by the yugmavākya, but the rules forbidding the partaking of oil, meat or the like on the fixed tithi apply for the whole of that day[198] and that tithi, whether it is 65 ghaṭikās and extends over three days or is only 55 ghaṭikās and extends over two days only. For explaining the words 'ekādaśyām nirāhāraḥ' from Varāha-purāṇa (39. 32) the Ekādaśītattva (pp. 3–4) states that one is to fast not merely for the time that the Ekādaśī lasts on a week-day but for the whole of the week day on which Ekādaśī falls and it applies the reasoning contained in Jai. VI. 2. 19–20 (called *Kalañjādhikaraṇa*). If the vrata is such that some items in it are to be done by day and some at night, then that vrata must be observed on that tithi which exists by day as well as at night and in such a case

196. वचनात्तु क्वचिद् व्यस्ततिथेरपि ग्रहणम्। यथा भविष्ये। कार्या विद्धापि सप्तम्या रोहिणीसहिताष्टमी। तत्रोपवासं कुर्वीत तिथिभान्ते च पारणम्॥ तिथिभान्ते च पारणमिति प्रकरणाद् रोहिण्यष्टम्युपवासविषयम्। व्र. का. वि. p. 89, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 10.

197. वचनात्तु क्वचित् पूर्णाया अपि तिथेः परित्यागः। यथा प्रचेताः। पूर्णाप्येकादशी त्याज्या वर्धते द्वितयं यदि। द्वादश्यां पारणालाभे पूर्णैव परिगृह्यते॥ व्र. का. वि. p. 90, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 13.

198. तदाह कालमाधवीये वृद्धगार्ग्यः। निमित्तं कालमादाय वृत्तिर्विधिनिषेधयोः। विधिः पूज्यतिथौ तत्र निषेधः कालमात्रके। तिथीनां पूज्यता नाम कर्मानुष्ठानतो मता। निषेधस्तु निवृत्त्यात्मा कालमात्रमपेक्षते॥ तिथितत्त्व p. 6, व्र. का. वि. p. 234, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 14 (first verse only and ascribes to गृह्यपरिशिष्ट), का. त. वि. p. 4. तिथितत्त्व explains 'वृत्तिः पालनम्। कर्मानुष्ठानतः कर्मानुष्ठाने।' (p. 6). These verses are quoted from गार्ग्य in कालनिर्णय p. 103.

the yugmavākya has no application. Vide p. 72 and note 184 above. In certain cases where the vrata has several items extending over the whole day or a large part of it, the tithi at the time of sunrise even if it be only for a ghaṭikā is declared by some texts to be *sakalā* (pūrṇā) for purposes of both gifts and vratas.[199]

The Kālādarśa propounds the strange[200] theory based on Gobhila's words that the shortening and lengthening of the tithis is due to the piety and sinfulness of men and divides tithis into *kharva* (of proper extent, 60 ghaṭikās), *darpa* (more extensive than 60 ghaṭikās) and *hiṁsrā* or *hiṁsā* (of lesser extent than 60 ghaṭikās). The Rājamārtaṇḍa has the same[201] division and remarks that when the tithi is either *kharva* or *darpa* (and they are viddhā) then a rite is to be done on the later tithi (the proper tithi joined to the next one) and in the case of the shorter tithi (if it is viddhā) one should prefer the former (i. e. the day on which the proper tithi is joined to an earlier one).[202] The Varṣa-

199. यत्र सार्धसप्तमुहूर्तैरपि कर्म न समाप्यते तत्र कृत्स्नो दिवसोप्यभ्यनुज्ञायते । अत एव देवलः । यां तिथिं समनुप्राप्य उदयं याति भास्करः । सा तिथिः सकला ज्ञेया स्नानदानजपादिषु ॥ इति । व्यासोऽपि । उदयन्नेव सविता यां तिथिं प्रतिपद्यते । सा तिथिः सकला ज्ञेया दानाध्ययनकर्मसु ॥ व्रतोपवासनियमे घटिकैका यदा भवेत् । सा तिथिः सकला ज्ञेया पित्र्यर्थे चापराह्णिकी ॥ इति । का. नि. p. 142. का. वि. p. 473 reads in the first verse स्नानदानव्रतादिषु. का. वि. p. 473 and p. 485 quote the last two verses but ascribe them to बौधायन and भविष्य. This is one of the cases where a tithi though khaṇḍā according to strict astronomical rule is to be regarded as full (or sakalā) for Dharmaśāstra purposes.

200. ह्रासो वृद्धिस्तिथीनां स्यादधर्माधर्मतो नृणाम् । ... तदुक्तं गोभिलेन । खर्वो दर्पस्तथा हिंस्रस्त्रिविधं तिथिलक्षणम् । धर्माधर्मवशादेव तिथिस्त्रेधा विवर्धते । इति । कालादर्श folio 5 a. पु. चि. p. 33 ascribes खर्वो &c. to गर्ग. The verse खर्वो दर्प &c is ascribed to Uśanas by का. नि. p. 144 and व. क्रि. कौ. pp. 21–22; हे. (on काल) p. 91 quotes खर्व ... पूर्वकालिकी from भविष्यपुराण and ascribes to पितामह the verse खर्वो ... लक्षणम् । खर्वदर्पौ परौ पूज्यौ हिंसां पूर्वत्र पूजयेत् ॥. हे. (on काल) p. 109 says 'व्रतविषये युग्मवाक्यमेव प्रवर्तते न खर्वदर्पवाक्यम्' and ascribes to व्याघ्र the verse खर्वो ... लक्षणम् । खर्वदर्पौ परौ ... कालिकी.

201. खर्वदर्पौ परौ कार्यौ हिंस्रं पूर्वत्र पूजयेत् ॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 70 a, verse 1132 (ABORI. vol. 36 p. 310).

202. खर्वो दर्पस्तथा हिंसा त्रिविधं तिथिलक्षणम् । खर्वदर्पौ परौ कार्यौ हिंसा स्यात्पूर्वकालिकी ॥ q. from बौधायन by कालविवेक p. 500, which explains : खर्वः समता यतः प्रभृति पूर्वदिने प्रारब्धा परदिने च तावत्येव समाप्तिः । दर्पो वृद्धिः परदिनेऽधिककालेन समाप्तिः । हिंसा क्षयः परदिने न्यूनकालेन समाप्तिः ।. Vide व. क्रि. कौ. p. 22 for the verse and explanation. कालनिर्णय p. 102 reads 'खर्वो ... लक्षणम् । धर्माधर्मवशादेवं तिथिस्त्रेधा विवक्षिता ॥' and ascribes it to गर्ग.

kriyā-kaumudī ascribes a similar verse to Uśanas and remarks that it is opposed to the dicta of many such sages as Devala and must be restricted only to Darśaśrāddha forming as it does a syntactical whole with certain verses of the Chandogapariśiṣṭa (which it quotes).

A general rule is stated in some works that when the full moon which is in the lunar mansion that gives the name to a month is in conjunction with Jupiter that tithi has the word *mahā* prefixed to it. For example, the Paurṇimā of Kārtika would be called Mahākārtikī if the Moon and Jupiter are both in the Kṛttikās (Pleiades) on that tithi. The Rājamārtaṇḍa and Bhaviṣyapurāṇa provide that a bath on the Mahācaitrī and (on the remaining eleven paurṇimās with prefix *mahā*) in certain holy places yields great rewards, viz. bath at Prayāga on Mahāmāghī, on Mahāphālgunī in the Naimiṣa forest, on Mahācaitrī at Śālagrāma, on Mahāvaiśākhī at Mahādvāra, on Mahājyaiṣṭhī at Puruṣottama, on Mahāṣāḍhī at Kanakhala, on Mahāśrāvaṇī at Kedāra, on Mahābhādrī at Badarī, on Mahāśvinī at Kubjāmra, on Mahākārtikī at Puṣkara, on Mahāmārgaśīrṣī at Kānyakubja, on Mahāpauṣī at Ayodhyā.[203]

There are long lists of actions forbidden on certain tithis. A few passages may be cited here. Devala[204] says 'on the 15th, the 14th and particularly on the 8th one should avoid oil, meat, sexual intercourse and the use of a razor.' The Nāradīya provides

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203. माससंज्ञे यदा ऋक्षे चन्द्रः सम्पूर्णमण्डलः। गुरुणा याति संयोगं सा तिथिर्महती स्मृता॥ कालविवेक p. 347 (quotes from भारत) and शङ्करगीता q. by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 77. This verse is quoted by ति. त. p. 133 from राजमार्तण्ड (folio 81 a, verse 1388). महामाघी प्रयागे तु नैमिषे फाल्गुनी तथा। शालग्रामे महाचैत्री एताः पुण्यतमाः स्मृताः। महाद्वारे च वैशाखी ज्यैष्ठी तु पुरुषोत्तमे। आषाढी वै कनखले केदारे श्रावणी तथा। महाभाद्री बदर्यां तु कुब्जायां च महाश्विनी। पुष्करे कार्तिकी कन्याकुब्जे मार्गी सदा स्मृता। अयोध्यायां महापौषी एताः स्युः सुमहाफलाः। स्नानं ह्येतेषु कर्तव्यं मानवैः पुष्टिकांक्षिभिः॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 81 a, verses 1389–1392 (vide ABORI. vol. 36 p. 334). These verses are quoted from the भविष्यपुराण by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 80 where गङ्गाद्वारे is read for महाद्वारे, कुब्जाम्रे for कुब्जायाम्. हे. (on काल) p. 642 quotes these verses.

204. पञ्चदश्यां चतुर्दश्यामष्टम्यां च विशेषतः। तैलं मांसं व्यवायं च क्षुरकर्म च वर्जयेत्॥ देवल q. by कृ. र. p. 547, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 86. Vide विष्णुपुराण III. 11. 118–119 for similar provisions and वृद्धशातातप verses 57–58 (q. by कृ. र. p. 546).

that one should give up oil on the 6th tithi, meat on 8th, use of razor on the 14th and sexual intercourse on the full moon and amāvāsyā (I. 156. 140–141). Certain vegetables, fruits and articles such as sesame are to be eschewed on certain tithis; vide p. 70 above and note 177.

CHAPTER IV

Individual vratas; Caitra Pratipad, Rāmanavamī, Akṣayya-tṛtīyā, Paraśurāmajayantī, Daśaharā, Sāvitrī-vrata.

The Mahābhārata[205] prescribes how to set about a vrata. 'Taking in one's hand a copper vessel full of water and turning one's face to the north one should undertake the *upavāsa*, or whatever else he resolves in his mind to undertake as a vrata.' Devala[206] also says 'without taking food (the previous night), after taking a bath and having performed *ācamana* (ceremonial sipping of water) and after having declared before the Sun and other *devatās* (his intent) a person should perform a vrata'. The Varāhapurāṇa[207] sets out the formula of *saṅkalpa* 'after passing the 11th tithi without any food, I shall partake of food the next day, O lotus-eyed one (Viṣṇu), O Acyuta, be thou my refuge'. The saṅkalpa is to be generally made in the case of a fast[208] or vrata in the morning; the first fifth part of a day comprising three ghaṭikās is called morning. Even when a tithi does not

205. गृहीत्वौदुम्बरं पात्रं वारिपूर्णमुदङ्मुखः। उपवासं तु गृह्णीयाद्यद्वा सङ्कल्पयेद्बुधः॥ देवतास्तस्य तुष्यन्ति कामिकं तस्य सिध्यति। अन्यथा तु वृथा मर्त्याः क्लिश्यन्ति स्वल्पबुद्धयः॥ शान्तिपर्व q. by कालविवेक p. 456 and the first verse by कल्पतरु (on व्रत p 4), कृ. र. p. 54, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 61. यद्वा ... बुधः is variously explained. The कृ. र. states 'तत्र कल्पतरुः। यद्वा अन्यद्भक्तादिकम्। पारिजातस्तु यद्वेत्यनेन सङ्कल्पमात्रमपि कर्तव्यमित्याह।'. कालविवेक reads 'यदा सङ्कल्पयेद्बुधः'. In the अनुशासनपर्व 126. 20 the verse is प्रगृह्यौदु ... तोयपूर्णं उदङ्मुखः। उप ... यद्वा सङ्कल्पयेद् व्रतम्॥. ति. त. p. 110 quotes from वराहपुराण 'गृहीत्वा ... यद्वा वार्यैव धारयेत्॥'.

206. देवलः। अभुक्त्वा प्रातराहारं स्नात्वाचम्य समाहितः। सूर्याय देवताभ्यश्च निवेद्य व्रतमाचरेत्। q. by कल्प॰ (on व्रत p. 4), स. प्र. (folio 1 b), कृ. र. p. 54.

207. एकादश्यां निराहारो भूत्वा चैव परेऽहनि। भोक्ष्येऽहं पुण्डरीकाक्ष शरणं मे भवाच्युत॥ इत्युच्चार्य ततो विद्वान् पुष्पाञ्जलिमथार्पयेत्। वराहपुराण 39. 32 q. by कालनिर्णय 268 (from विष्णु), व. क्रि. कौ. pp. 60-61, ति. त. p. 110. Vide नारदीय I. 23. 15 for a very similar verse.

208. प्रातरेव सङ्कल्पः कार्यः। तदानीं ज्योतिःशास्त्रप्रतिपदभावेपि स्मृत्युक्तप्रतिपदः सत्त्वात्। नवरात्रप्रदीप p. 33; अपराह्णव्यापिप्रतिपत्तिथ्यादिषु चिकीर्षितस्यापि व्रतस्य प्रारम्भः प्रातरेव कार्यः। प्रातः सङ्कल्पयेद्विद्वानुपवासव्रतादिकम् — इति माधवीयवचनात्। स्मृतिकौ. (on तिथि) p. 12; अतः प्रातःकाले तत्तत्तिथ्यलाभे तिथ्यन्तरेऽप्युपवाससङ्कल्पः। अहोरात्राभोजनरूपस्य तस्य प्रातरारम्भार्हत्वात्। तिथितत्त्व p. 3.

begin in the morning (but begins in the afternoon) the saṅkalpa has to be made in the morning provided a vrata is to be performed on that tithi though it be viddhā. If no saṅkalpa is made the person secures very little benefit from the vrata[209] and half the merit is lost.

It is now time to turn to individual vratas on the several tithis. First comes the pratipad-vrata.

It will be shown in the next section how in ancient and medieval times the month in which the year began was different at different times and in different countries. We shall begin with the pratipad of the month of Caitra, shall take the month as ending with amāvāsyā (*amānta*) and set out from Caitra the important vratas and festivals in each month and the tithis therein, and the rest will be entered in the list of vratas appended to this section on vratas.

In those parts of India (such as the Deccan) where the year begins with Caitra, the first tithi is observed with some pomp and religious ceremony. Most of the medieval digests such as Kalpataru (Naiyatakāla pp. 377–382), Hemādri (on vrata vol. I, pp. 360–365), Kṛtyaratnākara (pp. 103–110), Vratarāja (pp. 49–53) quote from the Brahmapurāṇa the rites of the beginning of the year on the first tithi of Caitra bright half. That Purāṇa[210] states that Brahmā created the world on the first day of the bright half of Caitra at sunrise, and started the reckoning of time. On that tithi a mahāśānti (propitiatory rite) destroying all untoward occurrences and sins should be offered and first Brahmā should be worshipped with the well-known *upacāras* and then the other gods with mantras preceded by *om* and the word *namaḥ* (*om namo Brahmaṇe tubhyam*), to all divisions of time from the minutest to yugas and to daughters of Dakṣa and lastly to Viṣṇu, then honour brāhmaṇas with food and fees, give presents to relatives and servants, homa should be offered to Agni called Yaviṣṭha, special food should be prepared and a great festival should be celebrated. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa says

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209. सङ्कल्पाकरणे फलहानिमाह भविष्यपुराणे । सङ्कल्पेन विना राजन् यत्किञ्चित्कुरुते नरः । फलं च्याल्पाल्पकं तस्य धर्मस्यार्धक्षयो भवेत् ॥ कृत्यतत्त्व p. 424.

210. चैत्रे मासि जगद् ब्रह्मा ससर्ज प्रथमेऽहनि । शुक्लपक्षे समग्रं तु तदा सूर्योदये सति ॥ प्रवर्तयामास तथा कालस्य गणनामपि । ... तत्र कार्या महाशान्तिः सर्वकल्मषनाशिनी । सर्वोत्पातप्रशमिनी कलिदुःस्वप्ननाशिनी ॥ &c. कल्पतरु (नैयत० p. 377), हे. (व्रत I. p. 360), कृ. र. p. 103.

that since it was declared by Brahmā to be the best among tithis and thus placed in the first place it is called Pratipad. On Caitra pratipad there is worship of the lord of the year, viz. the lord of the week-day[211] on which pratipad falls, arches and banners should be raised by each householder, one should anoint one's body with oil and have a bath, one should eat leaves of the *nimba* tree (that are bitter) and should hear from the reciter of the calendar the name of the year (śaka or saṁvat), its lord and the deities that would be the ministers for the year, the governing deities of all corns and fluids &c. Even in these days priests go about in the Deccan to the houses of their patrons and read from the *pañcāṅga* (almanac) the details about the lord of the year &c. set out above, people raise a pole with silk cloth at top covered with a silver or brass pot, offer worship to the pole with sandalwood paste, flowers &c. and eat *nimba* leaves. This latter is done even in Saurāṣṭra, though the people employ *saṁvat* reckoning.

The rule is that the pratipad to be celebrated is that which exists at the time of sunrise. If pratipad exists at sunrise on two days, then the earlier of the two is to be chosen or if there be no pratipad at sunrise on any day then the one which is pūrvaviddhā should be chosen. For example, if there is amāvāsyā for four ghaṭikās after sunrise, then there is pratipad for 56 ghaṭikās and one ghaṭikā more on the next day, then the pratipad though affected by amāvāsyā will have to be chosen for the beginning of the year and not the pratipad intermixed with second tithi the next day. If Caitra be an intercalary month then[212] the opinion of many writers is that the pratipad of the intercalary month should be held to be the beginning of the year. The Samayamayūkha holds that when Caitra is an intercalary month the year and spring commence with it, but the ceremonial bath with oil and listening to the recital of the śaka year should

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211. चैत्रशुक्लप्रतिपदि यो वारः स नृपः स्मृतः। नारदीयपुराण I. 56. 1; तिथीनां प्रवरा यस्माद् ब्रह्मणा समुदाहृता। प्रतिपादिता पदे पूर्वे प्रतिपत्तेन कथ्यते॥ भविष्य, ब्राह्मपर्व 16. 44 q. by हे. (व्रत I. p. 336), व. क्रि. कौ. p. 28.

212. चैत्रस्य मलमासत्वे तैलाभ्यङ्ग-शकश्रवणादि शुद्ध एव कार्यम्। यद्यपि वत्सरवसन्तयोः प्रवृत्तिर्जाता तथापि तत्प्रयुक्तकृत्यम्—षष्ट्या तु दिवसैर्मासः कथितो बादरायणैः। पूर्वमर्धं परित्यज्य कर्तव्या उत्तरे क्रिया—इति वचनाद्धुत्कृष्योत्तर एव कार्यम्। स. म. p. 13. The पु. चि. p. 57 combats this view. The व. क्रि. कौ. p. 227 reads पूर्वमर्धं परित्यज्य उत्तरार्धे प्रशस्यते।; the verse षष्ट्या तु० occurs in राजमार्तण्ड and is q. by का. वि. p. 139 as from ज्योतिःशास्त्र.

be done in the pure month. The[213] Dharmasindhu makes a difference by saying that the ceremonial bath with oil should be taken on the occasion of the commencement of the new year and repeating the name of the new year should be done on the first day of the intercalary month, but the raising of the pole, eating of nimba leaves, listening to the recital of the almanac should be done in the pure month. In popular belief caitra-śuddhapratipad is one of the 3½ most important muhūrtas (auspicious days) of the year. The Sāmrājya-lakṣmīpīṭhikā (pp. 128–133) gives a very elaborate description of the great festival on caitra-śuddha first performed by a king or a chieftain or a zamindar owning several villages.

The next important tithi in Caitra is the 9th in the bright half on which is observed the Rāmanavamīvrata and the celebration of the birth of Rāma, 7th *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. The principal works on which reliance is placed in Hemādri (on vrata vol. I. pp. 941–946), V. K. K. (pp. 523–529), Tithitattva (pp. 59–62), Nirṇayasindhu (pp. 83–86) and other digests are the Agastya-saṁhitā and Rāmārcanacandrikā of Ānandavanayati, pupil of Mukundavanayati. It is somewhat remarkable that the Kṛtyakalpataru on vrata does not deal with this. The Rāma cult appears to have become popular later than the Kṛṣṇa cult. Though the Amarakośa gives Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva, Devakīnandana and Dāmodara as synonyms, it does not mention Rāma (Dāśarathi), but mentions Rāma only as a synonym of Haladhara. Here only a brief treatment of Rāmanavamī can be attempted. The Rāmārcanacandrikā and Vratārka (folio 173a) expressly provide that all persons including even cāṇḍālas can observe Rāmanavamīvrata (they have *adhikāra*).

It is stated in the Agastyasaṁhitā[214] that Rāma was born at noon on the 9th of the bright half of Caitra, when Punarvasu asterism was occupied by the Moon and both the Moon and

213. चैत्रस्य मलमासत्वे वत्सरारम्भनिमित्तकं तैलाभ्यङ्गसङ्कल्पादौ नूतनवत्सरनामकीर्तनाद्यारम्भं च मलमासप्रतिपद्येव कुर्यात्। प्रतिगृहं ध्वजारोपणं निम्बपत्राशनं वत्सरादिफलश्रवणं नवरात्रारम्भो नवरात्रोत्सवादि निमित्ताभ्यङ्गादिश्च शुद्धमासप्रतिपदि कार्यः। वत्सरारम्भनिमित्तकोपि तैलाभ्यङ्गः शुद्धप्रतिपद्येवेति मयूख उक्तम्। धर्मसिन्धु p. 38.

214. चैत्रे नवम्यां प्राक्पक्षे दिवा पुण्ये पुनर्वसौ। उदये गुरुगौरांशोः स्वोच्चस्थे ग्रहपञ्चके। मेषे पूषणि संप्राप्ते लग्ने कर्कटकाह्वये। आविरासीत्स कलया कौशल्यायां परः पुमान्। हे. (on व्रत I. p. 941 quoting अगस्त्यसंहिता). These astrological details about the birth of Rāma are in line with those in some editions of the Rāmāyaṇa (except those of Gorresio and some others). Vide my paper on this in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, vol. I. pp. 1–5.

Jupiter were in conjunction and when five planets were in their *ucca* (exaltation), when the zodiacal sign rising on the eastern horizon was Karkaṭaka (Cancer), and when the Sun was in the sign of Meṣa (Aries). The Kālanirṇaya of Mādhava (pp. 229–230) lays down the following. When navamī is spread over two days, then, if there is navamī at noon only on the earlier of the two days, the vrata should be performed on that day. If there is navamī at noon on both days, or if there is no navamī at noon on any day, then the vrata should be performed on navamī mixed with daśamī (and not on navamī mixed with aṣṭamī).[215] If the 9th tithi is conjoined to Punarvasu asterism that day, that tithi is most holy. Even when there is conjunction of aṣṭamī, navamī and Punarvasu, still the vrata should be on the next day (i. e. on navamī with daśamī). There are further minute rules and differences on this which are passed over here.

It is stated that the Rāmanavamīvrata is *nitya* (obligatory) for all, while others say that it is obligatory only for devotees of Rāma and kāmya (optional) for those that desire special rewards (such as removal of sin, *mukti* or release from *saṁsāra*). The Agastya-saṁhitā[216] remarks 'This (vrata) is a course prescribed for all and it is the sole means of worldly happiness and *mukti*. Even a person who is impure or very sinful, having performed this best of vratas, is honoured by all and he becomes as if he were Rāma himself. That wretched man who eats food on Rāmanavamī suffers torments in the terrible hells called Kumbhīpāka. If a man fasts on a single Rāmanavamī all his objects are fulfilled and he is released from all sins'. The Agastyasaṁhitā further prescribes 'on that day (on which Rāma was born) vrata in the form of a fast should always be performed and on that day the devotee intent on Rāma worship should keep awake at night, sitting on the ground'. The use of the word 'sadā' (always) shows that the vrata is obligatory. Others say that the texts promise such rewards as removal of sin and therefore it is

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215. नवमी चाष्टमीविद्धा त्याज्या विष्णुपरायणैः। उपोषणं नवम्यां च दशम्यां चैव पारणम्॥ अगस्त्यसंहिता q. by व. क्रि. कौ. 525, ति. त. 60, नि. सि. 83, व्र. का. वि. p. 16 (ascribes to आपस्तम्ब), समयप्रकाश p. 53.

216. सर्वेषामप्ययं धर्मो भुक्तिमुक्त्येकसाधनम्। अशुचिर्वापि पापिष्ठः कृत्वेदं व्रतमुत्तमम्। पूज्यः स्यात् सर्वभूतानां यथा रामस्तथैव सः। यस्तु रामनवम्यां तु भुङ्क्ते स च नराधमः। कुम्भीपाकेषु घोरेषु पच्यते नात्र संशयः।... एकामपि नरो भक्त्या श्रीरामनवमीं शुभे। उपोष्य कृतकृत्यः स्यात्सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते॥ अगस्त्यसंहिता q. by हे. (व्रत vol. I. 942), नि. सि. p. 84; तस्मिन् दिने तु कर्तव्यमुपवासव्रतं सदा। तत्र जागरणं कुर्याद्रघुनाथपरो भुवि॥ अगस्त्यसंहिता q. by हे. (व्रत I. p. 941), स्मृतिमु. (on काल p. 836).

kāmya. The conclusion of many works (like the Nirṇayasindhu and the Tithitattva) is that this vrata is both *kāmya* and *nitya* according to the Mīmāṁsā maxim of 'saṁyogapṛthaktva'[217] (Jai. IV. 3. 5–7). In the section on 'Agnihotra' the Veda says 'he makes an offering of curds in the fire'; there is another sentence in the same, viz. 'one who desires bodily vigour should make an offering of curds in the fire'. The meaning is that curds being separately mentioned in two different sentences which are both independent, homa with *dadhi* is both *nitya* and *kāmya*.

The procedure of Rāmanavamīvrata as set out in H. V. I. pp. 941–946. N. S. pp. 83–86, T. T. pp. 59–62, K. T. V. pp, 96–98, Vratarāja pp. 319–329, Vratārka (folios 172–182), may be briefly described as follows:—The devotee should take a bath on the 8th tithi in the bright half of Caitra, perform his *sandhyā* prayer and should invite a brāhmaṇa learned in the Veda and śāstras and devoted to Rāma worship and knowing the procedure of Rāma mantras, should honour him and make a request 'I shall make a gift of the image of Rāma'. Then he should give oil to the brāhmaṇa for anointing his body, make him bathe, make him wear white garments and flowers, should offer him a dinner containing *sāttvika* food and should himself partake of the same food and constantly think of Rāma. On that day he and the *ācārya* honoured by him should go without food at night, should listen to the stories of Rāma the whole day and should himself sleep and make the ācārya sleep on the ground (not on a cot). The next morning he should get up, bathe, perform his *sandhyā*, should construct a brilliant maṇḍapa with four doors and decked with arches, banners and flowers. The eastern door should be decked with conch, wheel and (an image of) Garuḍa, bow and arrows, the western one with mace, sword and armlets and the north with lotuses, *svastika* signs and blue stones and prepare a raised altar four cubits (in the maṇḍapa) and should provide holy songs, music and dance therein. He should have benedictions from brāhmaṇas. Then

217. एकस्य तूभयत्वे संयोगपृथक्त्वम्। शेष इति चेत्। नार्थपृथक्त्वात्। जै. IV. 3. 5–7; 'अग्निहोत्रे श्रूयते दध्ना जुहोतीति। पुनश्च दध्नेन्द्रियकामस्य जुहुयादिति।... तस्माद्यदेव नैमित्तिकं तदेव नित्यार्थमिति।' शबर; तस्मात्पृथक्संयोगादुभयार्थं दधि स्यात्। शास्त्रदीपिका; एकोस्योभयार्थत्वे संयोगस्य संयुज्यते तादर्थ्येन बोध्यतेऽनेनेति व्युत्पत्त्या वाक्यस्य पृथक्त्वं नानात्वं कारणं तदिहाप्यस्तीति दधित्वादिरादिकमुभयार्थम्। मयूखमालिका on शास्त्रदीपिका. Another example of the application of the संयोगपृथक्त्वन्याय is Agnihotra. We have two Vedic passages 'अग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात् स्वर्गकामः' and 'यावज्जीवमग्निहोत्रं जुहोति',

he should make a *saṅkalpa* 'On the Rāmanavamī I shall observe a fast for the whole day and being intent on worshipping Rāma shall make a golden image of Rāma and shall donate it for pleasing Rāma' and then say 'may Rāma remove my numerous heavy sins'. The image of Rāma should be placed on a pedestal, have two hands and Jānakī should be seated on the left thigh of (Rāma) image, which should be bathed with *pañcāmṛta*,[218] then *mūlamantra*[219] should be recited and the usual *nyāsas* should be made. The festival or pūjā is performed in the noon. Then at night he should keep awake and listen to the divine stories about Rāma and be surrounded by devotees of Rāma, should sing hymns about Rāma. Then the next morning he should bathe, perform sandhyā, should worship the image of Rāma with sixteen upacāras employing the 16 verses of Ṛg. X. 90 and with Paurāṇika verses, also perform the worship of the several limbs of the image (Śrī-Rāmabhadrāya namaḥ pādau pūjayāmi and so on), offer homa on the altar or in a *kuṇḍa* with the *mūlamantra* and then in the ordinary fire offer 108 oblations of clarified butter or *pāyasa* (rice cooked in milk with sugar), then he should honour the ācārya with gifts of ear-rings, finger rings, flowers, clothes &c. and should recite the following mantra 'O Rāma ! I shall today donate this golden image of yours decked with ornaments and clothes for securing your favour; may Rāma favour me'. He should give dakṣiṇā (fee) to the ācārya and to other brāhmaṇas gold, cow, a pair of clothes, corn, according to his ability and then have dinner along with the brāhmaṇas. By doing so he becomes free from even mortal sins like brāhmaṇa-murder. There is no need to say more. The man who performs this vrata has *mukti* in his hand (as it were) and he acquires the same merit that one secures by the dāna called Tulāpuruṣa[220] in

218. Images of gods are bathed with पञ्चामृत i. e. milk, curds, clarified butter, honey and sugar.

219. Nyāsa is mystical sanctification of the several limbs of the body with Vedic mantras (such as the 16 verses of Ṛgveda X. 90) or other mantras. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 319–320, 739 and 900. The Mūlamantra is either of six letters, viz. श्रीरामरामरामेति or of thirteen letters, viz. श्रीरामजयरामजयजयरामेति. In these days the priest sometimes repeats Ṛg. X. 3. 3 as the Vedic mūlamantra 'भद्रो भद्रया सचमान आगात् स्वसारं जारो अभ्येति पश्चात्। सुप्रकेतैर्द्युभिरग्निर्वितिष्ठन् रुशद्भिर्वर्णैरभि राममस्थात्॥'. Here the word राम occurs, though in a different sense. सायण explains 'रामं कृष्णं शार्वरं तमः'.

220. For the Mahādāna called Tulāpuruṣa, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 870.

Kurukṣetra on a solar eclipse. Hemādri is comparatively brief, but the Tithitattva (pp. 61–62), Nirṇayasindhu (p. 85), Vratārka add further details from Agastyasaṁhitā. They say that images of Bharata and Śatrughna (by the side of Rāma image) and of Lakṣmaṇa with a bow in his hand and of Daśaratha (to the right) and of Kausalyā should also be made and worshipped with appropriate Paurāṇika mantras (the one for Kausalyā is quoted in the note)[221]. The Rāmārcanacandrikā adds further details about the worship of ten and five *āvaraṇas* to which even the Nirṇayasindhu refers by name alone.

Rāmanavamī is not to be celebrated in the intercalary Caitra month (malamāsa). The same rule applies to Janmāṣṭamī and other vratas.

In modern times not many people observe a fast on Rāmanavamī and hardly one performs homa or donates images, but the birth of Rāma is celebrated in Rāma temples by many at noon with great ceremony. A *Haridāsa* treats a gathering of men and women assembled in the temple to a *kīrtan* with music and bhajan on the birth of Rāma. At the end there is distribution of sweets or 'Suṇṭhavaḍā' (dried ginger with sugar or jaggery) in the Deccan. In some places such as Nasik, Tirupati, Ayodhyā and Rāmeśvara this festival is performed with great pomp and thousands of people attend at these holy places. There is no holy name other than that of Rāma so constantly on Hindu lips even in these days.

The important tithi in Vaiśākha is the third of the bright half. It is called Akṣayya-tṛtīyā. The earliest reference to it is probably in the Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra where it is said that one should fast on this tithi, worship Vāsudeva with whole grains of rice, should offer them into fire and donate them; thereby one becomes purified from all sins; whatever a man donates on that day becomes inexhaustible. The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 65, verses 1–7), Nāradīya I. 112. 10 ff treat of this. The former states that whatever is donated or sacrificed or muttered on this tithi becomes inexhaustible (in reward), that a fast thereon yields inexhaustible results, that if this tṛtīyā has Kṛttikā asterism

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221. कौसल्यामन्त्रस्तु। रामस्य जननी चासि रामरूपमिदं जगत्। अतस्त्वां पूजयिष्यामि लोकमातर्नमोस्तु ते॥ नमो दशरथायेति पूजयेत्पितरं ततः। अत्र दशावरणपञ्चावरणादिपूजा अन्यत्र ज्ञेया। नि. सि. p. 85, ति. त. p. 61, कृ. त. 464 (has कौसल्यामन्त्र).

then it is specially commended. The Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa[222] (chap. 30. 1–19) deals at some length with it. It says: 'this tithi is one of the Yugādi tithis because the Kṛta age began on it; whatever is done on it, such as bath, gifts, muttering of sacred texts (*japa*), offerings into fire, Veda study, satiating deceased ancestors (with water)—all that becomes inexhaustible'. It provides that gifts of jars of water and of umbrellas and of footwear should be made (to brāhmaṇas) on this day and that what is sacrificed or donated on this day never comes to an end and therefore this tithi is called akṣaya (inexhaustible) by the sages. V. Dh. also refers to it[223]. The Lar plates of Govindacandra of Kanauj recite that the king after bathing in the Ganges on the occasion of the Akṣayya-tṛtīyā festival on Monday in *saṁvat* 1202 (i. e. 15th April 1146 A. D.) made the grant of a village to one Śrīdhara Thakkura (E. I. vol. VII p. 98). The third is to be taken for these religious rites when it exists in the forenoon; but if it exists in the forenoon on two days the one that exists on the later day should be chosen for vrata. Vide Hemādri on Kāla p. 618 and on vrata vol. I. pp. 500–502, Vratarāja pp. 93–96, Sm. K. p. 109 for further details. It is provided in the Purāṇas that śrāddha performed on the tithis called *Yugādi* gives inexhaustible gratification to the pitṛs. But no piṇḍas (rice-balls) are to be offered in Yugādi-śrāddha. Akṣayyatṛtīyā is one of the 3½ days popularly believed to be most auspicious in the year (it is itself ½).

On the third of Vaiśākha bright half is celebrated 'Paraśurāmajayantī'.[224] It is to be celebrated in the first *prahara*

222. स्नानं दानं जपो होमः स्वाध्यायः पितृतर्पणम्। यदस्यां क्रियते किंचित् सर्वं स्यात्तदिहाक्षयम्। आदौ कृतयुगस्येयं युगादिस्तेन कथ्यते। अस्यां तिथौ क्षयमुपैति हुतं न दत्तं तेनाक्षया च मुनिभिः कथिता तृतीया॥ भविष्योत्तर 30. 2–3 and 19. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 374 and note 841 for Yugādi-tithis and कृ. र. pp. 541–542 for divergence of views about Yugādis in the Purāṇas. A late work, the पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणि, resolves the contradiction as follows: अत्र कस्मिंश्चित्कल्पे माघस्य पौर्णमास्यां कलियुगप्रवृत्तिः कस्मिंश्चिदमावास्यायामिति कल्पभेदेन व्यवस्था। (p. 87). The निर्णयामृत p. 36 gives the same explanation.

223. वैशाखशुक्लतृतीयायामुपोषितोऽक्षतैर्वासुदेवमभ्यर्च्य तानेव हुत्वा दत्त्वा च सर्वपापेभ्यः पूतो भवति। यच्च तस्मिन्नहनि प्रयच्छति तदक्षय्यमाप्नोति। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 90. 16–17.

224. The story of Paraśurāma and his several exploits such as the destruction of kṣatriyas twenty-one times, donating the earth to Kaśyapa, loss of his prowess when he met Rāma, residence on Mahendra mountain and making the Western ocean recede occur frequently in the Mahābhārata

(Continued on next page)

(watch) of the night ('sūryāstottaram trimuhūrtaḥ pradoṣaḥ' Dharmasindhu p. 9). It is stated in the Skanda[225] and Bhaviṣya purāṇas that Viṣṇu was born from Reṇukā on the third of the bright half of Vaiśākha when the nakṣatra was Punarvasu and in the first watch of the night and when six planets were *ucca* (in exaltation) and Rāhu was in the zodiacal sign Mithuna (Gemini). The image of Paraśurāma is to be worshipped and *arghya* is to be offered to it with the mantra quoted below.[226] If the third tithi is śuddhā (i. e. not mixed with another tithi) the vrata (i. e. fast) is to be performed that day; but if on two days there is third tithi in the evening first watch even partially, then the later one is to be the day of the fast; otherwise (if the third is *viddhā*, but does not extend up to the first watch of the night) the fast should be observed on the first of the two days. There are some temples erected in honour of Paraśurāma, particularly in the Konkaṇa such as the one near Chiplun in which Paraśurāma-jayantī is celebrated with great ceremony. Vide N. S. p. 95, Sm. K. p. 112, P. C. 89 for further details. H. V. I. p. 117 gives directions as to the image or painting of Paraśurāma. But Paraśurāma-jayantī is not observed in several parts of India (such as Saurāṣṭra), though observed in South India.

In the month of Jyeṣṭha there is a vrata called Daśaharā on the 10th tithi of the bright half. The Brahmapurāṇa (63. 15) states that the 10th of Jyeṣṭha bright half is called Daśaharā, because it destroys ten sins[227]. Ten sins (divided into three

(Continued from last page)

e. g. in आदिपर्व 2. 3 ff, 130. 62, सभा 14. 2, वन 116. 14, 117 9, उद्योग 178. 62, द्रोण 70, कर्ण 42. 3-9, शल्य 49. 7-10. The Purāṇas also devote much space to legends about him. Vide ब्रह्म 213. 113-123, वायु 91. 67-86, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 21-47 and 57-58 (for saving गोकर्ण and शूर्पारक), विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 35 ff. Some of these legends must be over 2000 years old. The रघुवंश (VI. 42, XI. 64-91) refers to some of the Paraśurāma legends.

225. तदुक्तं भार्गवार्चनदीपिकायां स्कान्दभविष्ययोः । वैशाखस्य सिते पक्षे तृतीयायां पुनर्वसौ । निशायाः प्रथमे यामे रामाख्यः समये हरिः । स्वोच्चगैः षड्ग्रहैर्युक्ते मिथुने राहुसंस्थिते । रेणुकायास्तु यो गर्भादवतीर्णो हरिः स्वयम् ॥ इति । नि. सि. p. 95.

226. जमदग्निसुतो वीर क्षत्रियान्तकरः प्रभो । गृहाणार्घ्यं मया दत्तं कृपया परमेश्वर ॥ इति । धर्मसिन्धु p. 46.

227. शुक्लपक्षस्य दशमी ज्येष्ठे मासि द्विजोत्तमाः । हरते दशपापानि तस्माद्दशहरा स्मृता ॥ ब्रह्मपु 63 15 (mentioned in connection with पुरुषोत्तमतीर्थ); ज्येष्ठे शुक्लदशम्यां तु भवेद् भौमदिनं यदि । ज्ञेया हस्तर्क्षसंयुक्ता सर्वपापहरा तिथिः ॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 81a, verse 1400 (vide ABORI, vol. 36 p. 336). This verse is quoted as from ब्रह्मपुराण by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 280.

classes, of the body, of speech and of the mind) are enumerated in Manu XII. 5–7.[228] The Rājamārtaṇḍa (verses 1397–1405) speaks of this vrata. The N. S. (p. 98) and some other digests put forward another basis, viz.[229] Jyeṣṭha śu. 10 on Tuesday (acc. to Varāha) or Wednesday (acc. to Skanda), on Hasta-nakṣatra, Vyatīpāta, Gara (*karaṇa*), Ānanda-yoga, the moon and sun being in Virgo and Taurus respectively—when all these concur or when most of them concur, a person should bathe in the Ganges and then become free from all sins. Wednesday and Hasta constitute Ānandayoga. It was supposed that the Ganges came to the earth on this tithi, on Tuesday and on Hasta asterism and therefore originally it appears to have been a vrata of a bath in the Ganges at Daśāśvamedha, of worship and gifts. Then it was extended to a bath in any big river and offering of *arghya*, sesame and water. Vide Kāśīkhaṇḍa, Tristhalī-setu, K. T. 431, Vratarāja pp. 352–355, P. C. pp. 144–145 for further details. At present in towns and villages on the big rivers such as Kṛṣṇā, Godāvarī, Narmadā and the Ganges, a festival of the Ganges is celebrated. At such places as Banaras, Prayāga, Haridvāra, Nasik the utsava is celebrated on a large scale. If there be an intercalary Jyeṣṭha, this vrata was to be performed in that month.

On the Full moon day of Jyeṣṭha women whose husbands are living perform even now in many parts of India the Sāvitrī-vrata or Vaṭasāvitrīvrata. The story of Sāvitrī whose memory has been cherished for ages by all Indian women as an ideal of a *pativratā*, of wifely devotion to the husband unto death (and even thereafter) is very popular and is described at great length in the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva chap. 293–299) and in the Purāṇas (such as in Matsya, chap. 208–214, Skandapurāṇa, Prabhāsakhaṇḍa chap. 166, Viṣṇudharmottara, II chap. 36–41). It

228. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 173 for the ten sins from Manu. The Rājamārtaṇḍa has the same three verses (1401–1403). Vide ABORI, vol. 36 p. 336 for the three.

229. वाराहेपि । दशमी शुक्लपक्षे तु ज्येष्ठे मासि कुजेऽहनि । अवतीर्णा यतः स्वर्गाद्धस्तर्क्षे सरिद्वरा । हरते दशपापानि तस्माद्दशहरा स्मृतेति । ... तथा स्कान्दे । यां कांचित्सरितं प्राप्य दद्याद्दर्भतिलोदकम् । मुच्यते दशभिः पापैः स महापातकोपमैः ॥ नि. सि p. 98. Vide त्रिस्थलीसेतु and तिथितत्त्व pp. 62–64. The स. प्र. p. 56 quotes 'दशमीशुक्ल ... दशहरा स्मृता' from स्कन्द.

is narrated[230] that she married Satyavat whose death at the end of one year was predicted by the sage Nārada and that three days before the time indicated by Nārada she undertook a fast, accompanied her husband into the forest where he had gone to collect firewood, flowers and fruits as his blind father had lost his kingdom and that she had an argument with Yama the God of Death, who became so pleased with her that he gave her several boons and ultimately her husband that had died as predicted was restored to life. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa account of the story of Sāvitrī is cited at great length in Kṛtyaratnākara (pp. 264–278). Hemādri (on vrata II pp. 258–272) sets out a vrata called Brahma-Sāvitrīvrata from Bhaviṣyottara which contains the story of Sāvitrī as in the Mahābhārata and Matsya and also (vol. II pp. 272–279) a Vaṭasāvitrīvrata from Skanda. But the first was performed for three days from the 13th tithi to Full Moon in *Bhādrapada* month and not in Jyeṣṭha, while the 2nd was to be performed on Jyeṣṭha Full Moon by a woman whose husband was living or even by a sonless widow. This last is called Mahāsāvitrīvrata by the Vratakālaviveka (p. 20 of I. H. Q. vol. 17 No. 4 supplement).

The Nirṇayasindhu refers to the vrata in Bhādrapada mentioned by Hemādri and remarks[231] that it was not in vogue in its day. The Vrataprakāśa describes (folios 169–170) the Brahmasāvitrīvrata.

But the Vaṭasāvitrīvrata that is now in vogue must also have been performed long before the 10th century A. D. The Agnipurāṇa (194. 5–8) briefly describes[232] a vrata that in

230. चतुर्थेऽहनि मर्तव्यं तथा सत्यवता द्विजाः । श्वशुरेणाभ्यनुज्ञाता तदा राजसुतापि सा । चक्रे त्रिरात्रं धर्मज्ञा प्राप्ते तस्मिंस्तदा दिने । दारुपुष्पफलाहारी सत्यवांस्तु ययौ वनम् । मत्स्य 208. 17–18; सावित्र्यपि जगादाथ यथावृत्तमनिन्दिता । व्रतं समापयामास तस्यामेव तदा निशि । मत्स्य 214. 14–15. The वनपर्व 296. 3 has चतुर्थेऽहनि मर्तव्यमिति सञ्चिन्त्य भाविनी । व्रतं त्रिरात्रमुद्दिश्य दिवारात्रं स्थिताभवत् ॥

231. एतच्चामावास्यायामप्युक्तं निर्णयामृते भविष्ये । अमायां च तथा ज्येष्ठे वटमूले महासतीं । त्रिरात्रोपोषिता नारी विधिनानेन पूजयेत् । ... हेमाद्रिसमयोद्द्योतादिषु भाद्रपदपूर्णिमायामुक्तं तत्तु नेदानीं प्रचरति । नि. सि. p 100.

232. पञ्चदश्यां व्रती ज्येष्ठे वटमूले महासतीम् । त्रिरात्रोपोषिता नारी सप्तधान्यैः प्रपूजयेत् । प्ररूढैः कण्ठसूत्रैश्च रजन्यां कुङ्कुमादिभिः । वटावलम्बनं कृत्वा नृत्यगीतैः प्रभातके । नमः सावित्र्यै सत्यवते नैवेद्यं चार्पयेद् द्विजे । वेश्म गत्वा द्विजान्भोज्य स्वयं भुक्त्वा विसर्जयेत् । सावित्री प्रीयतां देवी सौभाग्यादिकमाप्नुयात् ॥. अग्निपु. 194. 5–8.

essentials is the same as the modern Vaṭasāvitrīvrata. The Rājamārtaṇḍa says 'on the 14th[233] of the bright half of Jyeṣṭha women full of faith perform the Sāvitrīvrata for being free from widowhood'. This is followed by people in the Deccan. The Nirṇayāmṛta following the Bhaviṣya held that this vrata was to be performed on Amāvāsyā, while the Kṛtyatattva (p. 430), and T. T. p. 121 say that Sāvitrīvrata is to be observed on dark 14th after the Full Moon of Jyeṣṭha.

If the Paurṇimā is spread over two days, then the vrata is to be performed on Caturdaśī (14th tithi) mixed up with Paurṇimā. The three days for which the vrata is to last may have to be begun on the 12th or 13th. But if caturdaśī is of the extent of 18 ghaṭikās and then Paurṇimā supervenes, then caturdaśī is to be given up (K. N. p. 301).

The worship of the Vaṭa tree comes in probably because Satyavat when the moment of death approached took shelter under the shade of the Vaṭa tree and supported himself by a branch of it and spoke in a choked voice to Sāvitrī that he had pain in the head.[234] The procedure of this vrata as set out in the Vratārka (folios 312–320) and other late medieval works is briefly as follows:—The woman should make a saṅkalpa in the form 'I shall perform Sāvitrīvrata for securing long life and health to my husband and my sons and for securing freedom from widowhood in this and subsequent lives'. She should then sprinkle water at the root of the Vaṭa tree and surround it with cotton threads and should perform its worship with the *upacāras* and then offer worship to Sāvitrī (with image or mentally) from her feet upwards and pray to her to bestow on her beauty, good name, prosperity, and freedom from widowhood. Then she should worship Yama and Nārada and give presents (*vāyana*) to the priest and break her fast next day. In Bengal the mode of performing Sāvitrī-vrata is different from the above. In Bengal there is no Vaṭasāvitrīvrata, but there is Sāvitrīcaturdaśī on the 14th of the dark half of Jyeṣṭha to secure blessed wifehood in later lives. It is continued for 14 years.

233. ज्येष्ठे सितचतुर्दश्यां सावित्रीव्रतमुत्तमम्। अवैधव्याय कुर्वन्ति स्त्रियः श्रद्धासमन्विताः॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 81 a, verse 1394 q. by कृ र p. 192, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 260, तिथितत्त्व p. 121 (quotes राज० with variations). Vide ABORI. vol. 36 p. 335 for this verse.

234. वटशाखामवष्टभ्य सत्यवान्प्राह गद्गदम्। सावित्रि पश्य शिरसि वेदना मां प्रबाधते। भविष्योत्तर q. by हे. (on व्रत vol. II. p. 265).

If a woman was unable to fast for three days, she was allowed to have *nakta* on the 13th, to eat on the 14th whatever came to her without her asking for it and fast on the 15th.[235]

In JAOS. vol. 21 part 2 pp. 53–66 Allen has compared the Sāvitrīvrata as described in the Mahābhārata and the purāṇas and in Hemādri and Vratārka.

I have not generally tried to speculate about the remote origins, if any, of even the most important vratas. But some scholars endowed with a lively imagination and imbued with the theories underlying Frazer's 'Golden Bough' have tried their hands at the origins of some vratas. The late Mr. B. A. Gupte endeavoured to explain 'the symbolism of the Sāvitrīvrata' in I. A. vol. 35 (for 1906) pp. 116–119. He bases his article on the forty figures that his wife drew with sandalwood paste in celebrating the Sāvitrī-vrata. He holds that the story of Sāvitrī is based on a Nature Myth and that the first impression produced on him by the pictures drawn by his wife is that it is a marriage scene. What mainly vitiates all his imaginative explanations is that the Sāvitrī-vrata is not mentioned anywhere in any work that can be said to be even two thousand years old and that he thinks his wife's figures or pictures represent the general way of celebrating that vrata in the whole of India throughout the centuries. The Sāvitrīvrata is observed throughout India, but I have not been able to find that women all over India depict the scene as was done by Mr. Gupte's wife (who probably was a well-educated lady and had an artistic training in some big city and turned her skill to lend charm and picturesqueness to that vrata, by adding her own artistic ideas to those of millions of uneducated simple women in small towns and villages).

235. त्रिरात्रं नियमं कुर्यादुपवासस्य भक्तितः । अशक्ता चेत्त्रयोदश्यां नक्तं कुर्याज्जितेन्द्रिया। अयाचितं चतुर्दश्यां पौर्णमास्यामुपोषणम् । भविष्योत्तर q. by हे. (on व्रत vol. II, p. 269). For ब्रह्मसावित्रीव्रत, vide हे. II. 269–272 in which Sāvitrī, the wife of Brahmā, was to be worshipped as Vedamātā and as holding a lute and book in her hands.

CHAPTER V

EKĀDAŚĪ

The most important tithi in the month of Āṣāḍha is Ekādaśī. A voluminous literature has grown round Ekādaśī in the Purāṇas and medieval digests. There are separate treatises on Ekādaśī written by medieval writers, such as the Ekādaśīviveka of Śūlapāṇi and the Ekādaśītattva of Raghunandana. Besides, such medieval digests as Kālaviveka (pp. 425–451), Hemādri on Kāla pp. 145–288, Kālanirṇaya of Mādhava (pp. 233–275), Vratarāja pp. 361–475, Kāla-tattvavivecana (pp. 98–172) devote hundreds of pages to discussions on Ekādaśī. Endeavour would be made to write about most of the numerous matters relating to Ekādaśī, but everything would have to be compressed in as small a space as possible.

If one were to examine the numerous passages of the Purāṇas and the like one would notice that some simply prohibit the partaking of food (on Ekādaśī), while others lay down the observance of Ekādaśīvrata. A few specimens of the first kind may be cited. The Nāradīya states[236] "all sins whatever and sins equal to brāhmaṇa-murder take resort to food on the day of Hari; one who partakes of food on Ekādaśī incurs those sins; the Purāṇas again and again loudly proclaim 'one should not eat food, one should not eat food, when the day of Hari comes'." In this case the observance of Ekādaśī consists in simply not eating for the whole day anything that is cooked. Those passages which contain the word *vrata* are not to be looked upon as merely prohibiting (the eating of food) but are to be construed as prescribing something positive as in the case of Prajāpativrata 'one should not see the rising sun', which is interpreted by

236. यानि कानि च पापानि ब्रह्महत्यासमानि च। अन्नमाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्ति संप्राप्ते हरिवासरे॥ तानि पापान्यवाप्नोति भुञ्जानो हरिवासरे। रटन्तीह पुराणानि भूयो भूयो वरानने। न भोक्तव्यं न भोक्तव्यं संप्राप्ते हरिवासरे॥ नारदीय q. by हे. (काल) p. 153, का. नि. p. 235. Vide नारदीयपुराण (Uttara) 24. 4 and 23. 24 for almost the same words and compare ब्रह्मवैवर्त, कृष्णजन्मखण्ड, chap. 26. 23 'सत्यं सर्वाणि पापानि ब्रह्महत्यादिकानि च। सन्त्येवौदनमाश्रित्य श्रीकृष्णव्रतवासरे॥'. एकादशीतत्त्व (p. 16) ascribes the verse रटन्तीह॰ to मत्स्य. The verse 'यानि कानि...हरिवासरे' is नारदीय पूर्वार्ध 23. 8 (reads तानि विप्र हरेर्दिने) q. by हे. (on व्रत) I. 995.

Jaimini IV. 1. 3.-6 and VI. 2. 20. Vide n. 42 above. For example, it is said by the Matsya and Bhavisya 'When a man fasts on the 11th and partakes of food on the 12th, whether in the bright or dark half, that is a great vrata in honour of Viṣṇu'. Those passages that contain the word 'upavāsa' and those that prescribe rewards (of observing ekādaśī) must be construed as laying down the observance of a vrata and not as merely prohibiting anything. Those passages also which condemn eating food on ekādaśī may be construed as merely intended to commend the vrata and not to contain a prohibition, following the Mīmāṁsā[237] maxim 'condemnation is not indulged in (merely) for the sake of condemnation of that which is condemned, but for the purpose of commending the performance of the opposite of what is censured'. The passages that lay down a vrata are again two-fold, viz. those that make the observance of Ekādaśī obligatory (*nitya*)[238] and those that lay down the observance for securing some desired object (*kāmya*). Nārada lays down an obligatory rule 'men who are devoted to Viṣṇu and who look upon Viṣṇu as their highest goal should always fast on ekādaśī in each *pakṣa* (fortnight)'. A passage laying down a kāmya-vidhi about Ekādaśī is contained in[239] Kātyāyana 'a person who looks on Viṣṇu as highest goal and who desires to cross the ocean of *saṁsāra* or to secure prosperity, offspring, heaven, *mokṣa* or whatever else, should not partake of food on ekādaśī in both fortnights.' The result is that ekādaśī is both nitya and kāmya and the maxim of *saṁyoga-pṛthaktva* cited above (p. 86) under Rāmanavamī applies. Ekādaśīvrata on the ekādaśīs of both fortnights is *nitya* only for persons other than householders; the vrata is obligatory for householders (gṛhastha) only on the ekādaśī of the bright half, but not on the ekādaśī of the dark half, since Devala says 'one should not eat (cooked) food on ekādaśī in both *pakṣas* (fortnights); this is the rule of conduct for forest hermits and ascetics, but a householder should

237. The न्याय is: नहि निन्दा निन्द्यं निन्दितुं प्रवृत्ता अपि तु विधेयं स्तोतुम् (vide तन्त्रवार्तिक on जै. I. 2. 7, p. 115). शबर is more explicit: नहि निन्दा निन्दितुं प्रयुज्यते। किं तर्हि। निन्दितादितरत् प्रशंसितुम्। तत्र न निन्दितस्य प्रतिषेधो गम्यते किं त्वितरस्य विधिः। शबरभाष्य on जै. II. 4. 21.

238. तत्र नारदः। नित्यं भक्तिसमायुक्तैर्नरैर्विष्णुपरायणैः। पक्षे पक्षे तु कर्तव्यमेकादश्यामुपोषणम्॥ अत्रोपोषणं नित्यं कर्तव्यमित्यन्वयः। हे. (काल) p. 159, नि. सि. 37.

239. संसारसागरोत्तारमिच्छन्विष्णुपरायणः। ऐश्वर्यं सन्ततिं स्वर्गं मुक्तिं वा यद्यदिच्छति। एकादश्यां न भुञ्जीत पक्षयोरुभयोरपि। कात्यायन q. by हे. (काल) p. 162, का. वि. p. 236, ए. त. 28.

always observe only the Ekādaśī of the bright half'.[240] There are *conflicting texts on this subject. The Padma says*[241] '*a householder should observe a fast on only the dark ekādaśīs between Śayanī (Āṣāḍha śu. 11) and Bodhinī (Kārtika śu. 11) and on no* other ekādaśī of the dark half'. There is a precept of Nārada[242] 'a householder having a son should not observe a fast on a Saṅkrānti day, on the day of ekādaśī in the dark half and on eclipses of the sun and the moon'. The best construction of these passages appears to be that a fast only on the ekādaśī of the bright half is obligatory for a householder, but he may observe (Kāmyavrata) a fast on the ekādaśīs occurring in the dark half between Śayanī and Bodhinī, but if he has a son he should not observe a fast even on those ekādaśīs that occur between Śayanī and Bodhinī. A widow[243] is to be treated on the same level as a *yati* and a woman whose husband is living should fast only on the ekādaśī of the bright half. It has to be further noted that these restrictions[244] do not apply to professed devotees of Viṣṇu (technically called Vaiṣṇava). To them the verse quoted in note 238 above applies and they have to observe a fast on all ekādaśīs. Hemādri (on vrata vol. I. p. 999) held the view that all persons have *adhikāra* for fasting on ekādaśīs in both pakṣas.

On pp. 43–45 above the exaggerated importance attached to vratas in general has already been dealt with. Upavāsa as a *prāyaścitta* (expiation for sins) has been described in vol. IV.

240. एकादश्यां न भुञ्जीत पक्षयोरुभयोरपि। वनस्थयतिधर्मोयं शुक्लामेव सदा गृही॥ देवल q. by नि. सि. 36, समयप्रकाश p. 62, का. वि. p. 426 (from स्मृतिमीमांसा), हे. (काल) p. 150, ए. त. p. 36 (ascribes to गोभिल); ब्रह्मवैवर्त IV. 26 38 'शुक्लामेव तु कुर्वन्ति गृहिणो वैष्णवेतराः। न कृष्णालङ्घने दोषस्तेषां वेदेषु नारद॥.'

241. शयनीबोधिनीमध्ये या कृष्णैकादशी भवेत्। सैवोपोष्या गृहस्थेन नान्या कृष्णा कदाचन॥ ब्रह्मवैवर्त IV. 26. 39 q. by का नि. p. 259, नि. सि. p. 36, समयप्रकाश p. 63 (all say from पद्म).

242. संक्रान्त्यामुपवासं च कृष्णैकादशिवासरे। चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे चैव न कुर्यात्पुत्रवान् गृही॥ नारद q. by हे. (on काल) p. 183, नि. सि. 36, समयप्रकाश 63, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 46. ए. त. (p. 37) quotes a verse from ब्रह्मपुराण to the same effect.

243. एतच्च विधवया पक्षद्वयेपि कार्यम्। ...एवं च सधवाया गृहस्थवच्छुक्लायामेवाधिकारः। समयप्रकाश p. 65; भविष्योत्तरेपि। एकादश्यां न भुञ्जीत पक्षयोरुभयोरपि। ब्रह्मचारी च नारी च शुक्लामेव सदा गृही॥ इति।; नारी विधवा तस्या एव यतिधर्मत्वात्। का. नि. p. 257.

244. वस्तुतस्तु वैष्णवानां सपुत्राणां गृहस्थानामपि सर्वाः कृष्णा नित्या हलायुध-हेमाद्रि-धूर्तस्वसागरवचनात्। तद्यथा। यथा शुक्ला तथा कृष्णा यथा कृष्णा तथेतरा। तुल्ये ते मन्यते यस्तु स वै वैष्णव उच्यते। ए. त. p. 38. हे. (on काल p. 181) quotes this verse from

pp. 52–54. Extremely exaggerated praise of the efficacy of fasting on Ekādaśī has been indulged in by many Purāṇas and digests. In the Nārada-purāṇa there is a long passage on the greatness (māhātmya) of Ekādaśī (quoted in Hemādri on Kāla p. 146 and Kālanirṇaya pp. 273–274). A few of the verses may be cited here; 'by the fire arising from (the observance of) ekādaśī, fuel in the form of sins committed in hundreds of past lives is reduced to ashes. Thousands of Aśvamedha sacrifices and hundreds of Vājapeya sacrifices do not reach even up to the 16th part (of the merit) of the fast on ekādaśī. This ekādaśī bestows heaven and *mokṣa*, confers a kingdom and sons (on a man) and a good spouse and the health of the body. The Ganges, Gayā, Kāśī, Puṣkara, Kurukṣetra, the Narmadā, the Devikā, the Yamunā, the Candrabhāgā are none of them equal to the day of Hari'. Similar verses occur in the Padmapurāṇa.[245] The Anuśāsanaparva[246] pronounces on Upavāsa an exaggerated eulogy. The Padma[247] declares 'on hearing the word ekādaśī, the messengers of Yama become afraid; having fasted on ekādaśī which is the best among all vratas, one should keep awake (in the night) for propitiating Viṣṇu and should sumptuously decorate (the temple or *maṇḍapa* of) Viṣṇu. The man who worships Hari with basil leaves secures by each single leaf the reward of a crore of sacrifices'.[248] The Varāhapurāṇa (chap. 30) declares that Brahmā gave Ekādaśī to Kubera (the lord of wealth) and that to the person who controls himself, who is pure and eats only what is not cooked by fire, Kubera, being pleased, gives everything. The Padma narrates the story of a woman, who was always quarrelsome and who thought of her lover, was therefore censured by her husband and beaten, and who in anger went without food and died at night and who on account of her fast[249] (not under-

245. अश्वमेधसहस्राणि राजसूयशतानि च। एकादश्युपवासस्य कलां नार्हन्ति षोडशीम् ॥ स्वर्गमोक्षप्रदा ह्येषा शरीरारोग्यदायिनी। सुकलत्रप्रदा ह्येषा जीवत्पुत्रप्रदायिनी ॥ न गङ्गा न गया भूप न काशी न च पुष्करम्। न चापि वैष्णवं क्षेत्रं तुल्यं हरिदिनेन च ॥ यमुना चन्द्रभागा न तुल्या हरिदिनेन तु। अनायासेन येनात्र प्राप्यते वैष्णवं पदम् ॥ पद्म (आदिखण्ड 31. 157, 160, 161, 162).

246 मासोपवासी वर्षैस्तु दशभिः स्वर्गमुत्तमम्। महर्षित्वमथासाद्य सशरीरगतिर्भवेत्। ... दिवं गत्वा शरीरेण स्वेन राजन्यथामरः। अनुशासन 107. 136, 137, 139.

247. श्रुत्वा चैकादशीनाम यमदूताश्च शङ्किताः ॥ व्रतानां चैव सर्वेषां श्रेष्ठां चैकादशीं शुभाम्। उपोष्य जागृयाद्विष्णोः कुर्याच्च मण्डनं महत् ॥ तुलसीदलैस्तु यो मर्त्यो हरिपूजां करोति वै। दलेनैकेन लभते कोटियज्ञफलं द्विज ॥ पद्म, ब्रह्मखण्ड, 15. 2–4.

248. तस्यामनग्निपक्काशी यो भवेन्नियतः शुचिः। तस्यापि धनदो देवस्तुष्टः सर्वं प्रयच्छति ॥ वराह 30 6, q. by का. वि. 451 (reads वित्तं प्रयच्छति).

249. निराहारकृताद्वै च निर्मला सा बभूव ह। पद्म, ब्रह्मखण्ड, 13. 53.

taken cheerfully and willingly, but out of anger) became pure. The Garuḍapurāṇa declares:[250] (if one places) on one side (in one pan) the gift of the whole world and on the other side (in another pan) the day of Hari, this ekādaśī is more holy and superior. The ekādasī in Āṣāḍha śukla is called mahā-ekādaśī and also Śayanī.

General rules about those who have the adhikāra to undertake vratas have already been dealt with above. But some rules meant specially for the observers of ekādaśī will be set out here. Nārada[250a] provides 'A human being who is more than eight years old and is less than eighty years in age incurs sin if he eats food on ekādaśī through foolishness.' Kātyāyana has a similar verse. These two establish that every human being of whatever caste or *āśrama* can observe ekādaśī provided he fulfils the conditions as to age laid down in the verses.

Knowing the weakness of human beings, sages relaxed the rule of an absolute fast on ekādaśī. The Nāradapurāṇa[251] says 'roots, fruits, milk and water may be partaken of (on ekādaśī) by great sages, but no sages have said that on ekādaśī cooked food may be taken'. The Vāyupurāṇa[252] provided 'partaking of haviṣya food at night, food other than boiled rice, fruits, sesame, milk, water, ghee, pañca-gavya, air—each succeeding one is here (i. e. in ekādaśī) more commendable (than each preceding one)'. Baudhāyana[253] declares that those who are unable to observe a

250. एकतः पृथिवीदानमेकतो हरिवासरः। ततोऽप्येका महापुण्या इयमेकादशी वरा॥ गरुड I. 127. 12.

250 a. अत्र नारदः। अष्टाब्दादधिको मर्त्यो ह्यपूर्णाशीतिहायनः। भुंक्ते यो मानवो मोहादेकादश्यां स पापकृत्॥ इति, कात्यायनोपि। अष्टवर्षाधिको मर्त्यो ह्यशीतिन्यूनवत्सरः। एकादश्यामुपवसेद् पक्षयोरुभयोरपि॥ का नि. p. 257, ए त. p. 35. In हे. (on काल) p. 172 and समयप्रकाश p. 61 नारद is quoted differently 'अष्टवर्षाधिको मर्त्यो ह्यशीतिर्न च पूर्यते। यो भुङ्क्ते मामके राष्ट्रे विष्णोरहनि पापकृत्। स मे वध्यश्च दण्ड्यश्च निर्वास्यो देशतः स मे।'.

251. मूलं फलं पयस्तोयमुपभोज्यं मुनीश्वरैः। न त्वत्र भोजनं कैश्चिदेकादश्यां प्रदर्शितम्। नारदपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 24. 7-8).

252. नक्तं हविष्याक्षमनोदनं वा फलं तिलाः क्षीरमथाम्बु चाज्यम्। यत्पञ्चगव्यं यदि वा च वायुः प्रशस्तमत्रोत्तरमुत्तरं च॥ वायुपुराण q. by का. नि. p. 261, का. वि. p. 431, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 57 (ascribes to वराहपुराण), धर्मसिन्धु p. 16. वायुपुराण indicates 'an absolute fast' (not drinking even water). One may resort to one of the several options contained in this verse according to one's physical ability.

253. उपवासे त्वशक्तानामशीतेरूर्ध्वजीविनाम्। एकभक्तादिकं कार्यमाह बौधायनो मुनिः॥ q. by हे. (on काल p. 176), का. नि. p. 261.

complete fast (on ekādaśī) or who are over 80 years of age should resort to *ekabhakta* and the other (alternatives). The Matsya provides[254] that those who are unable to fast (on ekādaśī) should prefer to take food by the nakta method and if a person is ill, he should make his son and others to undertake the fast (on his behalf). Who can act as *pratinidhis* in the case of a vrata has already been described above (pp. 53–54).

It is said by Mārkaṇḍeya[255] that one may observe the methods of ekabhakta, nakta, ayācita, complete fast and *dāna*, but should not deprive oneself of the benefits of the observance of dvādaśī (with ekādaśī). Here certain alternatives are allowed in place of an absolute fast and they have to be explained. But before doing so, attention has to be drawn to the rule propounded by Manu[256] viz. if a person, being master of (i. e. quite able to carry out) the main provisions for a rite, resorts to alternatives provided (by texts) he would not, foolish as he is, secure the otherworldly rewards (of that rite). Therefore, ekabhakta, nakta and ayācita are to be employed only if one is unable to observe a strict fast. Ekabhakta means eating only once a day after the middle of the day. Madhyāhna means the 3rd part of the day divided into five parts (i. e. from the 13th ghaṭī after sunrise up to the 18th of a day of 30 ghaṭīs). Hemādri (on kāla p. 109) holds that madhyāhna is the middle part of the day divided into three parts and according to him the proper time for ekabhakta is the time immediately after midday, since the Skanda employs the words 'after the middle of the day is passed' (dinārdhasamaye'tīte),[257] while the gauṇa-kāla is up to

254. उपवासेष्वशक्तानां नक्तं भोजनमिष्यते। असामर्थ्ये शरीरस्य पुत्रादीन्कारयेद् व्रतम्॥ मत्स्य q. by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 69.

255. एकभक्तेन नक्तेन तथैवायाचितेन च। उपवासेन दानेन न निर्द्वादशिको भवेत्॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण q. by हे. on काल p. 176, हे. on व्रत p. 1010, का. नि. p. 261, का. वि. p. 430 (reads उपवासेन भैक्षेण); the गरुडपुराण I. 136. 2–3 has एकभक्तेन ...। उपवासेन भैक्ष्येण नैवाद्वादशिको भवेत्॥.

256. प्रभुः प्रथमकल्पस्य योऽनुकल्पेन वर्तते। न साम्परायिकं तस्य दुर्मतेर्विद्यते फलम्॥ मनु XI. 30 = शान्तिपर्व 165.17. Manu XI. 28 has the same rule in other words.

257. दिनार्धसमयेऽतीते भुज्यते नियमेन यत्। एकभक्तमिति प्रोक्तमतस्तत्स्याद्दिवैव हि॥ स्कन्द q. by हे. (on काल) p. 108, निर्णयामृत p. 14, ए. त. p. 92, पु. चि. p. 43. देवल has the same verse except that the last quarter is ऊनं ग्रासत्रयेण तु. The word नियमेन refers to the observance of celibacy and the like. Acc. to a well known verse अष्टौ ग्रासा मुने ... द्वात्रिंशत्तु गृहस्थस्यापरिमितं ब्रह्मचारिणः॥ (q. by आप. ध. सू. II. 4. 9–13), the person observing एकभक्त should not eat more than 32 or 28 morsels even if he is a householder. अतः पूर्वोक्तवचनपर्यालोचनया दिनार्धादुपरितनो मध्याह्नो मुख्यः कालः, तदूर्ध्वमस्तमनावधिर्गौणः 'दिनार्धसमयेऽतीते' इति वचनात्, दिवैवेत्यभिधानाच्च। हे. (on काल p. 109).

sunset. Works like the Nirṇayāmṛta, Smṛtikaustubha (pp. 9–10) approve of the division into five parts, and hold that ekabhakta means taking food at sometime between the 13th and 18th ghaṭī of the day (of 30 ghaṭīs).[258] When ekabhakta is merely an alternative to strict upavāsa on ekādaśī, food must be taken on the tithi on which the fast would have been observed if the performer were able to undergo it. The same[259] rule applies to *nakta* as a substitute for upavāsa.

Ekabhakta is also a vrata independently performed (without reference to ekādaśī). The Anuśāsanaparva (chap. 106 verses 17–30) declares the rewards secured by observing ekabhakta in each month from Mārgaśīrṣa to Kārtika and Anuśāsanaparva (chap. 107. 13–126) dilates upon the fruits of observing ekabhakta on each of the thirty days of a month. The Kṛtyakalpataru on vrata (pp. 457–468) sets out practically the whole of Anuśāsanaparva chap. 107 (which the editor appears not to have noticed) and Hemādri on vrata vol. II. pp. 930–931 does the same. The Kṛtyakalpataru (on vrata pp. 419–421), the Kṛtyaratnākara (pp. 406–7 and later on) and Hemādri on vrata (vol. II pp. 748–798) quote Anuśāsana 106. 17–30 about ekabhakta in different months at different places.

Nakta—Two verses about nakta occurring in the Liṅga, Nārada[260] and other purāṇas are: alms collected by begging are superior to fasting, food obtained without requesting anyone for it (i. e. *ayācita*) is superior to alms, nakta is superior to ayācita, therefore one should subsist by nakta method; eating haviṣya food, bath, truthfulness, small intake of food, offering oblations

258. अत्र मध्याह्नो नाम पञ्चधा विभक्तस्याह्नस्तृतीयो भागः। ...एवं त्रयोदशीं घटिकामारभ्याष्टादशीं घटिकां यावत् षड्घटिकात्मको मध्याह्नः, तत्राप्युत्तरस्मिन् घटिकात्रये एकभक्तं कर्तव्यम्। निर्णयामृत pp. 14–15; the पु. चि. p. 43 says: अत्र दिनार्धस्योपरि सार्धमुहूर्तपरिमितः कालः.

259. एवं नक्तव्रतस्य गुरुत्वेन प्रागुक्तवायुपुराणवचने नक्तमिति हविष्यान्नादिभोजनस्य कालपरं न तु नक्तव्रतपरं तथात्वे उत्तरोत्तरगुरुव्रतोपदेशप्रस्तावे तदनन्तरं केवलं हविष्यान्नोपदेशानुपपत्तेः। ए. त. p. 93.

260. उपवासात्परं भैक्ष्यं भैक्ष्यात्परमयाचितम्। अयाचितात् परं नक्तं तस्मान्नक्तेन वर्तयेत्॥ हविष्यभोजनं स्नानं सत्यमाहारवर्जनम्। अग्निकार्यमधःशय्यां नक्तभोजी सदाचरेत्॥ लिङ्गपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 83. 10. 12–13), नारदपुराण (उत्तर) 43. 11–12, reads वरं for परं and नक्ताशी षड् समाचरेत् q. by कृत्यकल्पतरु on व्रत p. 3 (quotes from भविष्य and reads षडाचरेत्); हे. (on व्रत I. p. 333) quotes हविष्य° from पद्म and स्मृतिकौ. p. 11 quotes from गरुडपुराण. अग्निकार्य means 'offering oblations of ghee into fire with the महाव्याहृतिs.' Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 301 note 713 for महाव्याहृतिs.

into fire, and sleeping on the ground, these six should always be observed by one who takes a meal only at nakta. There is divergence of views about the time that should be called nakta. Hemādri[261] (on Kāla pp. 112–115) discusses at length what is *naktakāla*. The first rule is that in a naktavrata the tithi (if viddhā) to be accepted is the one that exists at the time of pradoṣa. Pradoṣa is the period of six ghaṭikās after sunset (acc. to Skandapurāṇa), while Viśvādarśa holds that it is a period of three ghaṭikās after sunset. P. C. (p. 46) explains the latter quotation as meaning that three ghaṭikās after sunset is commended as the most proper time of pradoṣa. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa states:[262] some men desire that nakta should be the time when the stars begin to appear, some wise men say that nakta is the time when only one muhūrta (two ghaṭikās) of the day remains, while I hold that nakta is the time when the stars begin to appear. From this it appears[263] that the proper time (*mukhya kāla*) for nakta is after the stars are seen, other times being gauṇa. Nakta has two meanings, one primary viz. period of time and the other figurative or secondary viz. taking food at nakta time.

There is a special naktavrata apart from upavāsa. Vide list for a brief description.

Ayācita means 'subsisting on food not obtained by begging or requesting any one'. The saṅkalpa in this case[264] is 'during this day and night I shall not eat food obtained by begging or requesting any one'. No particular time can be specified about ayācitavrata, since food may be brought by some one at any time. But when such food is brought he has to partake of it only once. In the word 'ayācita' not only[265] is there

261. त्रिमुहूर्तः प्रदोषः स्याद्रवावस्तं गते सति। स्कन्द q. by हे. (काल p. 112); विश्वादर्शे तु–प्रदोषोस्तमयादूर्ध्वं घटिकात्रयमुच्यते॥ हे. (काल p. 112).

262. नक्षत्रदर्शनान्नक्तं केचिदिच्छन्ति मानवाः। मुहूर्तोनं दिनं केचित्प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः। नक्षत्रदर्शनान्नक्तमहं मन्ये नराधिप। भविष्य. q by कृत्यकल्प॰ (on व्रत p. 3), कृ. र. p 57.

263. नक्षत्रदर्शनादूर्ध्वं नक्तस्य मुख्यः कालः, अहं मन्ये इति वचनात्। इतरो गौणः परमतत्त्वेनोपदेशात्। हे. (on काल) p. 114.

264. अत एव सङ्कल्पोपि 'अस्मिन्नहोरात्रे याचितमन्नं न भोक्ष्ये' इत्येवं सङ्कल्पः कर्तव्यः। का. नि. p. 138.

265. न विद्यते याचितं यस्मिन्भोजने तदयाचितम्। तेन कालविशेषानुपादानाद् दिवा रात्रौ वा सकृदित्येव। ...अयाचितमिति न केवलं परकीयान्नयाचनप्रतिषेधोऽपि तु स्वकीयमपि परिचारकभार्यादिभ्यो न याचितव्यम्। ...अतः स्वगृहेपि भृत्यभार्यादयोऽनाज्ञप्ता एव यदि भोजनमुपहरन्ति तर्हि भोक्तव्यं नान्यथा। मिता॰ on या. III. 318.

a prohibition against begging for food belonging to another, but one is prohibited from requesting his wife or servant to serve food belonging to himself. Therefore, if a man's wife or servant without being directed by him bring cooked food to him he may partake of it, but not otherwise.

These terms *ekabhakta*, *nakta*, *ayācita* were used in ancient times in connection with prāyaścittas like Kṛcchra and were taken over into the lore of fasts when the latter became common in the times of the Purāṇas. Vide Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 27. 7, Gaut. 26. 1–5, Yāj. III. 318 and H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 132 under Kṛcchra.

Padma (Uttarakhaṇḍa, chap. 36) gives a fanciful story of the birth of ekādaśī.

Leaving aside the exaggerations and bizzare statements of some of the Purāṇas the underlying conception of a fast on ekādaśī is spiritual; it is a discipline of the mind, the idea being that fasting undertaken cheerfully purges man's spirit of the lower animal passions and brings him to a mental level at which he becomes fit to receive God's grace. The Bhagavadgītā[266] emphasizes that in the case of a man who takes no food the objects of sense may leave him for the time being but that the relish for those still remains and vanishes only when he has a vision of the Highest. The Bṛ. Up. states[267] that 'brāhmaṇas desire to know that Great Soul by the study of the Veda, by sacrifices, by gifts and by austerities consisting of abstention from food'. This idea of the efficacy of fasting undertaken cheerfully is common to several religions. For example, Matthew VI. 16–18 says 'Moreover when ye fast, be not, as the hypocrites, *of a sad countenance*......but thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head and wash thy face, that thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly'.

The fast on ekādaśī is of two kinds; one[268] consists in carrying out (or adhering to) the prohibition of eating cooked food;

266. विषया विनिवर्तन्ते निराहारस्य देहिनः। रसवर्जं रसोऽप्यस्य परं दृष्ट्वा निवर्तते॥ भगवद्गीता II. 59.

267. स वा एष महानज आत्मा ... तमेतं वेदानुवचनेन ब्राह्मणा विविदिषन्ति यज्ञेन दानेन तपसाऽनाशकेन। बृह. उप. IV. 4. 22.

268. तत्रैकादश्युपवासो द्वेधा निषेधपरिपालनात्मको व्रतरूपश्च। तत्राद्यः। न शङ्खेन पिबेत्तोयं न खादेत्कूर्मसूकरौ। एकादश्यां न भुञ्जीत पक्षयोरुभयोरपि–इति कौर्मदेवलाद्युक्तेः।

(*Continued on next page*)

the other is of the nature of a vrata. As regards the first all persons including householders having a son have *adhikāra* to observe it even in the dark half; but as regards the second (*upavāsa* of the nature of vrata) householders that have progeny should not observe it on the ekādaśīs of the dark half; they should not make a saṅkalpa, they should simply give up cooked food but should observe the *niyamas* of celibacy and the like. As to ekādaśīs of the dark half between the Śayanī and Bodhinī even householders with sons have the right to perform the vrata. Similarly, those who desire to secure absorption into Viṣṇu, long life and sons may perform a kāmyavrata on ekādaśīs of both *pakṣas*. Vaiṣṇava householders should always fast even on ekādaśīs of the dark half. The ekādaśīvrata is obligatory on all including devotees of Śiva, Viṣṇu and the Sun. Upavāsa in the nature of vrata is again of two kinds, *nitya* and *kāmya*. These are briefly the rules laid down in the Nirṇayasindhu and Dharmasindhu (p.16). The main difference between mere upavāsa and upavāsavrata is that in the former there is no saṅkalpa that the person is undertaking an upavāsavrata and he simply abstains from taking food because the śāstra says that on ekādaśī one should not eat cooked food, while in the latter there is saṅkalpa and there are also several other matters to be observed.

It would now be proper to give a comparatively early but brief description of ekādaśīvrata. The Nāradapurāṇa (Pūrvārdha chap. 23 verses 12 ff.) describes the procedure as follows:—on the 10th *tithi* the man who has to observe the vrata should after getting up brush his teeth, take a bath, bathe a Viṣṇu image in *pañcāmṛta* and offer worship (of several *upacāras*) to it. On the 11th, after bathing, he should bathe the image with pañcāmṛta and worship Viṣṇu with sandalwood paste, flowers and the like

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... व्रतरूपस्तु ब्रह्मवैवर्ते। प्राप्ते हरिदिने सम्यग्विधाय नियमं निशि। दशम्यामुपवासस्य प्रकुर्याद् वैष्णवं व्रतम्॥ इति। इदं च शिवभक्तादिभिरपि कार्यं—वैष्णवो वाथ शैवो वा कुर्यादेकादशीव्रतम्—इति शिवधर्मोक्तेः। वैष्णवो वाथ शैवो वा सौरोप्येतत्समाचरेत्॥ इति सौरपुराणाच्च। नि. सि. p. 35. Vide also हे. (on काल) pp 172-173 for almost the same words. कूर्म and सूकर do not here mean tortoise and boar, but they are certain bulbous roots respectively called in Marathi कणगर and कोन. The verse न शङ्खेन० is quoted from कूर्म and विष्णुधर्मोत्तर by हे. (व्रत) I. p. 993. It occurs in नारद. (उत्तर, chap. 24. 3-4 and 25. 12).

and repeat the mantra[269] *'after remaining without food on the ekādaśī I shall, O lotus-eyed one, on the next day partake of* cooked food; be you, O Acyuta, my refuge'. He should take no food, should curb his senses, should lie down in front of the Viṣṇu image, keep awake engaged in songs, music and dances relating to Viṣṇu and listen to stories about Viṣṇu contained in the Purāṇas. On the 12th tithi, he should after a bath for himself, bathe the image with milk and then address the following prayer[270] 'O Keśava! May you by reason of this vrata favour (me) who am blinded by the darkness of ignorance, may you turn your benignant face (towards me) and bestow on me the sight of knowledge'. Then he should feed brāhmaṇas and give them dakṣiṇā (gifts or fees) according to his ability. After that he should perform his daily five sacrifices (brahmayajña, pitṛtarpaṇa, vaiśvadeva, bali and atithi-pūjana) and should himself take his meal along with his relatives and should observe restraint of speech when eating. While engaged in the upavāsa-vrata, a person should never look at cāṇḍālas, persons guilty of grave sins, atheists, those that have violated the rules of proper conduct, those who engage in vituperations or back-biting; he should not speak with the husband of a vṛṣalī, with one who acts as a priest for those who are unfit for performing sacrifices, with one who worships images in temples for money, with one who subsists by practising the profession of singing or medicine (for money), with one who is a bard or one who is opposed to gods and brāhmaṇas or those who are fond of eating at others' houses and adulterers. One who is engaged in upavāsa-vrata should be pure (in body and mind), should control himself and should be intent on doing good to all. For the meaning of vṛṣalī, vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 104 note 236 and p. 394 note 881. Manu III. 152 provides that physicians and priests doing worship in temples for money are unfit to be invited at śrāddha.

269. एकादश्यां निराहारः स्थित्वा चाहं परेऽहनि। भोक्ष्येऽहं पुण्डरीकाक्ष शरणं मे भवाच्युत॥ नारद (पू. 23. 15) q. by हे. (on व्रत) I. p 1000 (reads तारणं मे); the same verse occurs in वराह 39. 32 (reads भूत्वा चैवापरे) and is quoted from वराह० by का. वि. p. 456, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 60; का. नि. p. 268 quotes it from विष्णु (probably meaning वराह) and adds 'इत्युच्चार्य ततो विद्वान् पुष्पाञ्जलिमथार्पयेत्'. हे. (on काल) p. 196 quotes the verse from देवल and reads 'गतिर्भव ममाच्युत'.

270. अज्ञानतिमिरान्धस्य व्रतेनानेन केशव। प्रसीद सुमुखो भूत्वा ज्ञानदृष्टिप्रदो भव नारद (पू. 23. 20) q. by धर्मसिन्धु p 20, हे. (व्रत) vol. I. p. 1007. It is possible that the original words were प्रसादसुमुखो भूत्वा. The का. नि. p 269 quotes an almost identical mantra from कात्यायन 'अज्ञान ... केशव। प्रसादसुमुखो नाथ ... भव॥,'

It will be noticed that the main matters in the vrata are upavāsa, worship of Viṣṇu image, *jāgara*[271] at night with songs *and music, pāraṇā on 12th and certain restrictions about looking at some persons or speaking to them and restraint of the senses. The Brahma-vaivarta (IV. 26. 1–93) also contains the procedure of* ekādaśī-vrata. It will be noticed[272] that in the procedure of ekādaśī there is no *homa*, though in some other vratas there is a homa.

Accretions gathered round this simple procedure. It was laid down early enough that one engaged in upavāsavrata should miss four meals in three days, i. e. he should eat only once on the 10th in the noon, fast[273] both times on 11th and on the 12th he should miss one meal. The general rule is that the saṅkalpa for vratas is to be made in the morning, but as regards ekādaśī-vrata exceptions have been made in the digests. For example, it is said that the saṅkalpa[274] about *niyamas* is to be made on the night of the 10th tithi. If ekādaśī is mixed up with 10th, then saṅkalpa about fast is to be made at night;[275] if daśamī

271. हे. (on व्रत) I. pp. 984–85, 1007, ए. त. p. 58 lay great emphasis on जागर. One or two verses may be quoted here. 'ब्रह्मपुराणे। एकादश्यां नरो यस्तु कुरुते जागरं नरः। गीतैर्नृत्यैस्तथा वाद्यैः प्रेक्षणीयैः पृथग्विधैः॥ स याति वैष्णवं लोकं यं गत्वा न निवर्तते॥' हे. (व्रत) I. p. 984; संपूज्य विधिवद्रात्रौ कृत्वा चैव प्रजागरम्। कथाद्या गीतिका विष्णोर्गायन् विष्णुपरायणः। याति विष्णोः परं स्थानं नरो नास्त्यत्र संशयः। q. by हे. (व्रत) p. 1007, ए. त. p. 58. The परशुरामप्रताप (folio 83 b) quotes a passage from the Skanda that states that there are 26 items in *Jāgara*: गीतं वाद्यं च नृत्यं च पुराणपठनं तथा। धूपं दीपं च नैवेद्यं पुष्पगन्धानुलेपनैः। फलमर्घ्यं च नैवेद्यं दानमिन्द्रिय-संयमः। सत्यान्वितं विनिद्रं च मुदायुक्तं क्रियान्वितम्। साश्चर्यं चैवासत्साहं (साश्चर्यं चैव सोत्साहं ?) पापालस्यादिवर्जितम्। प्रदक्षिणासमायुक्तं नमस्कारपुरःसरम्। नीराजनसमायुक्त-मतिहृष्टेन चेतसा। यामे यामे महाभागे कुर्यादारात्रिकं हरेत् (हरेः)। षड्विंशगुणसंयुक्तमेकादश्यां तु जागरम्। यः करोति नरो भक्त्या न पुनर्जायते भुवि॥.

272. अत एव एकादशीव्रतादिषु होमानाचरणं सन्ध्यामौनव्रतादौ च। व्रतप्रकाश (folio 10 b).

273. सायमाद्यन्तयोरह्नोः सायं प्रातश्च मध्यमे। उपवासफलं प्रेप्सुर्जह्याद्भक्तचतुष्टयम्॥ का. नि. p. 264 (ascribes to अङ्गिरस्), ए. त. p. 29 (ascribes to महाभारत and reads प्रेप्सोर्वर्ज्यं), का वि. p. 498 (has the first half and reads the 2nd as धर्म्योपवासे कुर्वीत नैव भक्तचतुष्टयम्). All these works say that the word 'sāyam' is not to be taken literally but is only indicative and what is really intended is the giving up of four meals in three days.

274. तदनन्तरं दशम्यां रात्रौ नियमग्रहणं कुर्यात्। तदुक्तं ब्रह्मवैवर्ते। प्राप्ते हरिदिने सम्यग्विधाय नियमं निशि। दशम्यामुपवासस्य प्रकुर्याद्वैष्णवं व्रतम्॥ इति। का. नि. p. 267.

275. विद्धैकादश्युपवासे रात्रौ सङ्कल्पः। तथा च नारदीये। विद्धोपवासे सकलं दिनं त्यक्त्वा समाहितः। रात्रौ सम्पूजयेद् विष्णुं सङ्कल्पं च तदाचरेत्॥ इति। मध्यरात्रादुपरि दशमीयुक्ता चेदेकादशी तस्यां मध्याह्नस्योपरि सङ्कल्पः। तथा च स्मृतिः। दशम्याः सङ्गदोषेण मध्यरात्रात्परेण तु। वर्जयेच्चतुरो यामान् सङ्कल्पार्चनयोः सदा॥ इति। का. नि. p. 268; vide हे. (on काल) p. 197 for the verse दशम्याः०; it reads the first verse as 'विद्धोप-वास्यो (सो ?)ऽसहमंस्तु ... तदा चरेत्॥'.

extends beyond midnight and the ekādaśī becomes mixed with it, saṅkalpa is to be made the next day after noon. Hemādri *(on vrata vol. I. p. 1006) and Kālanirṇaya (p. 268) provide that the image of Viṣṇu should be worshipped in a maṇḍapa* decorated charmingly with flowers of various kinds. It is provided in the Skanda[276] that when a person breaks his fast on the 12th he should partake of the *naivedya* mixed with Tulasī (basil) leaves, since that destroys (the sins of) crores of murders.

Numerous medieval digests set out the procedure of ekādaśī-vrata. It is impossible for reasons of space to refer to them. For the sake of comparison with the Nāradapurāṇa procedure, I shall set out the procedure of Ekādaśīvrata from the Dharmasindhu (p. 19), almost the latest authoritative work on Dharmaśāstra.

Now (is set out) the procedure of (ekādaśī) vrata. On the day previous to the fast, the person, after performing all his daily duties in the morning, should make a *saṅkalpa* in the form 'beginning from the 10th *tithi*, O god Keśava, lord of gods, I shall perform for three days your vrata; make it free from obstacles'. Then at midday (of 10th) he should eat by the ekabhakta method. The restrictions to be observed about ekabhakta are: he should avoid taking food in a vessel of bell metal, avoid flesh, *masūra* pulse, sleeping by day, over-eating, drinking too much water, eating food again (after the midday meal), sexual intercourse, telling falsehood, honey, gram, *kodrava*, vegetables, the food belonging to others, gambling, oil, sesame cakes, *tāmbūla* (betel leaves and nut &c.); if he has to cleanse his teeth after ekabhakta he should do so with twigs. At night he should sleep on a bed spread on the ground. In the morning of ekādaśī he should cleanse his teeth with the leaves of a tree and not with twigs. After performing bath and other daily duties, he should put on his finger a *pavitra* (loop) made of *darbha* grass, turn his face to the north, take a copper vessel full of water and make a *saṅkalpa* as follows: 'after remaining without food on the ekādaśī I shall, O lotus-eyed one, on the next day partake of cooked food; O Acyuta, be you my refuge'. Or he may offer a handful of flowers to Hari with this mantra. In the case of him who is unable to observe a total fast, necessary changes may be made in the sentence of *saṅkalpa* according to

276. एतच्च पारणं तुलसीमिश्रं कुर्यादित्याह। स्कन्दपुराणे। कृत्वा चैवोपवासं तु योऽश्नाति द्वादशीदिने। नैवेद्यं तुलसीमिश्रं हत्याकोटिविनाशनम्॥ इति। हे. (व्रत) I. p. 1008, का. नि. p. 273.

his ability viz. 'on ekādaśī I shall subsist on water or milk or on fruits or I shall take food at the time of nakta'. Śaivas should make the *saṅkalpa* with Rudra Gāyatrī;[277] Sun-worshippers should make the saṅkalpa with the usual Gāyatrī (Ṛg. III. 62. 10 'tatsavitur' &c.) or by taking the name of the Sun. This saṅkalpa should be made by smārtas on the night of the ekādaśī tithi, if there is 10th tithi after sunrise (mixed up with ekādaśī); if 10th tithi exists beyond midnight on daśamī day all (whether smārtas or vaiṣṇavas) should make the saṅkalpa after midday. He should drink the water used for saṅkalpa. On making the saṅkalpa he should pronounce over it thrice the mantra of eight syllables (such as 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya'). Then after erecting a *maṇḍapa* decorated with flowers (garlands &c.) he should offer worship to Hari (image) according to prescribed rules in that *maṇḍapa* with flowers, fragrant substances, incense, best *naivedya*, with various divine hymns of praise, charming songs and music, with straight prostrations on the ground like a staff, with best announcements with the word 'jaya' and at night he should keep awake.

The cult of ekādaśī went on growing apace, so much so that for the 24 ekādaśīs of the twelve months of the lunar year and for the two ekādaśīs of the intercalary month separate names were invented. It is not possible to say with certainty when these names were given, but some of them must be about two thousand years old.

The twenty-four names beginning with *caitra* śukla ekādaśī and ending with phālguna dark half ekādaśī are given in the note below.[278] There is some divergence about the names, but

277. The रुद्रगायत्री is: तत्पुरुषाय विद्महे महादेवाय धीमहि। तन्नो रुद्रः प्रचोदयात्॥ मै. सं. II. 9.

278. The 24 names from चैत्रशुक्ल ११ in order are कामदा, वरूथिनी; मोहिनी, अपरा; निर्जला, योगिनी; शयनी, कामिका or कामदा; पुत्रदा, अजा; परिवर्तिनी, इन्दिरा; पाशाङ्कुशा, रमा; प्रबोधिनी (or बोधिनी), उत्पत्ति; मोक्षदा, सफला; पुत्रदा, षट्तिला; जया, विजया; आमलकी (or आमर्दकी), पापमोचनी. The पद्मपुराण (VI. chapters 41–65) contains over a thousand verses on these and the legends connected with them. The Ahalyākāmadhenu (Ms. in Scindia Oriental Institute at Ujjain) is probably the largest work on vratas having 1206 folios therein. It deals with these names on folios 696 to 799. As regards the two ekādaśīs in an intercalary month, Padma VI. 64 and 65 say that कमला and कामदा are the names of dark and bright half एकादशीs, while the अहल्याकामधेनु (folios 807–

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for want of space no notice is taken of it here. One cause of divergence appears to be that in some Purāṇas the month is *pūrṇimānta, while in others the month is amānta and what is Bhādrakṛṣṇa in Pūrṇimānta reckoning is Śrāvaṇa-kṛṣṇa in Amānta reckoning.*

The ekādaśī on Jyeṣṭha bright half is called *nirjalā* because the vrata consists in not using or drinking water except at the time of bathing or at *ācamana*. It is described by Hemādri (on vrata vol. I. pp. 1089–1091) who quotes the Mahābhārata for it and by N. S. pp. 99–100. In the summer month of Jyeṣṭha it must have been a great trial to go without water for a day and therefore it was specially commended. Viṣṇu was supposed to sleep for four months from Āṣāḍha bright ekādaśī at night and to rise from his sleep on Kārtika bright ekādaśī by day and hence these two ekādaśīs are respectively called Śayanī (connected with the śayana i. e. sleeping of Viṣṇu) and Prabhodhinī[279] or Prabodhanī (connected with the *prabodha* i. e. awakening of Viṣṇu). What the legend of Viṣṇu's sleeping from Āṣāḍha śukla eleven for four months was really meant to illustrate or symbolize it is difficult to say. As these four months were the months of the rainy season in many parts of India all movements from one place to another distant place came almost to a stand-still in ancient times; so probably mythology became busy and suggested that Viṣṇu himself gave up all activity. It is possible that this legend of four months' sleep may have some connection with the state of things when the ancestors of the Vedic Āryans lived in northern latitudes, when for four months the sun was either not seen or emitted only faint light. This legend from whatever cause it may have arisen is worked up in various ways. It was said that Viṣṇu not only slept on his snake couch but he also turned in his sleep from one side to the other (as human beings do) on Bhādrapada śukla eleven. And therefore that ekādaśī in Bhādrapada was called Parivartinī. This matter was still further elaborated and it was asserted that

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813) gives the names as कैवल्यदा and स्वर्गदा for कृष्ण and शुक्ल एकादशी 'वत्सरेऽधिकमासस्य चैयमेकादशी सिता। मलघ्नी स्वर्गदा नाम सर्वपापहरा परा।' अ. का. धे. (folio 809 a); 'तस्याधिकस्य मासस्य कृष्णा चैकादशी शुभा। कैवल्यदेति विख्याता शोकहेति पराख्यया॥ अ. का. धे. (folio 811 a). Both are said to be taken from भविष्योत्तर.

279. Vide Varāha, chap. 211, for प्रबोधनीद्वादशीमाहात्म्य.

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all the great gods and goddesses went to sleep like Viṣṇu on different dates, as stated in the Rājamārtaṇḍa quoted below.[280] Then, further differences arose, some works saying Viṣṇu went to sleep on the 11th, some that Viṣṇu slept on 12th, while a third set said that Viṣṇu slept on the 15th of Āṣāḍha bright half. The Vanaparva (203. 12) declares that Viṣṇu sleeps on the hoods of Śeṣa. Kālidāsa in the Meghadūta refers to both the sleeping of Viṣṇu on his snake couch and his rising from it (śāpānto me bhujagaśayanād utthite śārṅgapāṇau). Most scholars hold that Kālidāsa flourished between 350–450 A. D. In the Gaṅgadhar Stone Inscription of Viśvavarman in the Kṛta year 480 there is a clear reference to the rising from sleep of Viṣṇu in Kārtika (vide Gupta Inscriptions ed. by Fleet No. 17 at pp. 72, 75, 79). Kṛta is held to be the same as Vikrama year by most scholars. So the legend about Viṣṇu's *śayana* on a snake bed and getting up from it may be about 2000 years old, if not more.

The question as to the tithi on which the gods (and particularly Viṣṇu) went to sleep very much exercised the minds of the authors of Purāṇas and of the digests. For example, the Vāmanapurāṇa (16. 6–16) contains verses[281] some of which may

280. यथा राजमार्तण्डे। दिवा स्वपिति नो विष्णुर्निशि न प्रतिबुध्यते। द्वादश्यामेव कर्तव्यं पादयोगो न कारणम्॥ तथा तत्रैव प्रतिपदादिपञ्चदशतिथिषु क्रमेण देवानां शयनाभिधाने विष्णोर्द्वादश्यां शयनमुक्तम्। यथा। वह्निः स्कन्दपुरन्दरौ गणपतिर्लक्ष्मीर्यमो भास्करो वायुः पर्वतकन्यका वसुमती तोयाधिपः केशवः। ब्रह्मा चैव महेश्वरो धनपतिः सर्वेप्यमी शेरते उत्तिष्ठन्त्यमुना क्रमेण विबुधाः स्वे स्वे दिने पूजिताः॥ व. क्रि. कौ. pp. 285–286. The original ms. of राजमार्तण्ड (D. C. No. 342 of 1879–1880) has some variant readings. The 2nd half of the first verse quoted is 'द्वादशी ऋक्षसंयोगात् पादयोगो न कारणम्' and in the 2nd verse the ms. reads श्रीर्धर्मराड् भास्करो देवः पर्वत॰ and ब्रह्मा वायुशिवादयः प्रतिपदारम्भे तिथौ शेरते चोत्तिष्ठ॰. The reference to पादयोगो॰ arises in this way. The भविष्य says that Viṣṇu sleeps in the first quarter of अनुराधा, turns on another side in the middle of Sravaṇa nakṣatra and wakes up in the last quarter of Revatī. मैत्राद्यपादे स्वपितीह विष्णुर्वैष्णवमध्ये परिवर्तते च। पौष्णावसाने च सुरारिहन्ता विबुध्यते मासचतुष्टयेन। भविष्य q. by हे. on काल p. 897 (ascribes to नारदीय), का. वि. p. 175, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 285, तिथितत्त्व p. 112. This is राजमार्तण्ड verse 1175 (folio 72a). Vide ABORI vol. 36 p. 314. The राजमार्तण्ड says that this restriction as to the quarters of नक्षत्रs need not be observed. The two verses quoted above in the beginning of this note are राजमार्तण्ड 1179 (folio 72 a), 1175. The भुजबलनिबन्ध also has the verse वह्निः॰ (1532).

281. तथा वामनपुराणमपि। ...एकादश्यां जगत्स्वामिशयनं परिकल्पयेत्। शेषाहिभोगपर्यङ्कं कृत्वा सम्पूज्य केशवम्। ...अनुज्ञां ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च द्वादश्यां प्रयतः शुचिः। लब्ध्वा पीताम्बरधरं स्वस्ति निद्रां समापयेत्। &c. All verses of वामन 16. 6–16 are q by कृ. र. pp. 206–207; while some of them are quoted by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 286, कृत्यतत्त्व 436. The printed वामन reads 'स्वामी शयनं परिकल्पते' and 'पीताम्बरधरः स्वस्थो निद्रां समानयन्'. These would change the sense a good deal.

be summarised here; 'a person should arrange a couch in the form of the hoods of the snake Śeṣa for the lord of the world (Viṣṇu) on the 11th tithi of Āṣāḍha and offer worship; he should, being himself pure, seek on the 12th permission from brāhmaṇas invited, and should bring to sleep the Lord that wears yellow clothes'. Then the purāṇa proceeds to narrate how Kāma (God of Love) sleeps on 13th of Āṣāḍha on a bed of *kadamba* flowers, the *Yakṣas* on 14th, Śiva on the 15th (i. e. Pūrṇimā) on a bed of tiger-skin, then Brahmā, Viśvakarmā, Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa, Yama, Skanda, the Sun, Kātyāyanī, Lakṣmī, Lord of snakes, Sādhyas respectively go to sleep on the tithis of the dark half from 1st to 11th. The K. V. (p. 225) and Hemādri (on Kāla pp. 888–889) quote certain verses according to which Kubera, Lakṣmī, Bhavānī, Gaṇeśa, Soma, Guha, Bhāskara, Durgā, the Mātṛs, Vāsuki, sages, Viṣṇu, Kāma, Śiva are the lords of tithis from 1st to 14th for pavitrāropaṇa (i. e. giving the sacred upavīta to the gods) and for śayana.

One important rule has to be remembered,[282] viz. whatever *nakṣatra* or whatever *tithi* has a certain deity as its lord, the sleeping, turning from one side to another and the rest (i. e. getting up &c.) take place on that tithi or nakṣatra. Some celebrate the *śayana* of a god relying on the tithi, others rely on the nakṣatra. But the trouble is that one tithi has several lords, according to various authorities. For example, pratipad has three lords, Agni, Brahmā and Kubera (Garuḍa I. 116. 3–8). For reasons of space it is not possible to refer to the texts on which different tithis are assigned for the śayana of Viṣṇu. The Samayamayūkha (p. 79), K. T. V. p. 172 and Vrataprakāśa[283] (part of Vīramitrodaya) espouse the view of Āṣāḍha eleventh (of bright half) relying on the Brahmapurāṇa. Many digests favour the 12th as the tithi of śayana and prabodha of Viṣṇu relying on the several verses in the Varāha, Viṣṇudharmottara and other Purāṇas. Vide Kālaviveka p. 175 (ff), V. K. K. 286–288, Kṛtyatattva p. 436, K. R. p. 209. In an

282. तदुक्तं मत्स्यपुराणे। यस्य यस्य तु देवस्य यन्नक्षत्रं तिथिश्च या। तस्य देवस्य तस्मिंस्तु शयनावर्तनादिकम्॥ केचित्तिथिवशेन केचिन्नक्षत्रवशेन सर्वेषां शयनादिकमाचरन्ति। हे. (on काल) p. 904. The verse is q. by का वि. p. 225 (ascribes to पद्मपुराण), स. म. p. 58.

283. एकादश्यां तु शुक्लायामाषाढे भगवान्हरिः। भुजङ्गशयने शेते यदा क्षीरार्णवान्तरे। तदा तत्प्रतिमा कार्या सर्वलक्षणसंयुता। ... एकादश्यां तु शुक्लायां कार्तिके मासि केशवम्। प्रसुप्तं बोधयेद्रात्रौ श्रद्धाभक्तिसमन्वितः। व. क्रि. कौ. p. 287, कृ. र. 224; व्रतप्रकाश (ms.) remarks (folio 104 b) 'अत्र ब्रह्मपुराणबलादेकादश्यामेव शयनप्रबोधौ'.

inscription referred to in I. A. vol. 25 p. 290 we have the words 'puṇyā utthānadvādaśī' (the holy 12th tithi on which Viṣṇu gets up from his couch), the inscription being dated in *śake* 1462 (1540 A. D.). In some works Āṣāḍha Full moon is advocated for the śayana of Viṣṇu.[284] Vide K. R. p. 208, K. V. p. 188, Kṛtyatattva p. 436. These works provide how śayana and prabodha are to be celebrated. On the śayanī day, the devotee prepares a couch in the evening with a piece of cloth or with flowers, worships Viṣṇu (image) at night, repeats the mantra 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya' and then puts Viṣṇu to sleep and repeats two verses, one of which is quoted below.[285] On the day of prabodha the image of Viṣṇu is given an elaborate bath and a full worship is done and several mantras from Varāha-purāṇa are recited and a Vedic verse (idam viṣṇur, Ṛg. I. 22. 17) also is recited.

Persons having *adhikāra* for ekādaśī-vrata may be divided into two classes, viz. Vaiṣṇavas and Smārtas. The word vaiṣṇava is defined in some of the Purāṇas[286] such as the Padma III. 1. 21-32, IV. 10. 65-66, VI. 252. 74, VI. 69, Viṣṇu III. 7. 20-33, III. 8. 9-19, the Bhāgavata and in some of the digests. A Vaiṣṇava is really one who has received dīkṣā (initiation) according to the Vaiṣṇava *āgamas* of the Vaikhānasa, Pañcarātra and other schools. The Skanda defines a Vaiṣṇava: that man is a Vaiṣṇava who does not forsake (fast on) ekādaśī, whether he

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284. विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे मार्कण्डेयः। आषाढशुक्लपक्षान्ते भगवान्मधुसूदनः। भोगिभोगासनो मायां योगनिद्रान्तमानयन्। शेतेसौ चतुरो मासान्यावद्भवति कार्तिकी॥ ...तथा यमः। क्षीराब्धौ शेषपर्यङ्के आषाढ्यां संविशेद्धरिः। निद्रां त्यजति कार्तिक्यां तयोस्तं पूजयेत्सदा॥ अयं च कल्पोऽन्य एव वैकल्पिकः। का. वि. p 188; व्रतप्रकाश (folio 104 b) says: श्रीदत्तादयस्तु आषाढशुक्लैकादशीमारभ्य पौर्णमासीपर्यन्तं विष्णोर्निद्राग्रहण-रूप-शयन-समयः.

285. सुप्ते त्वयि जगन्नाथे जगत्सुप्तं भवेदिदम्। प्रबुद्धे त्वयि बुध्येत जगत्सर्वं चराचरम्। इत्यनेन पूजयेत्। कृत्यतत्त्व pp. 436-437. Vide धर्मसिन्धु p. 53 for शयनोत्सव and pp. 111-112 for प्रबोधोत्सव and नि. सि. p. 102 and p. 205 respectively for the same two. उत्तिष्ठोत्तिष्ठ गोविन्द त्यज निद्रां जगत्पते। त्वया चोत्थीयमानेन उत्थितं भुवनत्रयम्॥ is the last mantra q. by K. T. p. 454, N. S p. 205.

286. येषां मुखे हरेर्नाम हृदि विष्णुः सनातनः। उदरे विष्णुनैवेद्यं स श्वपाकोऽपि वैष्णवः॥ पद्म IV. 10. 66; द्विविधं वैष्णवं प्रोक्तं बाह्यमाभ्यन्तरं तथा। शङ्खचक्रादिभिर्बाह्यमान्तरं वीतरागता॥ पद्म VI. 252. 74; वैखानस-पञ्चरात्रादि-वैष्णवागमोक्तदीक्षां प्राप्तो वैष्णवः। अत एव स्कन्दपुराणे वैष्णवस्वरूपमभिहितम्। परामापदमापन्नो हर्षे वा समुपस्थिते। नैकादशीं त्यजेद्यस्तु यस्य दीक्षास्ति वैष्णवी॥ समात्मा सर्वजीवेषु निजाचारादविप्लुतः। विष्ण्वर्पिताखिलाचारः स हि वैष्णव उच्यते॥ इति। का नि. p. 244; विष्णुरेव हि यस्यैषा देवता वैष्णवः स्मृतः। quoted by Prof. De in his work 'Vaiṣṇava faith &c.' p. 365; विष्णुपुराणेपि। न चलति निजवर्णधर्मतो यः सममतिरात्मसुहृद्विपक्षपक्षे। न हरति न च हन्ति किंचिदुच्चैः सितमनसं तमवेहि विष्णुभक्तम्॥ इति। का. नि. p. 244. This is विष्णुपुराण III. 7. 20.

be reduced to the direct misery or whether great bliss might have come to him, who has been given the dīkṣā of a Vaiṣṇava, who behaves equally towards all living beings, who does not swerve from the duties of his class (varṇa), who is equal to his own friends of his class (varṇa), who is equal to his own friends or his enemies, who, being high (in principles), does not deprive anyone (of his possessions) or does not injure anyone, and whose mind is pure. Vide Prof. S. K. De's 'Vaiṣṇava faith and movement' pp. 364–366 and p. 413 where the author gives an analysis of the characteristics of the Vaiṣṇava devotee drawn from the Haribhaktivilāsa of Gopālabhaṭṭa (for followers of Caitanya).

Though the Purāṇas give these definitions, some of which are very general and may apply even to persons not popularly called Vaiṣṇavas, still in all parts of India and by all *śiṣṭas* it is admitted that those are Vaiṣṇavas who are traditionally[287] known by that appellation. The question on what tithi upavāsa should be practised when ekādaśī is mixed up with the tenth tithi and twelfth has to be often answered in different ways according as the person who is to observe the fast is a Vaiṣṇava or a Smārta. The answer depends on the rules about *vedha* which are rather complicated. It is not possible within the space at my disposal to go into details. Those who want to make a deep study of this matter may consult Hemādri on Kāla pp. 206–288, Kālanirṇaya pp. 233–256, Tithitattva pp. 104–108, Samayaprakāśa pp. 66–74, Nirṇayasindhu pp. 37–44, Smṛtimuktāphala (on Kāla) pp. 839–844), Dharmasindhu (pp. 16–19).

Ekādaśī, like all other tithis, is of two kinds, viz. sampūrṇā and viddhā or khaṇḍā. The general definition[288] of the sampūrṇā tithi is that when a tithi has the extent of 60 ghaṭikās commencing from the time of sunrise it is called sampūrṇā. To this ekādaśī was stated by the Skandapurāṇa[289] to be an exception. In the case of Ekādaśī the Garuḍapurāṇa[290] and Bhaviṣya

287. यद्यपि पित्रादेरागमदीक्षायां तन्मात्रस्यैव वैष्णवत्वं न तु पुत्रादेस्तथापि स्वपारम्पर्यप्रसिद्धमेव वैष्णवत्वं स्मार्तत्वं च मन्यन्ते वृद्धाः। नि. सि. p. 40.

288. आदित्योदयवेलायामारभ्य षष्टिनाडिका। या तिथिः सा तु सम्पूर्णा कथिता पूर्वसूरिभिः॥ नारदीयपुराण q. by हे. (on काल p. 206), का. त. वि. p. 3, ए. त. 41 (2nd half is different).

289. प्रतिपत्प्रभृतयः सर्वा उदयादोदयाद्रवेः। सम्पूर्णा इति विख्याता हरिवासरवर्जिताः॥ स्कन्द. q. by हे. (on काल) p. 206, ए. त. p. 41.

290. गारुडपुराणे शिवरहस्ये चोक्तम्। उदयात्प्राग्यदा विप्र मुहूर्तद्वयसंयुता। सम्पूर्णैकादशी नाम तत्रैवोपवसेद् गृही॥ भविष्यत्पुराणे। आदित्योदयवेलायाः प्राक् मुहूर्तद्वयान्विता। एकादशी तु संपूर्णा विद्धान्या परिकीर्तिता॥ q. by हे. (on काल) p. 206, ए. त. p. 41.

lay down that ekādaśī is sampūrṇā only when it exists also two muhūrtas (i. e. 4 ghaṭikās) before sunrise of the day on which it exists for the whole civil day.

The Nārada and other purāṇas condemn fast on ekādaśī mixed with daśamī. Nāradapurāṇa (pūrvārdha, chap. 29. 39–40) says 'the sixth tithi mixed with the 5th, the seventh mixed with the 9th and ekādaśī mixed with daśamī—a fast should never be observed on these; all should accept (for fast) ekādaśī free from daśamī; daśamī joined to ekādaśī destroys spiritual merit acquired in three past lives'. This aversion to daśamī was probably due to the fact that daśamī finds no place in the famous *yugmavākya* and the pair that is commended is that of ekādaśī and dvādaśī (and not of ekādaśī and daśamī). One well-known verse is: Gāndhārī observed a fast on ekādaśī mixed with daśamī; her one hundred sons (the Kauravas) perished (in the Bhārata war); therefore one should give up that kind of ekādaśī for a fast.[291] The Nāradapurāṇa (pūrvārdha, chap. 29) devotes 15 verses to the discussion of Ekādaśī and Dvādaśī.

In the Brahmavaivartapurāṇa quoted at great length by Hemādri on Kāla (pp. 255–259) four kinds of *vedhas* of ekādaśī by daśamī (viz. aruṇodaya-vedha, ativedha, mahāvedha and Yoga) are mentioned, but they are passed over here. In the case of Vaiṣṇavas, if daśamī extends on a civil day beyond 56 *ghaṭikās* from sunrise, then ekādaśī follows and continues for the whole of the next civil day, there is then what is called Aruṇodayavedha and Vaiṣṇavas cannot observe a fast on such an ekādaśī which is preceded by Aruṇodayavedha. The same result follows if daśamī extends up to 3, 2 or one ghaṭikā before sunrise or daśamī persists till the exact time when the sun rises and then ekādaśī starts (when there is what is called sūryodaya-vedha). A Vaiṣṇava in deciding on what tithi to fast is affected by both aruṇodayavedha and sūryodayavedha i. e. even if ekādaśī exists for full 60 ghaṭīs after sunrise on a civil day when daśamī precedes it by four ghaṭīs, or by three, two or one ghaṭī or when daśamī exists for one moment at sunrise and then ekādaśī follows at once, still the Vaiṣṇava cannot observe a fast on the ekādaśī of 60 ghaṭīs but only on the next i. e. the 12th. If dvādaśī touches three civil days, then the fast for Vaiṣṇavas

291. दशम्येकादशीविद्धा गान्धार्या समुपोषिता। तस्याः पुत्रशत नष्टं तस्मात्तां परिवर्जयेत्॥ गरुड I. 125. 2, q. by कृ. र. p. 635 (who regards this as merely a निम्बार्कवाद), राजमार्तण्ड folio 71, verse 1154 (vide ABORI vol, 36 p. 312).

is on the day which is wholly covered by dvādaśī and the pāraṇā is on the next day when dvādaśī ends. In any cases other than those specified above ekādaśī is the fast day and dvādaśī is the pāraṇā day. Nāradapurāṇa (pūrvārdha, chap. 29 verse 45) prescribes that if there are two ekādaśīs, whether in the bright half or dark half, a householder should fast on the earlier of the two and ascetics (yatis) on the later. Sannyāsins and widows are governed by the rules for Vaiṣṇavas. Smārtas (all those who are not Vaiṣṇavas) are not affected by the doctrine of *aruṇodayavedha* but only by *sūryodayavedha* i. e. if there is daśamī before sunrise and an ekādaśī follows from sunrise, smārtas have to observe a fast on the ekādaśī. There are many texts that are apparently in conflict, but the Kālanirṇaya (pp. 251–256) and Nirṇayasindhu (pp. 37–44) introduce order by showing that some texts refer to Vaiṣṇavas alone, some to Smārtas alone and some to both. The Ekādaśītattva (p. 55) brings together many of the conclusions about the fast tithi and the pāraṇātithi.

There are cases where the texts sometimes allow fast on ekādaśī even though mixed with daśamī. This occurs when dvādaśī does not exist even for a short time on the 13th tithi. But this is allowable only to Smārtas and not to Vaiṣṇavas. Certain restrictions as to food and physical and mental activities had to be observed from the time saṅkalpa was made to the final ceremonies (*pāraṇā*) in ekādaśīvrata.[292] It may be noted that even when a person is in mourning he has to observe ekādaśīvrata.[293] Certain observances were laid down as common to all vratas (including ekādaśī) viz. forbearance, truthfulness, compassion, charity, purity, restraint of senses, worship of god, homa, contentment and not misappropriating another's wealth.[294] There were separate rules to be observed on daśamī, ekādaśī and dvādaśī (10th tithi to 12th). They are somewhat overlapping. The observances prescribed for daśamī are: vegetables, flesh, masūra pulse, eating again (after ekabhakta), sexual intercourse,

292. एवं दशमीमारभ्य पारणान्तं सर्वं नियमयुक्तं व्रतं निर्वर्तयेत्। हे. (on व्रत I. p. 1008).

293. अथास्य व्रतस्य सूतकादावपि कर्तव्यतोच्यते। तत्र विष्णुरहस्ये। परमापदमापन्ने हर्षे वा समुपस्थिते। सूतके मृतके चैव न त्याज्यं द्वादशीव्रतम्॥ इति। हे. (on काल) p. 192.

294. क्षमा सत्यं दया दानं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः। देवपूजाग्निहवनं सन्तोषः स्तेयवर्जनम्। सर्वव्रतेष्वयं धर्मः सामान्यो दशधा स्मृतः। भविष्य q. by कृत्यकल्प. (on व्रत) p. 5, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 66, का. वि. p. 454, हे. on व्रत I. p. 1008 (from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर, with variations); compare लिङ्गपुराण (पूर्वार्ध) 84. 22. This verse is गरुडपुराण I. 128. 8–9.

dice-play, drinking much water—a devotee of Viṣṇu should avoid these.[295] The Matsyapurāṇa[296] provides: (vessels of) bell-metal, flesh, wine, honey, oil, telling an untruth, physical exercise, journey, sleeping by day, earning (wealth), oil-cakes, *masūra* pulse—one should omit these twelve (on daśamī).

The restrictions on the day of fast are many, but a few are stated here: Hārīta lays[297] down: one should on a day of fasting avoid speaking with persons guilty of grave sins, heretical persons, atheists and the like and also falsehood, gambling and the like. The Kūrmapurāṇa provides: on the day of vrata one should not touch nor speak nor look at persons that are *antyajas* (untouchables) and have to live outside the village, a woman recently delivered, one guilty of grave sins and a woman in her monthly illness. Devala provides:[298] A fast perishes (i. e. all rewards of observing it are lost) by sleep in the day, by play with dice and by sexual intercourse; but in case of great pain (or danger) a fast is not affected by drinking water (frequently). The Rājamārtaṇḍa lays down: a man fasting on an Ekādaśī should not be guilty of telling a lie, gambling, sleeping by day and sexual intercourse. Hemādri (on vrata vol. I. p. 331) quoting Matsya forbids a bath with oil on ekādaśī. A fast is vitiated by drinking water often, by eating *tāmbūla*, by sleep in day time and by sexual intercourse. When Vyāsa[299] says that flowers,

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295. शाकं मांसं मसूरांश्च पुनर्भोजनमैथुने। द्यूतमत्यम्बुपानं च दशम्यां वैष्णवस्त्यजेत्। q. by हे. (on काल p. 193), का. नि. p. 265, ए. त. p. 56 (reads माषं, probably a Bengali copyist's mistake).

296. मत्स्यपुराणे। कांस्यं मांसं सुरां क्षौद्रं तैलं वितथभाषणम्। व्यायामं च प्रवासं च दिवास्वापं तथार्जनम्। तिलपिष्टं मसूरं च द्वादशैतानि सन्त्यजेत्। हे. on काल p. 193, व. क्रि. कौ. pp. 63-64, ए. त. p. 56 (reads अञ्जनं collyrium for अर्जनम्, which reading is better), हे. (on व्रत) I. p. 1008 (reads अञ्जनं); these are गरुड I. 136. 3-4.

297. हारीतः। पतित-पाखण्डि-नास्तिकादिसम्भाषणानृतद्यूतादिकमुपवासदिने वर्जनीयम्। इति। q. by हे. (on व्रत) I. p. 1008, का. नि. p. 265 (reads अनृताश्लीलादिकमुपवासादिषु); बहिर्ग्रामान्त्यजान् सूतिं पतितं च रजस्वलाम्। न स्पृशेन्नाभिभाषेत नेक्षेत व्रतवासरे॥ कूर्म q. by का. नि. p. 265.

298. उपवासो विनश्येत दिवास्वप्नाक्षमैथुनैः। अत्यये जलपानेन नोपवासः प्रदुष्यति॥ देवल q. by कृत्यकल्प० (व्रत p. 4), कृ. र. p. 57, का. वि. p. 452. Vide गरुड I. 128. 7-8. असत्यभाषणं द्यूतं दिवास्वप्नं च मैथुनम्। एकादश्यां न कुर्वीत उपवासपरो नरः। राजमार्तण्ड verse 1167 (folio 71 b); vide ABORI vol. 36 p. 313 for it; this occurs in का. वि. p. 452.

299. यत्तु व्यासवचनं—पुष्पालङ्कारवस्त्राणि गन्धधूपानुलेपनम्। उपवासे न दुष्येत दन्तधावनमञ्जनम्॥ (गरुड I. 128. 67) तत्पुण्यके स्त्रीविषयमिति। हे. on काल p. 201. वृद्धशातातप (q. by कृत्यकल्प० on व्रत p. 5 and हे. on व्रत vol. I. p. 331) reads the verse as गन्धालङ्कारवस्त्राणि पुष्पमालानु०.

ornaments, (rich) clothes, fragrant substances, incense, sandal-wood paste, brushing the teeth and collyrium (in the eyes) would not vitiate a fast, he is referring to the fast observed by women whose husbands are alive.

On the 12th the person has to offer worship to Viṣṇu and has to avoid sleeping by day, the food belonging to another person, eating again after the midday meal (on 12th), sexual intercourse, honey, bell-metal vessel, meat, oil.[300] The passage in the note below is practically the same as the one cited from Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa by Hemādri (on Kāla p. 203) as containing the restrictions about dvādaśī.

The result of the insistence by Vaiṣṇavas on observing a fast on ekādaśī mixed with dvādaśī was often this that in order to be able to observe pāraṇā on dvādaśī before it ended, they had to get up very early before dawn, take their bath and compress all their morning and midday duties into a short period before sunrise. In modern times many orthodox Vaiṣṇavas do this and rely on the authority of the Nārada[301] and Skanda purāṇas quoted below. A smṛti[302] text goes so far as to prescribe 'on seeing that dvādaśī exists only for half a *kalā* after *niśītha*, a (Vaiṣṇava) person should perform all acts proper to be performed up till midday following, because Śaṅkara has so ordered'. *Kalā* as a measure of time has been variously defined. Matsya (142.4) and Vāyu (100. 217–218) say that 30 kalās are equal to a *muhūrta* (i. e. two ghaṭikās); on the other hand, the Amarakośa holds that 360 kalās constitute a muhūrta and the Kālanirṇaya

300. बृहस्पतिरपि। दिवानिद्रा परान्नं च पुनर्भोजनमैथुने। क्षौद्रं कांस्यामिषं तैलं द्वादश्यामष्ट वर्जयेत्॥ हे. (on काल) p 203.

301. तदुक्तं नारदीये। अल्पायामथ विप्रेन्द्र द्वादश्यामरुणोदये। स्नानार्चनक्रियाः कार्या दानहोमादिसंयुताः। एतस्मात्कारणाद्विप्रः प्रत्यूषे स्नानमाचरेत्। पितृतर्पणसंयुक्तं स्वल्पां दृष्ट्वा च द्वादशीम्॥ स्कन्दपुराणेपि। यदा भवेदतीवाल्पा द्वादशी पारणादिने। उषःकाले द्वयं कुर्यात् प्रातर्माध्याह्निकं तदा॥ का. नि. p. 242, हे. (on काल) pp. 280–281.

302. कलार्धा द्वादशीं दृष्ट्वा निशीथादूर्ध्वमेव हि। आमध्याह्नाः क्रियाः सर्वाः कर्तव्याः शम्भुशासनात्॥ स्मृति quotes by ति. त. p. 111. It explains निशीथादूर्ध्वं as 'सार्धप्रहर-त्रयस्योपरि' i. e. after 3½ praharas of the night. But निशीथ ordinarily means अर्धरात्र and therefore निशीथादूर्ध्वम् would mean any time after midnight. निशीथ is also explained as 'महानिशि द्वे घटिके रात्रेर्मध्यमयामयोः'. महानिशा is defined as the two praharas of the night (excluding the 1st and 4th or last). Vide हे. on काल p. 708, का. वि. 343, नि. सि. 130 for several definitions of महानिशा. कल्पतरु (नैयत॰ p. 370) says that महानिशा is the period of eight ghaṭikās after the first half prahara of night. 'घटिकाया अशीत्यधिकशततमो भागः कला।' का. नि. p. 216, quoting अमरकोश 'अष्टादश निमेषास्तु काष्ठा त्रिंशत्तु ताः कला। तास्तु त्रिंशत्क्षणास्ते तु मुहूर्तो द्वादशास्त्रियाम्॥'.

accepts this last. As the astronomers themselves were at variance as to the length of a tithi in question, a plain straightforward rule was proposed that the fast in case of doubt should be observed on dvādaśī and the pāraṇā should be observed on the 13th.[303] The rank and file of Vaiṣṇavas are very exclusive and bigoted and treat with some contempt everything connected with Śiva and some of them eat sumptuous food on Śivarātri, instead of observing a fast. Many of the smārtas generally observe a fast both on the Ekādaśī and the Śivarātri (particularly the Mahāśivarātri i. e. on Māgha dark 14th). There have been great wrangles and hatreds among Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas. The Brahmapurāṇa expressly[304] states that in the holy Puruṣottamakṣetra a temple of Śiva was erected in order to put a stop to the wranglings between Śaivas and Bhāgavatas (devotees of Viṣṇu). The higher Hindu thought including even the Purāṇa excursions in philosophy always held that there[305] is only one God, that the one *Brahma* that is all Intelligence, that is incapable of being thoroughly comprehended, that is without parts and without body, is imagined to have different visible forms for securing the purposes of devotees and that deities deemed to have visible forms are imagined as male or female or as portions (of the one *brahma*). The Mahābhārata and some of the Purāṇas emphasize that God is one and that there is no difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu.[306] Vide Vanaparva 39. 76–77,

303. बहुवाक्यविरोधेन सन्देहो जायते यदा। द्वादशी तु तदा ग्राह्या त्रयोदश्यां तु पारणम्॥ बहुवाक्यविरोधेन ब्राह्मणेषु विवादिषु। एकादशीं परित्यज्य द्वादशीं समुपोषयेत्॥ हे. on काल pp. 210–211. The first verse is quoted from गरुडपुराण by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 43.

304. शैवभागवतानां च वादार्थप्रतिषेधकम्। अस्मिन्क्षेत्रवरे पुण्ये निर्मले पुरुषोत्तमे। शिवस्यायतनं देव करोमि परमं महत्। ब्रह्मपुराण 56. 64–65.

305. चिन्मयस्याप्रमेयस्य निष्कलस्याशरीरिणः। उपासकानां कार्यार्थं ब्रह्मणो रूपकल्पना॥ जमदग्नि q. by ए. त. p. 58 which explains रूपकल्पना as 'रूपस्थानां देवतानां पुंस्त्र्यंशादिकल्पना।'. The सिद्धान्तबिन्दु of मधुसूदनसरस्वती quotes this verse (without name) after introducing it with the words 'एवं चैकस्यैव चतुर्भुज-चतुर्मुख-पञ्चमुखाद्याः पुमाकाराः श्रीभारतीभवान्याद्याश्च स्त्र्याकाराः। अन्ये च मत्स्यकूर्माद्ययोऽन्यावतारा लीलयैवाविर्भवन्ति भक्तानुग्रहार्थमित्यवधेयम्।' pp. 91–92 on 8th verse of the दशश्लोकी (Govt. Oriental Series, Poona).

306. शिवाय विष्णुरूपाय विष्णवे शिवरूपिणे। दक्षयज्ञविनाशाय हरिरुद्राय वै नमः॥ वन॰ 39. 76–77; यस्त्वां वेत्ति स मां वेत्ति यस्त्वामनु स मामनु। नावयोरन्तरं किंचिन्मा ते भूद् बुद्धिरन्यथा॥ शान्ति 343. 131; ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवाद्याभिः कल्पनाभिरुदीरितः। ब्रह्म 192. 51 and विष्णुपुराण V. 18. 50; ब्रह्मा विष्णुः शिवश्चेति एक एव त्रिधोच्यते। ...एकस्य बहुधा व्याप्तिर्गुणकर्मविभेदतः। लोकानामुपकारार्थमाकृतित्रितयं भवेत्॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 130 10–11; यो भेदं कुरुतेऽस्माकं त्रयाणां द्विजसत्तम। स पापकारी दुष्टात्मा दुर्गतिं समवाप्नुयात्॥ वराह 70. 27; स्वमूर्तिभेदैः स्थित एक ईशः। नारदीय (पूर्वार्ध) 2. 32.

Brahmapurāṇa 130. 10–11, 192. 51–53, Vāmana 67. 27–28, Varāha 70. 27, Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 18. 50, Brahmāṇḍa III. 43. 47–51, Nāradīya I. 2. 32. Some purāṇas[307] put forward the notion that health is secured from (the worship of God as) the Sun, wealth from Agni, (true) knowledge from Śaṅkara, and *mokṣa* from Viṣṇu.

Some of the purāṇas (such as Brahmavaivarta) specially mention eight kinds of dvādaśīs viz. Unmīlanī, Vañjulī, Trispṛśā, Pakṣavardhinī, Jayā, Vijayā, Jayantī and Pāpanāśinī. Vide Hemādri on Kāla pp. 260–263, H. (on vrata) vol. I. p. 1214, N. S. 43, Sm. K 250–254. Detailed descriptions of these are passed over here. Jayā,[308] Vijayā, Jayantī and Pāpanāśinī are dvādaśīs respectively having Punarvasu, Śravaṇa, Rohiṇī, Puṣya nakṣatras. Trispṛśā is[309] dvādaśī which spreads over three days i. e. it exists before sunrise on a certain day, then on the whole of the next day from sunrise and for some time (however short) after the latter. On these fast should be observed by those desirous of destruction of sins and attainment of *mokṣa*.

It would not be out of place to bring together in one place the different items that constitute Ekādaśīvrata.

On the 10th the performer has a meal at midday (ekabhakta), then he cleans his teeth (not with a twig) but with leaves or by rinsing the mouth twelve times with water. Then on the night of 10th he gives up his evening meal and begins to observe the restrictions indicated above (pp. 115–116). Then on the 11th after getting up he cleanses the body as well as the mind and makes a *saṅkalpa* in the morning as described above (pp. 105–106). The saṅkalpa has to be made at night or in the noon if ekādaśī is viddhā. Then he recites thrice the mantra of eight syllables (*om namo Nārāyaṇāya*) on the water in the copper vessel in his hands and drinks water therefrom. On the 11th he prepares a

307. आरोग्यं भास्करादिच्छेद्धनमिच्छेद्धुताशनात्। ज्ञानं च शङ्करादिच्छेन्मुक्तिमिच्छेज्जनार्दनात्॥ मत्स्यपुराण 68. 45 q. by ए. त. p. 58; the same verse is quoted from भविष्य by हे. (on व्रत) vol. I, p. 767 (reads गतिं for मुक्तिं); कृत्यकल्प० (on शान्ति) reads 'ईश्वराज्ज्ञानमिच्छेत्तु (folio 24a)'. It occurs in भविष्योत्तर 52. 39 also.

308. The नि. सि. p. 48 associates nakṣatras with these that are different from those mentioned by Hemādri (on vrata) vol. I. p, 1214. It says 'पुष्यर्क्षयुता जया श्रवणयुता विजया पुनर्वसुयुता जयन्ती रोहिणीयुता पापनाशिनी'. Vide का. वि. p. 455 quoting वराह for yet different nakṣatras for the same.

309. अरुणोदय आद्या स्याद् द्वादशी सकलं दिनम्। अन्ते त्रयोदशी प्रातस्त्रिस्पृशा सा हरेः प्रिया॥ ब्रह्मवैवर्त q. by हे. on काल p. 261.

maṇḍapa of flowers, worships the Viṣṇu image therein and offers the several *upacāras*. He fasts that day. He recites hymns of praise to Viṣṇu and falls prostrate on the ground in salutation. He then keeps awake at night. On the 12th he takes a bath in the morning, offers worship to Hari and dedicates his fast to the God, recites the mantra (Ajñānatimirāndhasya' &c. cited above p. 105) and performs the pāraṇā. This is the general outline of *kāmya* ekādaśīvrata. In the case of the obligatory fast, the performer should abstain from food the whole day and also keep the several restrictions to be observed on ekādaśī (as described above such as not drinking water more than once, not sleeping by day &c). The rules for the followers of Caitanya about ekādaśī as summarised from the Haribhaktivilāsa by Prof. S. K. De in 'Vaiṣṇava faith and Movement' on pp. 371–375 do not differ much from those stated above.

A vrata comes to an end by a rite called udyāpana (carrying out) or pāraṇa or pāraṇā. The word pāraṇa or pāraṇā is derived by some from the root 'pāra' meaning[310] 'to finish an action or rite'. The word occurs in the drama Śakuntalā referred to above on p. 46 and in Raghuvaṃśa II. 70 'prātar-yathoktavrata-pāraṇānte'. Vide for pāraṇā also Raghuvaṃśa II. 39 and 55. According to the Kūrma-purāṇa, one should fast on the ekādaśī and pāraṇā is to be on the 12th but pāraṇā should not be done on 13th tithi, since that would destroy (the merit) of twelve dvādaśīs.[311] In spite of this, pāraṇā on the 13th[312] tithi had to be allowed under certain circumstances e. g. if ekādaśī is mixed with daśamī on a prior day and with dvādaśī on the next day, then the fast is to be on dvādaśī but if no dvādaśī at all exists on the day after fast, then pāraṇā may be on the 13th tithi. The Viṣṇudharmottara[313]

310. पारतीरकर्मसमाप्तौ—इत्यस्माद्धातोर्निष्पन्नः पारणशब्दः। यद्यप्यसौ समाप्तिमात्रमभिदधाति तथाप्युपवाससमाप्तावेव लोकशास्त्रयोः प्रयोगात्पङ्कजादिशब्दवद्योगरूढो द्रष्टव्यः। तथा च योगरूढश्चोपवासस्य चरमाङ्गभोजनमभिधत्ते। का. नि. p. 225; अत्र केचिदाहुः पारणमत्र व्रतस्य समाप्तिर्न तु भोजनं तस्य पुरुषधर्मत्वात्। तथा च पारतीरकर्मसमाप्ताविरयस्य धातो रूपं पारणमिति। हे. (on काल p. 127); compare व. क्रि. कौ. p. 62.

311. तत्र कूर्मपुराणे। एकादश्यामुपोष्यैवं द्वादश्यां पारणं स्मृतम्। त्रयोदश्यां न तत् कुर्याद् द्वादशद्वादशीक्षयात्॥ हे. (on काल) p. 280.

312. यदा कलयापि द्वादशी नास्ति तदा त्रयोदश्यामपि पारणं कुर्यात्। का. नि. p. 273; यदा तु पूर्वदिने दशम्या उत्तरदिने द्वादश्या युतैकादशी तदोत्तरामुपोष्य द्वादश्यां पारणं कुर्यात् परदिने द्वादश्यनिर्गमे त्रयोदश्यामपीति। ए. त. p. 55.

313. पारणान्तं व्रतं ज्ञेयं व्रतान्ते विप्रभोजनम्। असमाप्ते व्रते पूर्वे नैव कुर्याद् व्रतान्तरम्॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर q. by का. वि. p. 463, हे. (on काल) p. 294, का. नि. p. 226 (ascribes to आदित्यपुराण).

prescribes 'a vrata ends with pāraṇā and at the end of a vrata, brāhmaṇas are to be fed; before one vrata is finished one should not commence another'. The general rule is that in all vratas[314] the pāraṇā is in the morning. One should perform the udyāpana as laid down in the texts providing for the vrata concerned; a vrata becomes fruitless if the udyāpana be not performed. If no form of udyāpana is prescribed by the texts, the performer should perform a rite in consonance with the[315] vrata. He should make gifts in proportion to his wealth when no form of udyāpana is mentioned in the texts on a vrata. For making the vrata complete he should donate cows and gold. If none of these can be given and nothing can be done as laid down in the texts, the words of a brāhmaṇa alone are sufficient to complete a vrata; but if a man receives the blessed words of brāhmaṇas without giving a dakṣiṇā (though able), he goes to hell!

A difficulty may arise owing to the rules that no fresh vrata is to be undertaken till one (prior) vrata is finished and that vrata includes its pāraṇā. Suppose, a man has undertaken years ago to observe two vratas, then he may have to observe a fast on ekādaśī and also on dvādaśī owing to another vrata already undertaken. Pāraṇā involves *bhojana* (taking food). But this is impossible if one has to undergo two fasts successively. The remedy is that at the end of the first vrata the performer (who has to undergo two fasts) should sip water. The Veda says that when a man partakes of water it is neither eating nor non-eating.[316]

314. देवलः। उपवासेषु सर्वेषु पूर्वाह्ने पारणं भवेत्। अन्यथा तु फलस्यार्धं धर्ममेवोपसर्पति॥ का. त. वि. p. 22, का. नि. p. 226 (first half).

315. Vide नि. सि. p. 25 quoting पृथ्वीचंद्रोदय for these propositions about उद्यापन.

316. अद्भिः पारणं कृत्वा द्वितीयोपवासस्य प्रक्रमयितुं शक्यत्वात्। तादृशं तु पारणमशितानशितोभयात्मकम्। ... एतच्च द्व्यात्मकत्वं दर्शपूर्णमासप्रकरणे याजमानब्राह्मणे श्रूयते। ...यदपोऽश्नाति तन्नेवाशितं नेवानशितं न क्षोधुको भवति &c. का. नि. p. 276. क्षोधुक means 'hungry'. The passage 'यदपो ... भवति' occurs in तै. सं. I. 6. 7. 4.

CHAPTER VI

CĀTURMĀSYA

On Āṣāḍha-śukla ekādaśī or dvādaśī or paurṇimā [317] or on the day when the Sun enters the Zodiacal sign Cancer, cāturmāsya-vrata is to be observed. Whenever it may be begun it is to be finished on Kārtika-śukla 12. The performer should observe a a fast that day, worship Viṣṇu (image) and pray as follows: (Garuḍapurāṇa I. 121. 2–3) 'O God! I have undertaken this vrata in your presence; may it succeed without obstacles if you become favourable to me; after I undertake this vrata if I die when it is half-finished, may it become completely fulfilled through your favour'! The vrata may be begun even when Jupiter or Venus has become invisible and the like. The performer has to give up some edible during the four months, viz. vegetables in Śrāvaṇa, curds in Bhādrapada, milk in Āśvina and pulses in Kārtika. According to some authorities, he has to give up some or all vegetables for all the four months. The performer is asked to give up many other things also such as sleeping on a cot, meat, honey &c. When the vrata is finished, he invites brāhmaṇas, announces to them what restrictions he had undertaken, feeds them, gives them dakṣiṇā, and recites the prayer 'O Lord! this vrata was undertaken by me in order to please you; O Janārdana! may it become complete through your favour, whatever defect there may be!' This vrata is even now observed, particularly by women. The Kṛtyatattva (p. 435), Vratārka, Vrataprakāśa (folio 105a) and other medieval digests quote long passages from the Matsya, Bhaviṣyottara (I. 6–9) and other purāṇas about the results of giving up certain things in the Cāturmāsyavrata. A few passages are set out for sample: 'a man secures a sweet voice by giving up jaggery, has charming limbs by giving up oil, by giving up ghee he secures beauty, by giving up fruits he becomes intelligent and has many sons, by giving up vegetables and leaves he secures well-cooked

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317. चातुर्मासिकव्रतग्रहणे कालचतुष्टयम्। आषाढी पौर्णमासी शुक्ला एकादशी द्वादशी कर्कटसंक्रान्तिश्च। का. वि. p. 332, हे. (on व्रत) II. p. 806, तिथितत्त्व p. 111 (quoting वराह); गरुड I. 121. 1 mentions एकादशी and आषाढी पौर्णमासी for चातुर्मास्यव्रत.

dishes, by giving up curds and milk he goes to the world of cows'.[318]

In the Vedic period there were sacrifices called Cāturmāsyas (seasonal sacrifices) that were performed on the Full Moon days of Phālguna (or Caitra), of Āṣāḍha and Kārtika and were respectively called Vaiśvadeva, Varuṇapraghāsa and Sākamedha (the fourth called Śunāsīrīya need not detain us). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1091–1106. It was expressly stated by Āpastamba Śrauta VIII. 4. 13 that Vaiśvadeva (*parvan* of Cāturmāsya) was to be offered in vasanta and Varuṇapraghāsa in the rainy season. It may be noted that the sacrificer in these seasonal sacrifices had to keep certain observances such as sleeping on the ground,[319] avoiding meat, honey, salt, sexual intercourse and bodily decorations, which closely resemble the restrictions laid on the person observing Ekādaśīvrata. The Yājñavalkya-smṛti[320] (I. 125) makes it obligatory on a person of means to offer a Soma sacrifice every year, a paśubandha in each *ayana*, the Āgrayaṇeṣṭi (performed when new crops are ready) and the *cāturmāsyas*. The cāturmāsyas meant here are the Vedic ones mentioned above and not the Paurāṇika vratas of cāturmāsya.

The Yājñavalkya-smṛti employs the word vrata in the sense of prāyaścitta in III. 251, 252, 254, 266, 269, 282, 298, 300, in the sense of 'brahmacarya' in III. 15, and in the sense of the food to be subsisted upon in III. 289, but hardly ever in the sense of a rite to be observed on a tithi or week day or nakṣatra as in the purāṇas. This at least indicates that the vratas mentioned in the purāṇas had not attained prominence in the time of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, which, in spite of its containing over 1000 verses, hardly ever refers to any vrata in the sense of the purāṇas.

318. चतुरो वार्षिकान् मासान्देवस्योत्थापनावधि। मधुस्वरो भवेन्नित्यं नरो गुडविवर्जनात्। तैलस्य वर्जनादेव सुन्दराङ्गः प्रजायते। कटुतैलपरित्यागात् शत्रुनाशमवाप्नुयात्। ताम्बूल-वर्जनाद्भोगी रक्तकण्ठः प्रजायते। घृतत्यागात्सुलावण्यं सर्वं स्निग्धं वपुर्भवेत्। फलत्यागाच्च मतिमान् बहुपुत्रः प्रजायते। शाकपत्राशनत्यागात् पक्वान्नादो नरो भवेत्। ... दधिदुग्धपरित्यागाद्गोलोकं लभते नरः। व्रतप्रकाश folio 105a quoting भविष्योत्तर; कृत्यतत्त्व p. 435 quotes almost the same verses from मत्स्य, नि. सि. p. 106 quotes similar verses from हेमाद्रि.

319. पौर्णमासेनेष्ट्वा चातुर्मास्यव्रतान्युपेयात्। केशान्निवर्तयीत। श्मश्रूणि वापयीत। अधः शयीत। मधुमांसलवणस्त्र्यवलेखनानि वर्जयेत्। आश्व. श्रौ. सू. II. 16. 22–27; तस्य पर्वस्वन्तरालव्रतानि। न मांसमश्नाति। न स्त्रियमुपैति। ऋत्वे वा जायाम्। नोपर्यास्ते। जुगुप्से-तानृतात्। प्राङ् शेते। आश्व. श्रौ. सू. VIII. 4. 4–10.

320. प्रतिसंवत्सरं सोमः पशुः प्रत्ययनं तथा। कर्तव्याग्रयणेष्टिश्च चातुर्मास्यानि चैव हि॥ याज्ञ. I. 125.

CHAPTER VII

Vratas called Nāgapañcamī, Manasāpūjā, Rakṣābandhana, Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī

In the month of Śrāvaṇa there are several important vratas, one of which is Nāgapañcamī on the 5th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa. The Nāgapañcamī is observed in different ways in all parts of India. Some hold that, instead of Akṣayyatṛtīyā, Nāgapañcamī is the one half auspicious day out of 3½ most auspicious days in the year. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, Brāhmaparva (chapter 32 verses 1–39), expatiates on Nāgapañcamī. Kṛtyakalpataru (on vrata) pp. 87–90 and Hemādri (on vrata vol. I. pp. 557–560) quote several verses from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa. Briefly, the Bhaviṣya[321] says: when men on the 5th bathe with milk the nāgas called Vāsuki, Takṣaka, Kāliya, Maṇibhadra, Airāvata, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Karkoṭaka and Dhanañjaya, these give *abhaya* (freedom from danger) to their families. A legend is told (in Bhaviṣya I. 32) that Kadrū, mother of nāgas, laid a bet with her sister Vinatā about the colour of the tail of Indra's horse called Uccaiḥ-śravas, Kadrū asserting that the tail was black though the horse was white and Vinatā saying that the body and tail were white and when the nāgas refused to practise the deceit whereby they were to become the dark hair in the horse's tail, Kadrū cursed them that fire would burn them (in the *sarpasattra* of Janamejaya). Persons should make golden, silver or clay images of nāgas, should worship them with Karavīra and Jātī flowers and incense etc., feed brāhmaṇas with ghee, *pāyasa* etc. and should bathe nāgas with milk. The result would be that nāgas would bestow on the worshippers safety (from snake-bite). The Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa (chap. 36) contains another method. On Śrāvaṇa 5th (bright half) a person should draw on both sides

321. वासुकिस्तक्षकश्चैव कालियो मणिभद्रकः। ऐरावतो धृतराष्ट्रः कर्कोटकधनञ्जयौ। एतेऽभयं प्रयच्छन्ति प्राणिनां प्राणजीविनाम्। भविष्योत्तर 32. 2–3 (with slight variations) q. by का. वि. p. 413. In other purāṇas twelve nāgas are named e. g. कृत्यतत्त्व p. 437 and तिथितत्त्व p. 33 quote from गरुड 'अनन्तं वासुकिं शङ्खं पद्मं कम्बलमेव च। तथा कर्कोटकं नागं धृतराष्ट्रं च शङ्खकम्। कालियं तक्षकं चापि पिङ्गलं मणिभद्रकम्। यजेत्तान् सितामागान् दष्टमुक्तो दिवं व्रजेत्॥'. भविष्योत्तर 36. 48–49 and Bhaviṣya I. 32. 50–51 also set out twelve names of Nāgas, each one being the object of worship in each of the twelve months of the year.

of his door with cowdung figures of serpents which should be worshipped with curds, dūrvā tendrils, kuśas and sandalwood paste, flowers and presents of food. They would have no danger from snakes. Vide Hemādri on Kāla p. 621, K. V. p. 413, K. R. p. 234 In Saurāṣṭra Nāgapañcamī is observed in Śrāvaṇa dark half.

It appears that in Bengal and south India (but not in Mahārāṣṭra) there is worship of Manasādevī in one's own courtyard on a branch of the snuhī plant on the 5th of Śrāvaṇa dark half. The Rājamārtaṇḍa has four verses, one of which is quoted below. Samayapradīpa and Kṛtyaratnākara refer to the worship of Manasādevī. The Tithitattva[322] (p. 33) contains the *dhyāna* of Manasādevī taken from Padmapurāṇa. First, there is a saṅkalpa[323] about the worship of Manasādevī in order to get rid of the danger from snake-bite, then one offers *gandha*, flowers, incense, lamp and *naivedya* and then Ananta and other *nāgas* are offered worship, the principal item being naivedya of milk and ghee. Nimba leaves are placed inside the house and the performer eats them and also makes brāhmaṇas eat them. The Brahmavaivartapurāṇa (II) devotes two chapters (45–46) to the birth of Manasādevī, her *pūjā* and stotra (praise) &c. Dr. Sukumar Sen has edited in the B. I. series Vipradāsa's 'Manasāvijaya'.

In the Deccan on Śrāvaṇa bright half 5th figures of snakes are drawn with red sandalwood paste on wooden boards, or clay images of snakes coloured yellow or black are purchased and worshipped and given milk and snake charmers go about with snakes of all sorts, to which people offer milk and some money is paid to the snake charmers.

322. सुप्ते जनार्दने कृष्णपञ्चम्यां भवनाङ्गणे। पूजयेन्मनसां देवीं स्नुहीविटपसंस्थिताम् पिचुमर्दस्य पत्राणि स्थापयेद्भवनोदरे। स्वयं चापि तदश्नीयाद् ब्राह्मणांश्चापि भोजयेत्॥ मनसा देवीं विषहरीं स्नुही सिजुवृक्षः। तिथितत्त्व pp. 33–34, कृत्यतत्त्व p. 537, का. वि. p. 414. स्नुही is a plant from the bark of which oozes a sticky substance. Its botanical name is *Euforbia nerifolia*, according to Prof. Golokendranath Bhattacharya of Berhampore Kṛṣṇanath College in West Bengal. वामनशयनान्तरमसिततिथिः पञ्चमी या तु। उत्थानं मनसाया मिथुनरवौ कर्कटे वापि॥ राजमार्तण्ड, folio 72b verse 1191 (vide ABORI vol. 36 p. 316). समयप्रदीप (folio 36a) adds 'अत्र तिक्तकटुकषायमधुराणां क्रमेण भक्षणमाचरन्ति.'

323. The सङ्कल्प is अद्य श्रावणे मासि कृष्णे पक्षे पञ्चम्यां तिथौ अमुकगोत्रः श्री-अमुकदेवशर्मा सर्पभयाभावकामो मनसा-देवीपूजामहं करिष्ये इति सङ्कल्प्य स्नुहीवृक्षं पूजये-त्तदभावे घटे जले वा। कृत्यतत्त्व p. 437.

If pañcamī is mixed with the 4th and 6th tithis, that mixed with the 6th is to be preferred. The Vratakālaviveka[324] speaks of Manasāvrata on Jyeṣṭha-śukla 10th with Hasta-nakṣatra or without it and remarks that when this vrata is performed Manasā goddess protects a man from the danger of poisonous snakes.

How and when serpent worship arose in India is a difficult problem. The Ṛgveda contains no reference to snake worship. On the contrary the Vedic god Indra is said to be the killer of *ahi* (a serpent) in Ṛg. II. 30. 1, II. 19. 3 and the slaughter of *ahi* is frequently mentioned as in Ṛg. I. 165. 6, III. 47 4. That *ahi* meant a serpent with a hood is clear from Ṛg. VI. 75. 14 (ahiriva bhogaiḥ paryeti bāhum). In Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 7 and Praśna IV. 5 there are references to the cast-off slough of serpents (mentioned as 'pādodara' whose feet are inside its body) and in Ṛg. IX. 86. 44 (ahir na jūrṇāmati sarpati tvacam) also. But in many passages of the Ṛgveda (such as I. 32. 11) *ahi* appears to have a metaphorical sense and refers to a demon like Vṛtra that prevented waters from flowing down. In the Tai. S. IV. 2. 8. 3. and Vāj. S. (XIII. 6–8) there are three verses that contain salutations to serpents. In the Atharvaveda (VIII. 14. 13–15) there is a reference to serpents some of which like Takṣaka and Dhṛtarāṣṭra are named. The Kāṭhaka S. V. 6 enumerates the pitṛs, sarpas, gandharvas, waters and herbs as pañcajana, and the Ait. Br. XIII. 7 asserts that gods, men, gandharvas, apsarases, snakes and pitṛs were pañcajana. This cannot be the meaning of 'pañcajanāḥ' in Ṛg. X. 53. 4. The above passages show that sarpas had come to be a clan like gandharvas in late vedic times.

In the Āśv. gṛ. II. 1. 1–15, the Pāraskara-gṛhya II. 14 and other gṛhya sūtras a rite called 'sarpabali' (offering to serpents) was performed on the Full Moon day of Śrāvaṇa. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 821–823 for a description. The nāgas figure frequently in the Mahābhārata. Vide Ādi. chap. 35 enumerating the names of many nāgas beginning with Śeṣa and chap. 123. 71, Udyoga 103. 9–16 (naming numerous nāgas). Arjuna while engaged in his twelve years' vow of brahmacarya came to

324. यथा कृत्यकामधेनुधृतो व्यासः । ज्येष्ठशुक्लदशम्यां तु हस्तर्क्षे ब्रह्मरूपिणी ॥ कश्यपान्मनसा देवी जातेति मनसा स्मृता । तस्मात्तां पूजयेत्तत्र वर्षे वर्षे विधानतः । अनन्ताद्यष्टनागांश्च नरो नियमतत्परः ॥ ... हस्तनक्षत्रयुतदशम्यां पूजयेदित्येको विधिः । केवलदशम्यामपीत्यपरश्च । व्रतकालविवेक (in I. H. Q. vol. 17 No. 4 supplement p. 16).

the country of the Nāgas (probably a tribe that had nāga as their emblem) and took as his wife Ulūpī, a Nāga princess who was smitten by love. Babhruvāhana, son of Citrāṅgadā, fought with Arjuna who had come to Maṇipura for protecting the Aśvamedha horse, was killed by Babhruvāhana and restored to life with the help of a Sañjīvana jewel (Āśvamedhikaparva chap. 79–81). Serpents came to be associated with both Viṣṇu and Śiva. Viṣṇu is said to sleep on the hoods of Śeṣa-nāga (Vanaparva 203. 12 and 272. 38–39) and Śiva wears serpents on his body like yajñopavīta (Anuśāsana 14. 55).[325] In the Bhagavadgītā X. 28–29 Lord Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with Vāsuki among serpents and Ananta among nāgas. What difference is made between 'sarpa' and 'nāga' is not clear. Probably 'sarpa' means all creeping things, while nāga means 'the cobra'. The Purāṇas are full of stories about nāgas. Vide J. Ph. Vogel's painstaking work (Indian Serpent Lore, 1926) based on the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and the Rājataraṅgiṇī. It appears that serpent worship arose gradually from the fear of serpents that must have taken a heavy toll of life, particularly at the beginning of the rainy season. Even in these days about 10000 people die of snake-bite every year in India, while persons killed by all wild animals are hardly 3000. Why the tithi was changed from Full Moon (for Sarpabali in the gṛhya sūtras) to the 5th of the bright half is not clear. It may be due to the slight change in the time of the onset of rains owing to the precession of the equinoxes. Vide Fergusson's 'Tree and Serpent worship' pp. 1–75 and Plate XV which reproduces the sculptures on the eastern gateway of Sanchi, where occurs the figure of five-headed Nāga. Stone images of serpents under sacred trees like *pippala* are common in the Draviḍa country and a few temples dedicated to nāgas exist such as the one at Battis Shirāleṅ in Satara District and at Bhom-parāndeṅ in Hyderabad.

On the Full Moon of Śrāvaṇa there is in the afternoon a ceremony called Rakṣābandhana (tying the protective amulet). It is described by Hemādri on vrata, vol. II. pp. 190–195, N. S. p. 121, P.C. 284–285, Vratārka (folio 335a–336a). One should at sunrise on Full Moon of Śrāvaṇa and after offering tarpaṇa to gods, sages and pitṛs, get prepared a protective packet (or amulet) containing whole rice grains and mustard and deco-

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325. नागयज्ञोपवीती च नागचर्मोत्तरच्छदः। अनुशासन 14. 55. Rudra is so described. सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः स्वप्तुकामस्त्वतीन्द्रियः। फटासहस्रविकटं शेषं पर्यङ्कभाजनम्॥ वनपर्व 272. 38.

rated with gold (thread) and strung together with variously coloured threads and have such an amulet tied. In the case of a king, a jar should be placed on a square raised in the palace and the king should occupy his seat together with his ministers, he should be surrounded by courtesans and music and benedictory words should go forth; gods, brāhmaṇas and arms should be first honoured, then the royal[326] priest should tie the amulet to the accompaniment of the mantra. 'I tie on you that whereby Bali, the very powerful king of demons, was bound; O protective (amulet), don't slip off, don't slip off.' All including śūdras and other human beings should get the amulet tied after honouring priests according to ability. When this is done, a man lives on happily for a year. Hemādri quotes Bhaviṣyottara for the story that Indrāṇī tied on the right hand of Indra a protective amulet whereby he was enabled to vanquish the *asuras*. This tying should not be done when paurṇimā is mixed up with either 14th or the following pratipad. It may, in order to avoid these two, be done even at night.

This ceremony of tying an amulet on the right wrist is still in vogue and priests go about tying these amulets and receive some fee for doing so. Mukerji (p. 81) is unduly harsh on the poor brāhmaṇas when he says that it is a day of blackmail by the priests. Women in Gujarat and some other places tie silken amulets round the wrists of their brothers and give and receive presents.

On the Full Moon day of Śrāvaṇa it is usual on the sea coast of western India (particularly in Konkan and Malabar) not only for Hindus, but also for Moslems and Parsis of the merchant class to go to the sea and offer flowers and a cocoanut to the sea. The sea becomes less rough and the violence of the monsoon winds abates after the Full Moon of Śrāvaṇa and the cocoanut is offered to the sea god (Varuṇa) in order that he may make sea voyage for vessels of merchandise safe.

In Śrāvaṇa on the 8th of the dark half is celebrated the Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī or Janmāṣṭamī vrata and festival, which is probably the most important vrata and utsava celebrated throughout the whole of India.

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326. देवद्विजातिशस्त्राः सुमनोभिरर्घ्यैः समर्चयेत् प्रथमम् । तदनु पुरोधा नृपतेः रक्षां बध्नीत मन्त्रेण ॥ येन बद्धो बली राजा दानवेन्द्रो महाबलः । तेन त्वामभिबध्नामि रक्षे मा चल मा चल ॥ भविष्योत्तर 137. 19–20. q. by हे. on व्रत vol. II. p. 195 (with some variations which are probably copyist's mistakes).

In some Purāṇa passages it is declared that Janmāṣṭamī is celebrated on the 8th of the dark half of Bhādrapada. The explanation is that in those passages the months are Pūrṇimānta and the dark half is in these months the first pakṣa.[327] The Padma (III. 13), Matsya 56, Agni 183 contain numerous verses on the greatness (māhātmya) of Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī.

It would not be out of place to say a few words about Kṛṣṇa and about the antiquity of Kṛṣṇa worship. There is a reference in the Chāndogya-upaniṣad (III. 17. 6) to Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra receiving instruction from Ghora Āṅgirasa. There was a Vedic poet named Kṛṣṇa who calls upon the Aśvins to listen to his invocation in Ṛg. VIII. 85. 3 and the Anukramaṇī assigns Ṛg. VIII. 86–87 to Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa. Jain tradition regards Kṛṣṇa as contemporaneous with Nemi, the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara, and from the account of the 63 great men of Jain pre-history about one third are shown as associated with Kṛṣṇa. The life of Kṛṣṇa as gathered from the Mahābhārata is a composite one. In some passages he is depicted as a Yādava prince, the staunchest friend of the Pāṇḍavas[328] (and particularly of Arjuna), as a great warrior, statesman and philosopher. In other passages he is identified with the Supreme Lord of the worlds and as Viṣṇu Himself (Śānti 47. 28, Droṇa 146. 67–68, Karṇa 87. 74, Vanaparva 49. 20, Bhīṣma 21. 13–15). There are most sublime praises of Kṛṣṇa put in the mouths of Yudhiṣṭhira (Droṇa 149. 16–33), Draupadī (Vanaparva 263. 8–16) and Bhīṣma when about to die (Anuśāsana 167. 37–45). We have further information about him from the Harivaṁśa, the Viṣṇupurāṇa, Vāyu (98. 100–102), the Bhāgavata and Brahmavaivarta that deal with Kṛṣṇa's romantic career among cowherds, which is wanting in the Mahābhārata.

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327. विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। रोहिणीसहिता कृष्णा मासि भाद्रपदेऽष्टमी। सप्तम्यामर्धरात्राधः कलयापि यदा भवेत्॥ तत्र जातो जगन्नाथः कौस्तुभी हरिरीश्वरः। तमेवोपवसेत्कालं कुर्यात्तत्रैव जागरम्॥ इति। इयमष्टमी कृष्णपक्षादिमासविवक्षया भाद्रपदे भवति। सैवाष्टमी शुक्लपक्षादिमासविवक्षया श्रावणे भवति। का. नि. p. 216; भाद्रपदनभःपदयोर्न विरुद्धार्थता तत्कालस्यैकश्रुतिमूलतया गौणचान्द्रेण भाद्रता मुख्यचान्द्रेण श्रावणतेति। तिथितत्त्व p. 41; vide समयप्रकाश p. 47 also.

328. न हि दारा न मित्राणि ज्ञातयो न च बान्धवाः। कश्चिदन्यः प्रियतरः कुन्तीपुत्रान्ममार्जुनात्। ... यस्तं द्वेष्टि स मां द्वेष्टि यस्तं चानु स मामनु॥ द्रोण 79. 26–27 and 33. Vide Udyoga 91. 28 यस्तान् द्वेष्टि स मां द्वेष्टि यस्ताननु स मामनु। ऐकात्म्यं मां गतं विद्धि पाण्डवैर्धर्मचारिभिः॥'.

It appears from Pāṇini (IV. 3. 98)[329] that there were people in his day described as Vāsudevaka and Arjunaka that were devoted to Vāsudeva and Arjuna. Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya mentions several persons and incidents connected with Kṛṣṇa. On Vārtika 6 to Pāṇ. III. 1. 26 the Mahābhāṣya gives two examples 'Kaṁsam ghātayati' (meaning 'he tells the story of the slaughter of Kaṁsa') and 'Balim bhandhayati' (meaning 'he narrates the story of the imprisonment of Bali'). In Vārtika 2 to Pāṇ. III. 1. 138 the word 'Govinda' is derived (from go + vinda). On Vārtika 2 to Pāṇ. III. 2. 111 Patañjali gives the example 'Jaghāna Kaṁsam kila Vāsudevaḥ' (Vāsudeva, they say, killed Kaṁsa) and implies that the incident occurred long ago which the speaker could not have seen but was popularly known.[330] This is a quarter of an Upendravajrā or Upajāti verse. Patañjali names Satyabhāmā with its shortened form Bhāmā (Kielhorn, vol. I. p. 111), the words 'Vāsudevavargyaḥ' and 'Akrūravargyaḥ' occur (on Vārtika 11 on Pāṇ. IV. 2. 104). On Pāṇ. IV. 1. 114 (ṛṣyandhaka-vṛṣṇi-kurubhyaś-ca) under vārtika 7 Patañjali mentions Ugrasena as a scion of the Andhakas and Vāsudeva and Bāladeva of the Vṛṣṇis. Patañjali quotes half of an Anuṣṭubh verse 'Saṅkarṣaṇa-dvitīyasya balam Kṛṣṇasya vardhatām' (Kielhorn's ed. vol. I. p. 426). Patañjali is regarded by most modern scholars as having flourished in the 2nd century B. C. (about 150 B. C.). Therefore it follows that some poetic work or works that referred to incidents of Kṛṣṇa's career (such as Kaṁsavadha) had been composed some centuries before the Christian era. Vide I. A. vol. III. pp. 14–16 for allusions to Kṛṣṇa in the Mahābhāṣya and I. A. vol. XIV pp. 326 ff, for verse quotations in the Mahābhāṣya collected by Kielhorn. In the Ādiparva (chap. 1. 256)[331] and in Sabhā 33. 10–11 Kṛṣṇa is identified with Vāsudeva and is said to be the Highest Brahma

329. वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन्। पा. IV. 3. 98 on which the महाभाष्य remarks 'अथवा नैष क्षत्रियाख्या संज्ञैषा तत्रभवतः'. वासुदेवः भक्तिः (सेव्यः) यस्य स वासुदेवकः. It may be noted that the compound word वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां occurs in सौप्तिकपर्व 4.31.

330. The passage about the killing of Kaṁsa is interesting: इह तु कथं वर्तमानकालता कंसं घातयति बलिं बन्धयतीति चिरहते कंसे चिरबद्धे च बलौ' (महाभाष्य ed. by Kielhorn, vol. II. p. 36). This shows that in the time of the महाभाष्य the killing of Kaṁsa (by Kṛṣṇa) was supposed to have taken place in hoary antiquity. Patañjali states further on that Kaṁsavadha was represented dramatically, that pictures were painted about it and lastly that works had been composed narrating that event.

331. भगवान्वासुदेवश्च कीर्त्यतेऽत्र सनातनः। स हि सत्यमृतं चैव पवित्रं पुण्यमेव च। शाश्वतं ब्रह्म परमं। आदि chap. I. 256.

and the source of the universe. The Ghosundi inscription of 2nd or 1st century B. C. mentions the hall of worship of Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva (E. I. 16 pp. 25–27, E. I. 22 p. 198, I. A. vol. 61 p. 203) addressed as 'Bhagavat' and 'sarveśvara'. Nanaghat cave inscriptions of about 200 B. C. mention both (A. S. W. I. vol. V pp. 60–74). The Besnagar column (Garuḍa-dhvaja) Vaiṣṇava inscription[332] where the *Bhāgavata* Heliodorus, son of Diya, hailing from Takṣaśilā and Yavana ambassador of king Antalikita (Antalkidas) to king Bhāgabhadra mentions Vāsudeva as '*devadeva*'. The preceding items of evidence indicate that the worship of Vāsudeva was prevalent in northern and central India from at least 500 B. C.. if not earlier. Vide R. G. Bhandarkar's 'Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism &c.' pp. 1–45 for the various phases of the Kṛṣṇa cult and its antiquity.

It is rather surprising that the passages quoted in the medieval works on Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī are mostly borrowed from the Bhaviṣya, Bhaviṣyottara, Skanda, Viṣṇudharmottara, Nāradīya and Brahmavaivarta purāṇas, but hardly ever from the Bhāgavata-purāṇa which is the Veda of the Vaiṣṇavas of later medieval and modern times. The description of Kṛṣṇa's birth in the Bhāgavata is vague and commonplace. All that[333] is said there is that the time when Kṛṣṇa was born was endowed with all good characteristics and was very charming, that the quarters looked very clear and the sky was lit up by bright stars, that the wind that blew was very pleasing to the skin and laden with fine fragrance and that when Janārdana was born of Devakī it was midnight and darkness had enveloped everything.

In the Bhaviṣyottara (44. 1–69) Kṛṣṇa himself is represented as narrating to Yudhiṣṭhira the incidents of Janmāṣṭamī-vrata: 'I was born of Vasudeva and Devakī on the 8th of Bhādrapada dark half at midnight when the Sun was in Lion (Leo), when the

332. For Besnagara Inscription, vide JRAS 1909 pp. 1053–56, 1087–1092, and JBBRAS vol. 23 pp. 104–106.

333. अथ सर्वगुणोपेतः कालः परमशोभनः। यर्ह्येवाजनजन्मर्क्षं शान्तर्क्षग्रहतारकम् ॥ दिशः प्रसेदुर्गगनं निर्मलोडुगणोदयम्। ... ववौ वायुः सुखस्पर्शः पुण्यगन्धवहः शुचिः। ... निशीथे तम उद्भूते जायमाने जनार्दने। देवक्यां देवरूपिण्यां विष्णुः सर्वगुहाशयः॥ भागवत X. 3. 1–2, 4, 8. अजनजन्मर्क्षं is rather unusual; न विद्यते जनः जन्म यस्य स अजनः (प्रजापति, who is also called आत्मभूः or स्वयंभूः) and अजनजन्मर्क्षं seems to be taken to mean whose जन्मनक्षत्र is रोहिणी of which प्रजापति (अजन) is the presiding deity. Verses 2 and 4 appear to echo the words of रघुवंश III. 14 'दिशः प्रसेदुर्मरुतो ववुः सुखाः'.

Moon was in the sign of the Bull (Taurus) and there was Rohiṇī nakṣatra' (verses 74–75), when on the 8th of the dark half of Śrāvana there is Rohiṇī-nakṣatra, the tithi is called Jayantī; if a man observes a fast on that tithi, that destroys his sins committed in childhood, youth, old age and many previous lives.' The result is that if there be no Rohiṇī nakṣatra on Śrāvana dark half 8th, it is simply Janmāṣṭamī, but when Rohiṇī is joined to dark 8th of Śrāvaṇa it is Jayantī. The Rājamārtaṇḍa has two verses on this.[334]

The important question is whether the Janmāṣṭamī-vrata and Jayantī-vrata are really only one vrata or whether they are two separate vratas. The Kālanirṇaya,[335] after a long discussion in which Mīmāṁsā principles contained in Jai. II. 2. 23 and IV. 1. 22–24 are relied upon, arrives at the conclusion that the two are separate vratas on the grounds that the two names are different (viz. Janmāṣṭamī-vrata and Jayantīvrata), their occasions (*nimitta*) are different (the first depends only on dark Aṣṭamī, while the latter exists only if there is Rohiṇī on 8th of dark half of Śrāvaṇa) and their characteristics are different in that in Janmāṣṭamīvrata śāstra requires only a fast, while in Jayantīvrata the śāstra requires a fast and also gifts and the like. Besides, Janmāṣṭamīvrata is obligatory (*nitya*), since the texts only speak of the incurring of sin if it be not performed, while Jayantīvrata is both *nitya* and *kāmya* in that the śāstras connect it with special rewards in addition to the incurring of sin by its non-observance. Further, the two are separately

334. रोहिण्यृक्षं यदा कृष्णे पक्षेऽष्टम्यां द्विजोत्तम। जयन्ती नाम सा प्रोक्ता सर्वपापहरा तिथिः। यद्ब बाल्ये यच्च कौमारे यौवने वार्धके तथा। बहुजन्मकृतं पापं हन्ति सोपोषिता तिथिः। विष्णुधर्मोत्तर q. by हे. (on काल p. 129) and हे. (on व्रत vol. I. p. 911). प्राजापत्येन संयुक्ता अष्टमी तु यदा भवेत्। श्रावणे बहुले सा तु सर्वपापप्रणाशिनी। जयं पुण्यं च कुरुते जयन्ती तेन तां विदुः॥ स्कन्द०, q. by हे. on काल p. 130; ब्रह्मवैवर्त IV. 8. 52 is जयं पुण्यं च कुरुते जयन्ती तेन संस्मृता। अष्टमी कृष्णपक्षस्य रोहिणी-ऋक्षसंयुता। भवेत्प्रोष्ठपदे मासि जयन्ती नाम सा स्मृता। जयन्त्यामुपवासं तु कृत्वा भक्त्यार्चयेद्धरिम्। तस्य जन्मशतोद्भूतं पापं नाशयतेऽच्युतः॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 74b verses 1231–32 (vide ABORI vol. 30 at p. 320). These are quoted as from भविष्य by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 299.

335. केवलेनोपवासेन तस्मिन् जन्मदिने मम। शतजन्मकृतात्पापान्मुच्यते नात्र संशयः॥ इति। भविष्योत्तर 55. 20; तस्माज्जन्माष्टमीव्रतस्योपवासमात्रं स्वरूपम्। यदि शिष्टास्तत्रापि जागरणदानादिकमनुतिष्ठन्ति, अनुतिष्ठन्तु नाम। अविरुद्धैः पुण्यविशेषैः व्रतस्योपोद्बलनसम्भवात्। शास्त्रेण तु प्रापितमुपवासमात्रम्। जयन्तीव्रतस्य तु दानादिसहित उपवासः स्वरूपम्। तद्विधायकेषु शास्त्रेषु तथाभिधानात्। तथा च वह्निपुराणे। तुष्ट्यर्थं देवकीसूनोर्जयन्तीसंज्ञकं व्रतम्। कर्तव्यं वित्तमानेन भक्त्या भक्तजनैरपि॥ का. नि. p. 209; जयन्तीनिर्णय quotes the first half.

mentioned in the same verses.[336] Hemādri, Madanaratna, the Nirṇayasindhu (p. 126) and several works hold the view that the two are different. But the N. S. notes[337] that in its day people observed only Janmāṣṭamī-vrata and not Jayantī-vrata. On the other hand the Jayantīnirṇaya (p. 25) states that people generally celebrate Jayantī only (and not Janmāṣṭamī). This variance is probably due to the fact that the two works (N. S. and J. N.) belong to the north and south of India. The Samayamayūkha[338] and Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi (p. 117) very severely criticize the views of Mādhava set out above from the Kālanirṇaya, one of the principal arguments in these last being that the Mīmāṁsā rules relied upon by Mādhava apply to rites, but Jayantī is the name of a tithi i. e. the 8th of dark half when conjoined to Rohiṇī. The Jayantīnirṇaya of Hārīta Venkaṭanātha holds that the two are different and that both are nitya as well as kāmya (pp. 4–5 and p. 30). It further points out (p. 19) that in Janmāṣṭamīvrata tithi is the principal matter while in Jayantī it is the nakṣatra (Rohiṇī) that is principal.

Two discordant notes are struck by the Varāha-purāṇa and by the Harivaṁśa. The former says[339] that Kṛṣṇa was born on 12th of Āṣāḍha bright half. According to the Harivaṁśa q. by Hemādri and Jīmūtavāhana, the nakṣatra was Abhijit when Kṛṣṇa was born and the muhūrta was *vijaya*[340]. It is quite

336. निर्देशभेदश्च भृगुवाक्ये दृश्यते। जन्माष्टमी जयन्ती च शिवरात्रिस्तथैव च। पूर्वविद्धैव कर्तव्या तिथिभान्ते च पारणम्॥ इति। का. नि. p. 212.

337. वयं तु सत्यं व्रतभेदः। लोकास्तु जन्माष्टमीमेवानुतिष्ठन्ति नहि–श्रावणे वा नभस्ये वा रोहिणीसहिताष्टमी। यदा कृष्णा जनैर्लब्धा सा जयन्तीति कीर्तिता। श्रावणे न भवेद्योगो नभस्ये तु भवेद् ध्रुवम्—इति माधवीये वसिष्ठसंहितोक्तापि भाद्रे जयन्ती केनापि क्रियते॥ नि. सि. p. 126; तस्मादेतद् व्रतं नित्यं काम्यं चेति सिद्धम्। हे. (on काल p. 144).

338. कर्मनामधेयभेदे हि स्यात्कर्मभेदः। न ह्यत्र जयन्तीशब्दः कर्मनाम किं तु रोहिणीसहिताया अष्टम्याः। स. म. p. 51.

339. किन्त्वाषाढे शुक्लपक्षे या नारी सह भर्तृणा। उपोष्यति मनुष्येषु तस्या गर्भे भवाम्यहम्॥ ...एतां च द्वादशीं गत्वा वसुदेवो महायशाः। पुत्रं लेभे स कृष्णाख्यं महतीं च श्रियं तथा॥ वराह 46. 12 and 14.

340. अभिजिन्नाम नक्षत्रं जयन्ती नाम शर्वरी। मुहूर्तो विजयो नाम यत्र जातो जनार्दनः। सोपवासो हरेः पूजां यत्र कृत्वा न सीदति। ब्रह्माण्ड q. by हे. (on काल p. 135), का. वि. p. 494. का. वि. recommends that अभिजित् is to be taken in its root meaning (from जि to conquer) 'रोहिणीशर्वरीमुहूर्त एव भगवतः कृष्णरूपावतारस्य सकलत्रैलोक्यविजयिनः कारणभावात् तेऽपि जयत्यर्थयोगादभिजिज्जयन्तीविजयनामानो भवन्ति.' The verse अभिजि ... जनार्दनः is हरिवंश II (विष्णुपर्व) 4. 16–17. An earlier verse (13–14) says तुल्यकालं च गर्भिण्यौ यशोदा देवकी तथा। देवक्यजनयद्विष्णुं यशोदा तां तु दारिकाम्। मुहूर्तेऽभिजिति मासे सार्धरात्रे विभूषिते।. It will be noted that no month is mentioned in this passage. The verse अभिजिन्नाम° occurs in वायु 96. 201 also.

possible that these two represent some older traditions about the date of the birth of Kṛṣṇa.

Another important point very much canvassed in the medieval digests is about the exact tithi and time when the Janmāṣṭamīvrata is to be celebrated. The K. N. (pp. 215–224), Kṛtyatattva pp. 438–444, Tithitattva pp. 47–51, Samayamayūkha p. 50–51, N. S. pp. 128–130 and several other digests state certain conclusions about this.

It is clear from almost all Purāṇas and other works on Janmāṣṭamī that the principal time for the celebration of the birth of Kṛṣṇa is the midnight [341] of the 8th of Śrāvaṇa dark half (Bhādrapada dark, if the month is Pūrṇimānta). This tithi is of two kinds viz. (1) without Rohiṇī nakṣatra and (2) with Rohiṇī nakṣatra. In each of these two, the Kālanirṇaya of Mādhava (pp. 218–224), the Nirṇayasindhu (pp. 128–130), the Dharmasindhu (pp. 64–67) and other digests set out several possible alternative combinations. The Nirṇayāmṛta (pp. 56–58) mentions as many as 18 kinds, eight of the *śuddhā* tithi, 8 of the *viddhā* tithi and two more, one being the one where Rohiṇī-nakṣatra is there at midnight and the other being Navamī joined to Rohiṇī and having either Wednesday or Monday. A discussion of these would be somewhat complicated and hardly otherwise than of academical interest to modern readers. Therefore, all these alternatives are not set out here. Instead, the brief conclusions put forth by the Tithitattva are given [342] by way of sample. These are: If Jayantī (Aṣṭamī with Rohiṇī) exists only a single day, the fast must be observed on that very day; if it spreads over two days, then the fast is on the later of the two; if there is no Jayantī, then the fast is to be observed on Aṣṭamī joined with Rohiṇī; if two days have Aṣṭamī joined to Rohiṇī, then fast is on the later of the two; if there is no Rohiṇī nakṣatra then fast is to be observed on the Aṣṭamī that exists at midnight or if aṣṭamī exists on two days at midnight or if it be not existent at midnight then on the later day.

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341. अर्धरात्रस्य मुख्यकालत्वमुक्तं वसिष्ठसंहितायाम्। अष्टमी रोहिणीयुक्ता निशार्धे दृश्यते यदि। मुख्यकाल इति ख्यातस्तत्र जातो हरिः स्वयम्॥ इति। का. नि. p. 215; पूजा च मध्यरात्रे। कृष्णाष्टम्यां तु रोहिण्यामर्धरात्रेऽर्चनं हरेः। इति गारुडात् ...। तिथितत्त्व p. 42; अष्टमी कर्क्षसंयुक्ता रात्र्यर्धे यदि दृश्यते। स एव मुख्यकालश्च तत्र जातः स्वयं हरिः॥ ब्रह्मवैवर्त IV. 8. 51. क means प्रजापति, who is the lord of रोहिणी.

342. यत्रैकदिने जयन्तीलाभस्तत्रैवोपवासः, उभयदिने चेत्तदा परदिने। जयन्त्यलाभे च रोहिणीयुक्ताष्टम्याम्। उभयदिने रोहिणीयुक्ताष्टमीलाभे परदिने। रोहिण्यलाभे तु निशीथसम्बन्धिन्यामष्टम्याम्। उभयदिने निशीथसम्बन्धे तदसम्बन्धे वा परदिने। तिथितत्त्व p. 54.

If Jayantī fast occurs on Wednesday or Monday there are far greater results and such a fast is superior to crores of other vratas and the man who observes a fast on Jayantī conjoined to Wednesday or Monday would not be born again.[343]

The main items in Janmāṣṭamīvrata are fast, worship of Kṛṣṇa, jāgara (keeping awake at night, listening to and repeating hymns of praise and stories about Kṛṣṇa's exploits), pāraṇā.

The medieval digests such as Tithitattva (pp. 42–47), the Samayamayūkha (pp. 52–57), Kālatattvavivecana (pp. 52–56), Vratarāja (pp. 274–277), Dharmasindhu (pp. 68–69) contain a lengthy procedure of Janmāṣṭamīvrata based principally on Bhaviṣyottara chap. 55. A brief summary from the first two works (which agree in the main in most respects) is set out below.

On the day of the fast in the morning the devotee should invoke the presence of the Sun, Moon, Yama, Time, the two twilights, the (five) elements, Day and Night, Wind, the lord of the quarters, the earth, the sky, the denizens of aerial regions and gods.[344] He should hold in his hand a copper vessel filled with water, some fruits, flowers and whole rice-grains, refer to the month &c. and make a saṅkalpa 'I shall perform the Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī-vrata, for securing a certain reward or for the removal of my sins'. He then repeats four mantras addressed to Vāsudeva, one of which is quoted below.[345] After repeating the mantras he should discharge the water in the vessel. He should construct a delivery hall for Devakī having auspicious jars full of water and mango leaves, garlands of flowers, fragrant with burnt *aguru* and

343. तत्र जयन्तीभेदेषूपवासदिने यदि सोमवारो बुधवासरो वा भवति तदा फलाधिक्यं भवति। ... विष्णुधर्मोत्तरेपि। अष्टमी बुधवारेण रोहिणी सहिता यदा। भवेत्तु मुनिशार्दूल किं कृतैर्व्रतकोटिभिः। का. नि. pp. 224–225; बुधसोमसमायुक्ता जयन्ती यदि लभ्यते। न कुर्याद्गर्भवासं च तत्र कृत्वा व्रतं व्रती। ब्रह्मवैवर्त IV. 8. 61–62; अष्टमी बुधवारे च सोमे चैव द्विजोत्तम। रोहिणीऋक्षसंयुक्ता कुलकोटिविमुक्तिदा॥ ... अष्टमी बुधवारेण किं कृतैर्व्रतकोटिभिः। पद्म III. 13. 3 and 61. Kṛṣṇa belonged to the Somavaṁśa and Budha is deemed in legend and astrology to be the son of the Moon. Vide हरिवंश I. 25. 43–45 for the legend. It is probably due to this that Wednesday and Monday are deemed to heighten the importance of Janmāṣṭamī.

344. सूर्यः सोमो यमः कालः सन्ध्ये भूतान्यहः क्षपा। पवनो दिक्पतिर्भूमिराकाशं खचरामराः। ब्राह्मं शासनमास्थाय कल्पध्वमिह सन्निधिम्। q. by स. म. p. 52 (reads खचरा नराः), ति. त. p. 45.

345. आजन्ममरणं यावद्यन्मया दुष्कृतं कृतम्। तत्प्रणाशय गोविन्द प्रसीद पुरुषोत्तम॥ q. in स. म. p. 52, ति. त. p. 42, धर्मसिन्धु p. 68.

decked with auspicious things and Ṣaṣṭhī-devī. Round about the room or the walls (of the room) he should paint gods and gandharvas with folded hands, Vasudeva with a drawn sword, Devakī, Nanda, Yaśodā, gopīs, Kaṁsa's guards, the river Yamunā and the snake Kāliya therein and other incidents of Gokula as far as he could. He should place in the delivery hall a bed surrounded by screens. He should take a bath with sesame in the noon in the water of a river or the like and at midnight make the saṅkalpa, 'I shall perform the worship of Kṛṣṇa with his attendants'; he should make an image of Kṛṣṇa of gold or silver &c., touch the cheeks of the image and vitalize the image (prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā) with mantras. He should contemplate upon Devakī (with a mantra) and on Śrīkṛṣṇa lying as an infant on the bed and offer worship to Lakṣmī, to Vasudeva and Devaki, Nanda and Yaśodā, Baladeva and Caṇḍikā with appropriate mantras for bath, for incense, naivedya &c.; he then briefly performs symbolically the ceremonies of Jātakarma, cutting the navel chord, Ṣaṣṭhīpūjā and nāmakaraṇa. Then at time of moonrise (at or a little after midnight) he should offer *arghya* on an altar or to (image of) the moon with Rohiṇī with water from a conch mixed with flowers, kuśas and sandalwood paste with a mantra, should bow to the moon and prostrate[346] himself with several verses containing the different names of Vāsudeva and at the end address prayers to him. Then he should keep awake the whole night in listening to the hymns of praise to Kṛṣṇa, to the stories in the Purāṇas and in songs, music and dances. Next day after performing all usual acts to be performed in the morning and again offering worship to the image of God Kṛṣṇa, he should feed brāhmaṇas and donate to them gold, cow, clothes with the words 'May Kṛṣṇa be pleased with me'. He should then repeat the mantra[347] 'salutation to him who is Brahma, who is Vāsudeva of blessed birth and beneficent to cows and brāhmaṇas and whom Devakī gave birth

346. One of the Mantras at the time of falling prostrate is: शरणं तु प्रपद्येहं सर्वकामार्थसिद्धये। प्रणमामि सदा देवं वासुदेवं जगत्पतिम्॥ स. म. p, 54 and ति. त. p. 45. Two of the प्रार्थनामन्त्रs are: त्राहि मां सर्वदुःखघ्न रोगशोकार्णवाद्धरे। दुर्गतांस्त्रायसे विष्णो ये स्मरन्ति सकृत् सकृत्। सोऽहं देवातिदुर्वृत्तस्त्राहि मां शोकसागरात्। पुष्कराक्ष निमग्नोहं मायाविज्ञानसागरे। *ibid.*

347. यं देवं देवकी देवी वसुदेवादजीजनत्। भौमस्य ब्रह्मणो गुप्त्यै तस्मै ब्रह्मात्मने नमः। सुजन्मवासुदेवाय गोब्राह्मणहिताय च। शान्तिरस्तु शिवं चास्तु इत्युक्त्वा तु विसर्जयेत्॥ भविष्योत्तर 55. 60-61, quoted by स. म. p. 55, ति. त. 43 (which explains भौमस्य as पृथिवीसम्बन्धिनः). The first verse is quoted from गरुड by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 313.

from Vasudeva for the protection of Vedas spread over the earth. Let there be peace! Let there be bliss! He should then take out the image of Kṛṣṇa, donate it to a brāhmaṇa and bring the vrata to a close after performing pāraṇā.

The procedure in the Dharmasindhu (pp. 68–69) is more elaborate than the above, though no essential difference exists. It makes use of Vedic mantras (from Ṛg. X. 90. 1–16) along with Paurāṇika mantras, while in the Samaya-mayūkha and Tithitattva no Vedic mantra is expressly mentioned. As regards *jāgara* the Dharmasindhu provides that the stories[348] about Kṛṣṇa may be made striking by reciting poems composed in regional languages, that Vedic hymns may have at their end Paurāṇika stories recited, that visual representations (such as dances) may be resorted to, that this is a procedure meant for the three higher varṇas, but in the case of śūdras it is not proper to follow the same procedure; they should omit Vedic hymns but may engage in music and Paurāṇika recitations.

One question often raised in some of the medieval digests on Dharmaśāstra is: what is the principal matter in Janmāṣṭamī-vrata. Some held that both fast (upavāsa) and worship (pūjā) are principal and they rely on a Bhaviṣyapurāṇa[349] passage 'when at midnight on the 8th of the dark half there is Rohiṇī, worship of Kṛṣṇa destroys sins committed in three lives; a man observing a fast then and performing worship of Hari does not sink'. The Samayamayūkha, after an elaborate discussion in which Mīmāṁsā doctrines such as those in Jai. I. 4. 1–3 are employed, arrives at the conclusion that the fast is only an auxiliary (*aṅga*), while worship (pūjā) is the principal thing. On the other hand the Tithitattva[350] relying on the verse of the

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348. तथा च वैदिकसूक्तकरणकस्तुतिविशिष्टः पौराणेतिहाससंमिश्रितो गीतनृत्ययुत-देशभाषाकाव्यप्रमुखकथाकरणको जागरो विप्रादिवर्णत्रयस्य विधीयते। शूद्रादीन्प्रति एतादृश-जागरस्य विधातुमयोग्यत्वात्। वचनान्तरेण तु सूक्तादिरहित-गीतादिविशिष्टो वर्णचतुष्टय-साधारणो विधीयते। धर्मसिन्धु pp. 70–71. The word 'अयोग्यत्वात्' is used because in those days śūdras were not entitled to study and recite Vedic Mantras.

349. अर्धरात्रे तु रोहिण्यां यदा कृष्णाष्टमी भवेत्। तस्यामभ्यर्चनं शौरेर्हन्ति पापं त्रिजन्मजम्॥ सोपवासो हरेः पूजां कृत्वा तत्र न सीदति। भविष्य. q. by स. म. p. 46, by हे. on काल p. 131 (quoting from भविष्य and विष्णुधर्मोत्तर).

350. अत्र पूजोपवासयोः प्रधानत्वेनाकाङ्क्षाविरहादनन्वये अन्यतरस्य गुणत्वमवश्यं वाच्यम्। एवं च पूजैवाङ्गमुपवासस्तु प्रधानम्—उपवासस्य नियममित्युपक्रमे श्रवणात् तत्रैव विध्यन्वयात्। तिथितत्त्व p. 44. The भविष्योत्तर (55. 19) opens the description of the vrata with the verse 'पार्थ तद्दिवसे प्राप्ते दन्तधावनपूर्वकम्। उपवासस्य नियमं गृह्णीयाद् भक्तिभावितः॥' q. by ति. त. on p. 42, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 309.

Bhaviṣya opening the description of the vrata 'On that day one should accept the restrictions of upavāsa' and also Mīmāṁsā doctrines holds that *upavāsa* is the principal matter and pūjā is an *aṅga* (auxiliary matter). The Jayantīnirṇaya contained in the Daśanirṇayī of Hārīta Veṅkaṭanātha discusses at length the two (pp. 3 ff). This subject need not be pursued much further.

It has already been stated above that every vrata requires a pāraṇa as the last item, that pāraṇa takes place the day after the day of the fast and that it is generally performed in the morning. There are certain special rules about the pāraṇa of Janmāṣṭamī fast and Jayantī fast. A few dicta of the purāṇas may be first noted. The Brahmavaivarta[351] states 'one should never perform pāraṇa while aṣṭamī tithi is running or Rohiṇī nakṣatra is still there on the Aṣṭamī; (if one does so) one destroys what he has done previously and the fruits acquired by the fast. A tithi destroys eight-fold, while a nakṣatra does so fourfold; therefore one should perform the pāraṇa (of Janmāṣṭamī) at the end of the tithi and nakṣatra'. The Nāradapurāṇa[352] remarks 'when a fast has to be observed on the conjunction of a tithi and nakṣatra, pāraṇa should not be done until at least one of the two has ended; when a vrata falls on a conjunction (of tithi and nakṣatra), pāraṇa should be done only when one of the two is separated (i. e. ends)'. The Vahni-purāṇa provides 'pāraṇa is commended at the end of the nakṣatra or at the end of the tithi'. Both the Tithitattva and the Kṛtyatattva[353] arrive on interpreting these and other verses at the following conclusions. 'Pāraṇa is to be observed on the day after the fast, but after the end of the tithi (aṣṭamī) and the nakṣatra (Rohiṇī); but when one of

351. तिथेर्वा नक्षत्रस्य वा शेषकाले पारणं ब्रह्मवैवर्ते प्रतिषिध्यते। अष्टम्यामथ रोहिण्यां न कुर्यात्पारणं क्वचित्। हन्यात्पुराकृतं कर्म उपवासार्जितं फलम्॥ तिथिरष्टगुणं हन्ति नक्षत्रं च चतुर्गुणम्। तस्मात्प्रयत्नतः कुर्यात्तिथिभान्ते च पारणम्॥ इति। का. नि. p. 226; हे. (on काल) p. 137 quotes these verses and seems to hold a different view. They are q. by ति. त. p. 51 and are interpreted as noted below. भ means नक्षत्र.

352. तिथिनक्षत्रसंयोगे उपवासो यदा भवेत्। पारणं तु न कर्तव्यं यावन्नैकस्य संक्षयः॥ सांयोगिके व्रते प्राप्ते यत्रैकोऽपि वियुज्यते। तत्रैव पारणं कुर्यादेवं वेदविदो विदुः॥ नारद q. by का. नि. p. 227, ति. त. p. 52; केवलतिथ्यन्ते भान्ते वा जयन्तीप्रकरण एव वह्निपुराणे पारणविधानात्। भान्ते कुर्यात्तिथेर्वापि शस्तं भारत पारणम्॥ इति। हे. (on काल p. 137).

353. उपवासपरदिने तिथिनक्षत्रयोरवसाने पारणं, यदा तु महानिशायाः पूर्वमेकतरस्यावसानम्, अन्यतरस्य महानिशायां तदनन्तरं वा तदैकतरावसाने पारणम्। यदा महानिशायामुभयस्थितिस्तदोत्सवान्ते प्रातः पारणं कुर्यात्। तिथितत्त्व p. 54, कृत्यतत्त्व p. 441; धर्मसिन्धु p. 67 (for similar rules). महानिशा is variously defined. Vide p. 117, note 302 above.

the two ends before *mahāniśā* and the other during mahāniśā or after it, pārana should be observed at the end of one of the two; when both exist during the period of mahāniśā then one should perform pārana in the morning at the end of the festival'. At the end of the pārana the performer repeats the mantra 'salutations to Govinda, who is Being, who is the ruler of (all) beings, who is the lord of (all) beings and who is the source of all beings'.[354] The above statement shows that in certain cases the pārana of Janmāṣṭamīvrata may be at night,[355] particularly for vaiṣṇavas who perform the vrata as a duty and not for any reward.

There is a difference of meaning between udyāpana and pārana. Some vratas like Ekādaśī and Janmāṣṭamī are performed throughout a man's life; in such cases there is only pārana after the fast on every occasion that a fast is observed. If a man undertakes a vrata only once and finishes it, then the concluding rites of the vrata are called *udyāpana.*

Besides the items mentioned above, it is the practice, particularly of boys and common people in Mahārāṣṭra, to hang up pots full of curds and buttermilk on the day after the birth of Kṛṣṇa is celebrated, to play underneath the pot, sing songs and then pierce the pot and get drenched by curds and buttermilk running out from the holes made. This is probably due to the legends associated with Kṛṣṇa's boyhood among cowherds. The Bhāgavata[356] expressly says that the cowherds sprinkled each other on Kṛṣṇa's birth with curds, milk, ghee, and smeared each other with these. This is called 'Gopālakālā in Mahārāṣṭra. But this is not observed in other parts of India such as Saurāṣṭra. Surprisingly enough the Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī festival does not, like the Rāmanavamī festival, figure in the Kṛtyakalpataru on vrata. One cannot account for this omission.

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354. पारणानन्तरं तु-ओं भूताय भूतेश्वराय भूतपतये भूतसम्भवाय गोविन्दाय नमो नमः-इत्यनेन व्रतं समापयेत्—इति। कृ. त. pp. 441-442.

355. अतः फलाभिसन्धिविरहे रात्रावपि पारणमविरुद्धमेव। तथानन्ताख्यसंहितायां- भक्तानां वैष्णवानां च शुद्धानां नियतात्मनाम्। विहिता सात्वताभिज्ञै रात्रावेव तु पारणा॥ जयन्तीनिर्णय pp. 35-36.

356. गोकुलस्थजन्मलीलादिश्रवणोत्तरं वैष्णवैः परस्परं दध्यादिभिः सेचनं कार्यम्। दधिक्षीरघृताम्बुभिः आसिञ्चन्तो विलिम्पन्त इत्यादि भागवतवचनेन तथा विधिकल्पनात्। अयमुत्सवोऽधुना महाराष्ट्रदेशे गोपालकालेति व्यवह्रियत इति मे भाति। धर्मसिन्धु p. 71. The verse of the भागवत (X. 5. 14) is: गोपाः परस्परं हृष्टा दधिक्षीरघृताम्बुभिः। आसिञ्चन्तो विलिम्पन्तो नवनीतैश्च चिक्षिपुः॥.

But in the Naiyatakāla section[357] of the same work, a brief procedure of Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī (which is word for word the same in the Kṛtyaratnākara) different from the one specified above from the Tithitattva and other works, is set out. It is as follows: On the 8th of the dark half of Bhādrapada was born in Kaliyuga in the 28th (kalpa?), Kṛṣṇa, son of Devakī, for removing the burden (of the earth) and the reduction of kṣatriyas. He (his image) should therefore be worshipped on that day, as also (of) Devakī and Yaśodā with sandalwood paste, flowers, incense, various fruits and foods and dishes prepared from barley and wheat together with cow's milk. At night the devotee should keep awake with songs and dances. Then on the 9th about the time of *aruṇodaya* (4 ghaṭikās before sunrise) women dressed in red clothes and decked with garlands of flowers should carry the images of these (Kṛṣṇa, Devakī and Yaśodā) to a holy river bank or to a charming and unfrequented lake, wherein they should themselves take their bath and also bathe the images; then returning home they should eat a meal of barley together with jaggery, honey, ghee and black pepper.

Before closing this account of Janmāṣṭamī reference must be made to a paper read in 1867 before the Berlin Akademie der Wissenschaften by the renowned German scholar, Prof. A. Weber. The subject of the paper was 'An investigation into the origin of the festival of Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī' and the paper was divided into four parts; the first dealt with the sources (an English translation of it by E. Rehatsek was published in Indian Antiquary vol. VI. pp. 161-180 and pp. 281-301), the 2nd dealt with ritual, the 3rd part was the most important and was concerned with a novel theory, viz. the ritual of Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī festival was something transferred from outside of India, that the description in the ritual of Kṛṣṇa's image as suckling at the mother's (Devakī's) breast was the keystone of the theory of this ritual as of foreign origin and that it was suggested by pictorial representations of the Madonna with a suckling child (Christ)

357. अथ भाद्रपदे मासि कृष्णाष्टम्यां कलौ युगे। अष्टाविंशतिमे जातः कृष्णोऽसौ देवकीसुतः॥ ... तस्मात्स तत्र संपूज्यो यशोदा देवकी तथा। गन्धमाल्यैस्तथा धूपैर्यवगोधूमसम्भवैः। सगोरसैर्भक्ष्यभोज्यैः फलैश्च विविधैरपि। रात्रौ प्रजागरः कार्यो नृत्यगीतसमाकुलः। अरुणोदयवेलायां नवम्यां च ततः स्त्रियः। रक्तवस्त्रावृताः सर्वाः पुष्पमाल्यैरलंकृताः। नयन्ति प्रतिमां ह्येषां नानाविभवसम्भवाः। नदीतीरं शुभं रम्यं विविक्तं वा महत्सरः। तत्र स्नानं प्रकुर्वन्ति स्नापयन्ति च तास्ततः। पुनः प्रविश्य च गृहं यवान्नं भुञ्जते च ताः। गुडमिक्षुविकारैश्च मध्वाज्यमरिचैः सह। कृत्यकल्प० (नैयतकाल) pp. 395-396, कृ. र. p. 257 (ascribes to ब्रह्मपुराण). The कृ. र. (p. 258) remarks 'स्त्रीपुंससामान्याधिकारमेवेदं कृष्णादिपूजनं तत्र सङ्कोचक-विरहात्। ... इयं चाष्टमी रोहिणीनक्षत्रमनपेक्ष्यैव फलप्रदा बोद्धव्या रोहिणीयोगाश्रुतेः।'.

&c. *An English translation of this part appeared in Indian* Antiquary, vol. III. pp. 21–25 and pp. 47–52. This paper, though it is a monument of learning and patient industry (for that period when very few Sanskrit books had been printed), gave rise to severe criticism owing to its fantastic and perverse conclusion about Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī ritual being borrowed from Christian representations of Christ and his mother Mary. In I. A. vol. III. p. 300 Growse attacked it very severely. In spite of all criticisms the tenacious German scholar stuck to his guns and launched an attack against his critics, particularly against Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, in I. A. vol. IX. pp. 226–229. As hardly any Sanskrit scholar in these days would espouse the theory put forward by Weber, I do not think that I should waste much time over a refutation thereof. Most European scholars, nurtured on the vaunted intellectual eminence of the ancient Greeks and on the intolerant attitude of christianity towards other faiths, when they became acquainted with things Indian and studied Sanskrit, were obsessed (though not very obviously expressed) by two notions, viz. much in India that resembled what prevailed in the West must have been borrowed from the West and further, that Indians, who had allowed themselves to be invaded by outsiders and governed by foreigners for centuries, must not have been good at anything. These two notions gave rise to many untenable theories such as the following: the Rāmāyaṇa was borrowed from Homer's Iliad, the art of writing was unknown to Pāṇini, the Brāhmī script was based on Phoenician or Aramaic script, that the Gītā was based on the Bible, that the very ancient Indian nakṣatra system was borrowed either from the Chinese, the Babylonians or Arabs. Most of such theories were the result of little knowledge and the non-recognition of certain common sense rules and have now been consigned to the limbo of deserved oblivion. The common sense rule is that when a thing or a state of things has existed for centuries in a certain country or among a certain people, the burden of proving that it was borrowed by that country or people from outside is very heavy on those who assert such borrowing; mere similarities can never he held to amount to any evidence of borrowing at all; scholars should be very chary of confidently asserting borrowing and should put forward their conclusions very cautiously. It would not be irrelevant to point out the main circumstances on which Weber, often a champion of lost causes, relied for his theory.

The first is that in the ritual of Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī contained in some digests (that said that they borrowed the passage from Bhaviṣyottara) the image of Kṛṣṇa was to be shown [358] as suckling at the breast of Devakī, that this is a unique direction, that in the Rāmanavamī festival which is similar to Janmāṣṭamī the image of Rāma is not required to be suckling at the breast of Kausalyā, that this detail was copied from the representation of the *Madonna Lactans.* Weber relied (vide I. A. vol. III p. 51) on one De Bossi who said that pictures of infant Christ at the breast existed in 2nd century A. D. Weber brushed aside the testimony of other scholars that the Madonna with the child was a subject little known to the early christian centuries and the opinion of other scholars that the representations of the Madonna Lactans are extremely rare in Byzantine and Russian art (I. A. vol. III p. 48) and almost always of very late date. Weber makes a mountain of a molehill. The image of Rāma is also described as lying on the lap of the mother Kausalyā.[359] Further, all purāṇas do not provide that the image of Kṛṣṇa was to be suckling at the breast. Hemādri, in describing the Jayantīvrata from the Purāṇas, shows that the image was to be on the lap of the mother Devakī.[360] Was the Hindu imagination so poor that when they could describe the image of Rāma or Kṛṣṇa as lying on the mother's lap they could not also imagine that it could be shown as suckling at the breast and had to run to the West to copy that detail from representations of the Madonna and the child thousands of miles away?

The 2nd point made much of by Weber was that Nārada is represented as having brought from Śveta-dvīpa (white land) the doctrine of salvation by faith. Weber holds that Śvetadvīpa was Alexandria, while Lassen holds that it was Parthia. If we read the description of Śvetadvīpa in the Śāntiparva (chapters

358. ततश्च 'मां चापि बालकं सुप्तं पर्यङ्के स्तनपायिनम्। श्रीवत्सवक्षःपूर्णाङ्गं नीलोत्पलदलच्छविम्॥' इति भविष्योत्तरीयध्यानं कृत्वा। तिथितत्त्व p. 46; the half verse मां... पायिनम् occurs in नि. सि. p. 131; धर्मसिन्धु p. 68 says 'पर्यङ्के प्रसुप्तदेवकयाः स्तनं पिबन्तीं श्रीकृष्णप्रतिमां निधाय.' The व. क्रि. कौ. p. 308 quoting from भविष्योत्तर reads मां चापि बालकं सुप्तं प्रसूता स्तनपायिनम्.' This verse is भविष्योत्तर 55. 30.

359. मातुरङ्कगतं राममिन्द्रनीलसमप्रभम्। पञ्चामृतस्नानपूर्वं संपूज्य विधिवत्ततः। नि. सि. p. 85.

360. ये त्वां पुष्पादिभिर्देवीं पूजयिष्यन्ति मानवाः। दिनेऽस्मिन्मा महाभागास्तवोत्सङ्गे व्यवस्थितम्॥ हे. (on व्रत vol. I. p. 813).

336–339) and in such Purāṇas[361] as Vāmana (chap. 25.16 and 60. 56) and Kūrma (I. 49) it would be clear that Śvetadvīpa was an imaginary or mythical place where everything was white, where Viṣṇu and the gods dwelt and that it had no earthly existence at least in the minds of the authors who wrote the above works.

The third important point according to Weber was that certain incidents in Kṛṣṇa's life such as Kāliya-mardana are similar to those in Christianity. Weber himself says that victory over Kāliya is a travesty of the christian tradition of the serpent. It appears to me that there is nothing common between the two except the word serpent.

361. शाकद्वीपं समावृत्य क्षीरोदः सागरः स्थितः। श्वेतद्वीपं च तन्मध्ये नारायणपरायणाः। तत्र पुण्या जनपदा नानाश्चर्यसमन्विताः। श्वेतास्तत्र नरा नित्यं जायन्ते विष्णुतत्पराः। नाधयो व्याधयस्तत्र जरामृत्युभयं न च। ... नारायणसमाः सर्वे नारायणपरायणाः। ... ध्यायन्ति तत्परं ब्रह्म वासुदेवं सनातनम्। एकान्तिनो निरालम्बा महाभागवताः परे। पश्यन्ति तत्परं ब्रह्म महाभागवताः परे। सर्वे चतुर्भुजाकाराः शङ्खचक्रगदाधराः। कूर्म I. 49. 40–47.

CHAPTER VIII

Vratas of Haritālikā, Gaṇeśacaturthī, Ṛṣipañcamī, Anantacaturdaśī.

On the 3rd tithi of the bright half of Bhādrapada occurs the Haritālikāvrata for women alone. This vrata is not found in the Kṛtyakalpataru on vrata or in Hemādri. It is described only in the later medieval digests like the Nirṇayasindhu (p. 133), Vratārka (folios 44 b–49 b), Vratarāja (pp. 103–110) and Ahalyākāmadhenu (folios 282-295). It may, however, be noted that the Rājamārtaṇḍa of Bhoja (first half of 11th century A.D.) devotes four verses to Haritālīcaturthī on Bhādrapada 4th of bright half and says it is dear to Pārvatī (two of them are quoted below in note).[362] It is very much in vogue among Mahārāṣṭra women. The following is a brief description. The woman should take an oil and myrobalan paste bath and wear fine silken clothes. After referring to the tithi &c. the woman should make saṅkalpa as noted below.[363] She should bow to Umā and Śiva; she should offer worship to Umā by means of the 16 upacāras with appropriate mantras such as āvāhana (invoking to be present), āsana (seat), pādya, arghya &c. After offering flowers the performer should carry out worship of the limbs of Umā from the feet in the form 'bow to Umā, I worship her feet' to the head. Then she should offer incense, lamp, naivedya, *ācamanīya*, fragrant substances like camphor and sandalwood for rubbing on the hands, betelnut, *tāmbūla*, dakṣiṇā, ornaments, *nīrājana* (waving of a lamp). She should then offer worship to the several names of Umā (such as Gaurī, Pārvatī &c.) and the several names of Śiva (such as Hara, Mahādeva, Śambhu &c.) and present a handful of flowers, and go round (pradakṣiṇā) the images of Umā and Maheśvara, make with an appropriate mantra in each

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362. हस्तचित्रानलर्क्षे तु हरौ सूर्ये चतुर्थिका। हरितालो तिथिः पुण्या पार्वतीप्रीतिदा सदा॥ त्वाष्ट्रभे स्वातिभे वापि चतुर्थी हरितालिका। भाद्रे मासि सिते पक्षे तिथीनामुत्तमा स्मृता॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 75 b, verses 1257–1258; vide ABORI vol. 36 p. 323.

363. मम समस्तपापक्षयपूर्वकसप्तजन्मराज्याखण्डितसौभाग्यादिवृद्धये उमामहेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थं हरितालिकाव्रतमहं करिष्ये। तत्रादौ गणपतिपूजनं करिष्ये। व्रतराज p. 103.

case an obeisance[364] and a prayer and donate presents placed *in vessels of wickerwork together with auspicious substances.*

This vrata is not prevalent in Bengal nor in Gujarat.

It is provided by Mādhava that[365] if the third is mixed up with the 2nd tithi and the 4th tithi, the vrata is to be performed on the later day, provided the third tithi exists at least for a muhūrta (two ghaṭikās) and then 4th tithi follows.

In modern times women purchase coloured clay images of Pārvatī, of Śivaliṅga and a friend of Pārvatī and worship them.

It is difficult to say why the vrata is called Haritālikā. The Vratarāja[366] (p. 108) says it is vratarāja (the prince among vratas) and was so called because Pārvatī was taken away (from home) by her friends.

The Vratarāja contains a story said to have been narrated by Śiva himself to Pārvatī about the vrata by performing which she secured him as her husband and also the position of being half of Śiva's body. The Varāhapurāṇa (chap. 22) contains a long narrative about the marriage of Gaurī with Śiva.

On the 4th of the bright half of Bhādrapada is observed the festival of Gaṇeśacaturthī in many parts of India (though not in Bengal or Gujarat). According to the Samayamayūkha,[367] Gaṇeśacaturthī is also called Varadacaturthī. The proper time for the performance is mid-day, as said by Bṛhaspati[368] quoted in the Kālanirṇaya. When Caturthī-tithi is mixed up with the

364. The नमस्कारमन्त्र is 'अन्यथा शरणं नास्ति त्वमेव शरणं मम। तस्मात्कारुण्यभावेन क्षमस्व परमेश्वरि॥'. The प्रार्थनामन्त्र is 'पुत्रान् देहि धनं देहि सौभाग्यं देहि सुव्रते। अन्यांश्च सर्वकामांश्च देहि देवि नमोस्तु ते॥' (Give me sons, wealth, blessed wifehood and all other desires &c.). The वायनमन्त्र is 'सौभाग्यारोग्यकामाय सर्वसम्पत्समृद्धये। गौरीगौरीशतुष्ट्यर्थं वायनं ते ददाम्यहम्॥' (I make this present for pleasing Gaurī and Śiva in order that I may secure happy wifehood, health, the abundance of all kinds of wealth &c.).

365. मुहूर्तमात्रसत्त्वेपि दिने गौरीव्रतं परे। का. नि. कारिका; शिष्टाश्च मुहूर्तमात्रसद्भावमाश्रित्य गौरीव्रतं परेद्युरेवानुतिष्ठन्ति। अतो गौरीव्रतं परेद्युरेवानुष्ठेयम्। का. नि. p. 176.

366. आलिभिर्हरिता यस्मात्तस्मात्सा हरितालिका। व्रतराज p. 108. It is possible to suggest that the image of Pārvatī was coloured yellow by means of हरिताल (orpiment) and so it was called हरितालिका.

367. गणेशचतुर्थी वरदचतुर्थीत्युच्यते। स. म. p. 39.

368. तदाह बृहस्पतिः। चतुर्थी गणनाथस्य मातृविद्धा प्रशस्यते। मध्याह्नव्यापिनी चेत् स्यात् परतश्चेत्परेऽहनि॥ इति। का. नि. p. 181, नि. सि. 133.

3rd tithi and also with 5th, then, if at midday there is caturthī, the one mixed with the 3rd is to be preferred. If at midday there is no caturthī, but on the next day there is caturthī at midday mixed with pañcamī, then *paraviddhā* (i. e. mixed with the following 5th) is to be preferred.[369] Briefly, the procedure is as follows. In modern times a clay image of Gaṇeśa beautifully painted is brought, and *prāṇapratiṣṭhā* is effected and worship is offered to Vināyaka with 16 upacāras; two *dūrvā* tendrils with sandalwood paste are offered with each of ten names[370] quoted below (i. e. in all 20 dūrvā tendrils) and after reciting all the ten names together the remaining one dūrvā (21st) is offered. 21 *modakas* are got ready and placed before the image; one is offered as *naivedya*, ten are donated to brāhmaṇas, ten are eaten by the performer himself (or his family).[371] The P. C. p. 94 and Vratarāja (pp. 144–151) give a more elaborate procedure. If Bhādrapada 4th of bright half falls on a Sunday or Tuesday this caturthī is called great[372] (*mahatī*). The important vedic mantra in the worship of Gaṇeśa is Ṛg. II. 23. 1 = Tai. S. II. 3. 14. 3 (Gaṇānām tvā Gaṇapatim havāmahe) which is really addressed to Brahmaṇaspati, but in medieval and modern conceptions Gaṇeśa takes over the characteristics of that Vedic god. The number 21 is important in Gaṇeśacaturthī.

The form of Gaṇeśa to be contemplated upon is described as follows: [373] 'one should contemplate on God Siddhivināyaka who has only one tusk; whose ears are wide like a winnowing basket, who has *nāga* (snake) worn in the way of *yajñopavīta* and wields in his hands a snare and goad.'

In medieval times and also in modern times the popular belief was and is that if one happens to see the moon on Gaṇeśa-

369. यदा पूर्वेद्युर्मध्याह्नव्यापिनी तिथिर्भवति तदा मुख्यप्रयोजकस्य विद्यमानत्वात् मातृविद्धत्वगुणसद्भावाच्च सा ग्राह्या। तादृशे विषये परेद्युः सत्यामपि मध्याह्नव्यापिन्यां सा त्याज्या। परेद्युरेव यदा मध्याह्नव्यापिनी तदा मातृविद्धत्वगुणाभावेऽपि प्रधानप्रयोजकानुसारेण परविद्धैव ग्राह्या। का. नि. p. 181.

370, The ten names (with dative) are गणाधिपाय, उमापुत्राय, अघनाशनाय, विनायकाय, ईशपुत्राय, सर्वसिद्धिदाय, एकदन्ताय, इभवक्त्राय, मूषकवाहनाय, कुमारगुरवे.

371. इति दशनामभिर्दूर्वायोर्द्वयं द्वयं समर्प्यावशिष्टामेकां दूर्वामुक्तदशनामभिः समर्पयेत्। दश मोदकान् विप्राय दत्त्वा दश स्वयं भुञ्जीतेति संक्षेपः। धर्मसिन्धु p. 72.

372. भाद्रे शुक्लचतुर्थी या भौमेनार्केण वा युता। महती सात्र विघ्नेशमर्चित्वेष्टं लभेन्नरः॥ स. म. p. 39, नि. सि. p. 133, पु. चि. p. 94 quoting वराहपुराण from निर्णयामृत.

373. तत्र गणेशरूपं स्कान्दे। एकदन्तं शूर्पकर्णं नागयज्ञोपवीतिनम्। पाशाङ्कुशधरं देवं ध्यायेत्सिद्धिविनायकम्॥ इति। नि. सि. p. 133, स्मृतिकौ. 210.

caturthī evening one is falsely charged with the commission of a theft or the like. If one sees the moon on that date by mistake, in order to escape the consequence of a false charge, one should repeat the Paurāṇika verse addressed by a child's nurse to it 'A lion killed Prasenajit, the lion was killed by Jāmbavat; don't cry, O Sukumāraka (or tender boy)! this is your Syamantaka jewel'.[374] The story is referred to in Mausalaparva 3. 23 and is narrated in several Purāṇas. Vide Vāyu 96. 20–52, Agni 175. 40–44, Matsya chap. 45, Viṣṇu-purāṇa IV. 13. 3–18, Bhāgavata X Uttarārdha, Padma V. 13. 78–93 and VI. 276. 56, 5–37, Brahma 16. 12–45. The Sun is said to have given to Prasena's brother, Satrājit, the highly refulgent Syamantaka jewel that produced eight bhāras of gold every day (Bhāgavata X. 56. 11); Kṛṣṇa hankered after it but could not secure it. Prasena decked with the jewel went hunting and was killed by a lion, the latter in its turn was killed by the bear leader Jāmbavat, who took the jewel and entered his own lair with it. Satrājit and the Yādavas suspected Kṛṣṇa as having brought about the death of Prasena for the sake of the jewel. Kṛṣṇa, unable to bear the calumny, ultimately traced the corpses of Prasena and of the lion and entered the cave of Jāmbavat on hearing the above verse addressed by the nurse from inside the cave. Kṛṣṇa fought inside the cave a duel with Jāmbavat and when Kṛṣṇa did not come out for days the Yādava followers of Kṛṣṇa returned to Dvārakā and reported that Kṛṣṇa was killed. Jāmbavat was defeated after 21 days (28 acc. to Bhāgavata X. 58. 24), made peace with Kṛṣṇa by giving in marriage his daughter Jāmbavatī to Kṛṣṇa and the Syamantaka jewel as a dowry. Kṛṣṇa on returning to Dvārakā handed over the jewel to Satrājit, brother of Prasena, and cleared himself of the false charge. Some Purāṇas like Vāyu 96. 52 and Matsya[375] 45. 34 state that who-

374. अस्यां चन्द्रदर्शनं न कर्तव्यम् । अत एवोक्तं मार्कण्डेयेन। सिंहादित्ये शुक्लपक्षे चतुर्थ्यां चन्द्रदर्शनम्। मिथ्याभिदूषणं कुर्यात्तस्मात्पश्येन्न तं तदा। इति। पराशरस्मृतावपि। कन्यादित्ये चतुर्थ्यां तु शुक्ले चन्द्रस्य दर्शनम्। मिथ्याभिदूषणं कुर्यात्तस्मात्पश्येन्न तं तदा॥ ...दोषस्य शान्तये सिंहः प्रसेनमिति वै पठेत्॥ स च श्लोको विष्णुपुराणे। सिंहः प्रसेनमवधीत् सिंहो जाम्बवता हतः। सुकुमारक मा रोदीस्तव ह्येष स्यमन्तकः॥ इति। हे. on व्रत vol. I. pp. 529–530; vide also हे. on काल p. 681. The verse is in Harivaṁśa I. 38. 36, विष्णुपुराण IV. 13. 42, Vāyu 96. 42 (reads प्रसेनमवधीत्सिंहः सिंहो°), Padma VI. 276. 19, Brahma 16. 36. सुकुमारक may be the proper name of the boy or may be only a term of endearment.

375. इमां मिथ्याभिशस्तिं यो वेद कृष्णादपोहिताम्। न स मिथ्याभिशापेन अभिशाप्योऽथ केनचित्॥ मत्स्य. 45. 34; इमां मिथ्या...कृष्णस्येह व्यपोहिताम्। वेद मिथ्याभिशस्तेः स नाभिशस्यति कर्हिचित्। वायु 96. 52.

ever knows this story about the clearance of Kṛṣṇa from a false charge would not be liable to have a false charge made against him by any one. The Tithitattva[376] provides that if a man inadvertently sees the moon on the night of the 4th in Bhādra (śukla) he should repeat the verse of the nurse quoted above over some water, drink it and should listen to the story of the Syamantaka jewel.

When Gaṇeśa is worshipped on Bhādra 4th of bright half, that tithi is called, according to Bhaviṣya, Śivā, when Gaṇeśa is honoured on Māgha-śukla 4 it is called Śāntā, and when on the 4th of the bright half the weekday is Tuesday that caturthī is called Sukhā. The three[377] are respectively described in Hemādri (vrata) vol. I pp. 512–513, pp. 513–514 and pp. 515–519.

In modern times the worship of Gaṇeśa lasts for one day and a half, for two days, 5 days, 7 days or till Anantacaturdaśī (14th of bright half of Bhādra), according to the usages of the people, their inclinations and their tastes. The image is then immersed in a well, tank or in the sea in a great procession. In certain parts of the Deccan and among common people it is customary to perform Gaurīpūjā on 7th and 8th of Bhādrapada-śukla and immerse Gaurī (represented by a sheaf of plants) and Gaṇeśa image on the same day and at the same time on 9th.

Gaṇeśa is the most popular god in these days and it is the practice to invoke him at the beginning of every important undertaking or rite. He is the God of wisdom, the presiding deity of literature, the bestower of success and the destroyer of obstacles.

About the antiquity of Gaṇeśa worship and of images of Gaṇeśa a good deal has been said in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 213–216 and 725. A few matters not mentioned there may be set out here. The Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa has a section called Gaṇeśa-khaṇḍa (in 46 chapters), wherein several legends about Gaṇeśa are dwelt upon. The Gaṇapatyatharvaśīrṣa[378], imitating the

376. सिंहः प्रसेन ... स्यमन्तकः। अनेन मन्त्रेणाभिमन्त्रितं जलं पेयमाचारात् स्यमन्तकोपाख्यानं च श्रोतव्यम्। तिथितत्त्व p. 32.

377. शिवा शान्ता सुखा राजन् चतुर्थी त्रिविधा मता। मासि भाद्रपदे शुक्ला शिवा लोकेशपूजिता। तस्यां स्नानं तथा दानमुपवासो जपस्तथा। क्रियमाणं शतगुणं प्रसादाद्दन्तिनो नृप॥ भविष्य, ब्राह्मपर्व 31 1 and 6–10 for शान्ता and सुखा, q. by हे. (on व्रत vol. I. pp. 512–513).

378. ओं नमस्ते गणपतये। त्वमेव प्रत्यक्षं तत्त्वमसि। त्वमेव केवलं कर्तासि। त्वमेव केवलं धर्तासि। त्व ... हर्तासि। त्वमेव सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्मासि। त्वं साक्षादात्मासि नित्यम्। The opening words of गणपत्यथर्वशीर्ष (Ānand. ed.).

style of such ancient Upaniṣads as the Taittirīya, Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Chāndogya, identifies Gaṇapati with the Highest Brahma. The Ahalyākāmadhenu quotes passages from Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa on Gaṇeśacaturthī. In I. A. vol. 35 p. 60 an archaeological and mystic explanation is offered about the mouse being the conveyance of Gaṇeśa and his elephant head, which is fantastic and hardly convincing. Several legends are told about Gaṇeśa, his elephant head, his single tusk. Vide Mukerji p. 9. One of the most fantastic is the one in the Varāha-purāṇa (chap. 23) where it is said that from the laugh of Śiva sprang a very handsome boy whom Pārvatī looked at with admiring eyes when Śiva's jealousy was roused and he cursed the boy to be elephant-headed and pot-bellied and then be relented and made him the chief of all Vināyakas.

The Kṛtykalpataru (on vrata) pp. 84–87 quotes a passage from the Narasiṁha-purāṇa[379] (chap. 26. 2–20) about Gaṇeśa-caturthī-vrata, which also occurs among several vratas about Gaṇeśa set out in Hemādri (on vrata vol. I pp. 510–512). It differs considerably from the celebration of Gaṇeśacaturthī described above. A few important points are stated here. Gaṇeśa is described as having one, two or four tusks and as having four arms. It is further stated that Gaṇeśa causes obstacles (*vighna*) if not worshipped at the beginning of every undertaking. Gaṇeśa assumed the form of an elephant for effecting the purposes of gods and thereby frightened all *dānavas*.

On the 5th tithi of the bright half of Bhādrapada occurs the Ṛṣipañcamī-vrata. It was meant for men of all varṇas but is now mostly practised by women. Hemādri (on vrata, vol. I. pp. 568–572) describes the vrata at length quoting from the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa. One should, after bathing in a river or the like and after performing his daily duties, repair to his *agnihotra* shed, should bathe with Pañcāmṛta the images of the seven sages and, anointing them with sandalwood paste and camphor, worship them with flowers, fragrant substances, incense, lamp, white clothes and yajñopavītas and sumptuous naivedya and offer

379. एकदन्तं द्विदन्तं च चतुर्दन्तं चतुर्भुजम्। त्र्यक्षं त्रिशूलहस्तं च रक्तनेत्रं वरप्रदम्॥ ...अनर्चितो विघ्नकरः सर्वकार्येषु यो नृणाम्। ...त्वया पुराणं सर्वेषां देवानां कार्यसिद्धये। गजरूपं समास्थाय त्रासिताः सर्वदानवाः॥ नरसिंहपु. 26. 6, 8, 13 q. by कृत्यकल्प. (व्रत pp. 85–86), हे. (व्रत) vol. I. pp. 511–512.

them arghya[380] with the mantra noted below. One should, when engaged in this vrata, subsist on vegetables alone and observe celibacy. The result is freedom from all sins and from troubles of three kinds[381] and the increase of one's good fortune. If a woman performs this vrata she enjoys happiness, becomes endowed with good bodily form, beauty and sons and grandsons.

Later medieval digests like the Vratārka (folio 90), Vratarāja (pp. 200–206) add details and a story from Bhaviṣyottara narrated to Yudhiṣṭhira by Kṛṣṇa. The sin of Brahmahatyā (brāhmaṇa-murder), of which Indra became guilty by killing Vṛtra, son of Tvaṣṭṛ, was distributed in four places viz. in Agni (the first flames mixed with smoke), rivers (turbid in the rains), mountains (on which trees exuding sticky gum grow) and among women (in their monthly illness). Therefore this vrata should be performed particularly by women for getting rid of the sin of contact during their monthly illness.

The saṅkalpa is given below.[381a] Another detail is that the seven sages together with Arundhatī are to be worshipped. It is further provided that one should subsist on vegetables[382] or *nīvāras* or śyāmāka grains or bulbous roots or fruits and should not eat anything produced by ploughing the land. Even in these days those who perform this vrata do not eat corn produced by employing oxen. In modern times if men perform the vrata the priest invokes for them seven sages with Vedic mantras viz. Ṛg. IX. 114. 2 (for Kaśyapa), Ṛg. V. 78. 4 (for Atri), Ṛg. VI. 25.9

380. अर्घ्यमन्त्रः। कश्यपोत्रिर्भरद्वाजो विश्वामित्रोथ गौतमः। जमदग्निर्वसिष्ठश्च सप्तैते ऋषयः स्मृताः। गृह्णन्त्वर्घ्यं मया दत्तं तुष्टा भवत मे सदा। q. by हे. (on व्रत, vol. I. p. 571), स्मृतिकौ. 217, व्रतराज p. 200. The बृहत्संहिता of वराह (13. 5–6) recounts the seven sages (beginning from the east) as मरीचि, वसिष्ठ, अङ्गिरस्, अत्रि, पुलस्त्य, पुलह, क्रतु and 13.6 says साध्वी अरुन्धती is near वसिष्ठ.

381. The three दुःखs are आध्यात्मिक, आधिदैविक and आधिभौतिक. 'आध्यात्मिकादि मैत्रेय ज्ञात्वा तापत्रयं बुधः। उत्पन्नज्ञानवैराग्यः प्राप्नोत्यात्यन्तिकं लयम्॥' विष्णुपुराण VI. 5.1. आध्यात्मिक troubles are physical (diseases &c.) and mental (sorrow, jealousy &c.), आधिभौतिक (caused by birds, beasts, men, goblins &c.); आधिदैविक troubles are those caused by snowfall, wind, rain &c.

381 a. मया ज्ञानतोऽज्ञानतो वा रजस्वलावस्थायां कृतसंपर्कजनितदोषपरिहारार्थमृषिपञ्चमीव्रतं करिष्ये इति सङ्कल्प्य अरुन्धतीसहितान् सप्तर्षीन् पूजयेत्। व्रतार्क folio 89a.

382. शाकाहारस्तु कर्तव्यो नीवारैः श्यामकैस्तथा। कन्दैर्वापि फलैर्मूलैर्हलकृष्टं न भक्षयेत्। भविष्योत्तर q. by व्रतराज p. 203. Vide व्रतार्क folio 92b that has the verse शाकाहारस्तु कर्तव्यः श्यामाकाहार एव वा। नीवारैर्वापि कर्तव्यं कृष्टपच्यं न भक्षयेत्॥ कृष्टपच्यं means 'ripening after ploughing'. Vide पाणिनि III. 1. 114 for it (कृष्टे स्वयमेव पच्यन्ते कृष्टपच्याः। सि. कौ.).

(for Bharadvāja), Ṛg. X. 167. 4 (for Viśvāmitra), Ṛg. I. 78. 1 (for Gotama), Ṛg. III. 62. 18 (for Jamadagni), Ṛg. VII. 33. 11 (for Vasiṣṭha). The mantra for Arundhatī is quoted below.[383] In this vrata the number seven is important. The vrata is to be performed for seven years, there are to be seven jars, seven brāhmaṇas were to be invited to whom finally the images (made of gold or silver) of the seven sages were to be donated. If all the images were placed in one *kalaśa*, then the jar with the images was to be donated to one brāhmaṇa and the others were to be given kalaśas with clothes and dakṣiṇā.

If pañcamī is mixed up with the 4th tithi and the 6th tithi, one must perform the Ṛsipañcamī vrata on the 5th mixed with the 4th (pūrvaviddhā) and not on 5th mixed with 6th, in accordance with the *Yugmavākya* quoted above (n. 191). Besides, Hārīta expressly[384] prohibits the acceptance of the 5th mixed with the 6th in the words (5th tithi mixed with the 4th should be accepted and not the 5th joined to the 6th, both in the bright and dark halves and in rites for the gods and *pitṛs*). But there is the most important rule laid down by Hārīta himself that in all vratas comprising worship the tithi to be selected is the one that covers mid-day.[385] Supposing that the 5th tithi does not cover mid-day when joined with 4th, but covers mid-day when joined with 6th, the latter (paraviddhā) would have to be chosen. Hemādrī would hold this latter view, while Mādhava holds that everywhere 5th which is pūrvaviddhā is to be accepted. Hence there is divergence of view among the great writers.

It appears that originally the Ṛsipañcamī-vrata was meant for the removal of sins for all, but later on it came to be specially provided for women; but it is not observed in Saurāṣṭra.

On the 14th of the bright half of Bhādrapada is celebrated the Anantacaturdaśī-vrata. It does not appear in the Kṛtyakalpataru (on vrata).

It consists chiefly in the worship of Hari as Ananta and in wearing on the the right hand in the case of men and on the left

383. अत्रेर्यथानुसूया स्याद्वसिष्ठस्याप्यरुन्धती। कौशिकस्य यथा सती तथा त्वमपि भर्तरि॥. This is the मन्त्र for the आवाहन of अरुन्धती.

384. हारीतेन परविद्धायाः प्रतिषिद्धत्वात्। चतुर्थीसंयुता कार्या पञ्चमी परया न तु। दैवे कर्मणि पित्र्ये च शुक्लपक्षे तथाऽसिते॥ इति। का. नि. p. 186.

385. सा (ऋषिपञ्चमी) मध्याह्नव्यापिनी ग्राह्या। पूजाव्रतेषु ... तिथिः- इति माधवीये हारीतोक्तेः। दिनद्वये तस्वे हेमाद्रिमते परा। ...माधवमते पूर्वा, सर्वत्र पञ्चमी पूर्वेत्युक्तेः। युग्मवाक्यान्निर्णयस्तु युक्तः। ऋषिपञ्चमी षष्ठीयुतैवेति दिवोदासः। नि. सि. p. 134, का. नि. (p. 132) has the verse 'पूजाव्रतेषु सर्वेषु मध्याह्नव्यापिनी तिथिः।'.

in the case of women a holy strap of thread dyed with saffron made of cotton or silk twisted into fourteen knots. It is an individual pūjā and not a festival of a socio-religious character. The Agnipurāṇa (chap. 192, verses 7–10) gives a brief description as follows. On the 14th of the bright half one should worship the image of Ananta (Hari) which is made of darbha grass placed in a vessel for water (a jar). He should get ready flour of a *prastha* of paddy and make cakes from that, half of which should be donated to a brāhmaṇa and the remaining half he should use for himself. One should perform this vrata on the bank of a river and listen to stories about Hari and (pray to Hari) as follows:[386] O Vāsudeva! save (people) sunk in the great and endless ocean of *saṁsāra* and make them apply themselves to the contemplation of the form of Ananta; salutation to thee that hast numerous forms! Having worshipped (Hari) with this mantra and having tied on one's arm or round one's neck a string of threads over which a mantra has been uttered, the person who performs the Anantavrata becomes happy. If Hari is Ananta, then fourteen knots may be deemed to symbolize the fourteen worlds created by Hari.

Hemādri (on vrata vol. II. pp. 26–36) has an elaborate description of Anantavrata together with the story of Kauṇḍinya and his wife Śīlā told by Kṛṣṇa to Yudhiṣṭhira. Kṛṣṇa states that Ananta is one of his forms and identifies himself with Kāla (Time) that is called Ananta. Ananta should be worshipped with the *upacāras* of sandalwood paste, incense, flowers, naivedya.

In front of (the image of) Ananta should be placed a *doraka* dyed with saffron and having fourteen knots. The mantra (quoted in note) should be recited and the doraka should be tied on one's arm, one should then dine with an easy mind after contemplating on Nārāyaṇa as Ananta. In the story it is narrated how because the husband Kauṇḍinya from youthful rashness and pride cut the Ananta thread tied round his wife's hand he lost everything, then repented and was taken into favour by Ananta. The V. K. K. (pp. 324–339) describes at great length the procedure of Anantapūjā together with stories taken

386. अनन्तसंसारमहासमुद्रे मग्नान्समभ्युद्धर वासुदेव। अनन्तरूपे विनियोजयस्व अनन्तरूपाय नमो नमस्ते॥ अग्नि 192.9, quoted as पूजाडोरकमन्त्र by कृ. र. p., 294 and ति. त. p. 123, which remarks 'पूजाडोरकबन्धनमन्त्रस्तु रत्नाकरे। अनन्त°'. It is not clear from the अग्निपुराण what month is intended. The verses immediately preceding refer to कार्तिक.

from the Bhaviṣyottara, and the Tithitattva also (p. 123) quotes portions from the Bhaviṣyottara. The Kālanirṇaya (p. 279) expressly states that the Anantavrata is described in the Bhaviṣyottara and discusses a few verses therefrom. The Vratārka (folio 277a–285a) describes this vrata at great length. Briefly it is this: first saṅkalpa, then making a *sarvato-bhadra maṇḍala* and placing a jar thereon, on which is placed a *nāga* with seven hoods made of darbhas and in front of it a *doraka* with 14 knots, worshipping the doraka on the jar with 16 upacāras with the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90) and Paurāṇika mantras; 14 devatās of the knots from Viṣṇu to Vasus are invoked, then there is worship of the limbs from the feet upwards in such mantras as 'Anantāya namaḥ pādau pūjayāmi,' then a handful of flowers with the mantras of Viṣṇu, prayer to Ananta, tying the doraka with a mantra, casting away the old doraka after offering it worship. Salt is forbidden in this vrata. It was[387] believed that if this vrata was performed for fourteen years, one reached the world of Viṣṇu.

There is a variance in the views of eminent writers about the exact time and the tithi for the vrata when 14th is mixed with other tithis (13th or Paurṇimā). Mādhava[388] holds that mid-day is not the *karmakāla* in this vrata, but that tithi which exists at sunrise for three *muhūrtas* is the most suitable one for Ananta-vrata. The Nirṇayasindhu holds[389] that Madhava was mistaken because he relied for his decision on a general rule that the principal tithi to be accepted is the one that covers mid-day, that the Anantavrata is not mentioned in other purāṇas and also in other digests and that the passages of the Bhaviṣya and Skanda quoted by others are baseless and unauthoritative.

There are even in these days many persons who engage in the Anantacaturdaśī-vrata, but their numbers are rapidly diminishing.

387. कृत्वानन्तव्रतं सम्यग्नववर्षाणि पञ्च च। भुक्त्वा सर्वमनन्तेन यथोक्तं पाण्डुनन्दन॥ अन्ते च मरणं प्राप्य गतोऽनन्तपुरे द्विजः। हे. (on व्रत vol. II. p. 35),

388. यत्तु भाद्रपदशुक्ल-चतुर्दश्यामनन्तव्रतं भविष्योत्तरेऽभिहितं तत्र पूर्वविद्धा परविद्धा वा मध्याह्नव्यापिनी ग्राह्येति केचिदाहुः। ...अतो न मध्याह्नः कर्मकालः। तथा सति दैवे औदयिकी ग्राह्या-इति वचनेन युग्मशास्त्रादिभिश्चोदयव्यापिनी ग्राह्या। सा च तिथ्यन्तरवत् त्रिमुहूर्तेति मुख्यः कल्पः। द्विमुहूर्तेत्यनुकल्पः। का. नि. p. 279.

389. तत्त्वं तु ... पूर्वा परा वा मध्याह्नव्यापिन्येव मुख्या। माधवस्तु सामान्यवाक्यान्निर्णयं कुर्वन् भ्रान्त एव। अनन्तव्रतस्य पुराणान्तरेष्वभावान्निबन्धान्तरेष्वभावाच्च वचनं निर्मूलमेवेति। नि. सि. p. 142.

CHAPTER IX

Navarātra or Durgotsava

From the 1st of Āśvina bright half to the 9th is celebrated the Durgāpūjā festival, otherwise called Navarātra, observed all over India in some form or other. Some of the works[390] provide that Durgotsava must be celebrated in both Śarad (Āśvina-śukla) and Vasanta (in Caitra-śukla). But it is the Durgotsava[391] of Āśvina that is celebrated in a grand style, particularly in Bengal, Bihar and Kāmarūpa.

If a person is unable to celebrate the festival[392] for nine days, he should do so for three days beginning from the 7th tithi of Āśvina-śukla. In fact, the Tithitattva[393] puts forward several alternative periods for Durgāpūjā as follows: (1) from the 9th tithi of the preceding dark half of Pūrṇimānta Āśvina to the 9th tithi of Āśvina-śukla; (2) from the first tithi of Āśvina śukla to 9th; (3) from the 6th to the 9th; (4) from the 7th to the 9th; (5) from the Mahāṣṭamī to the 9th, (6) only on the Mahāṣṭamī; (7) only on the Mahānavamī. Most of these alternatives find support in the Kālikā and other Purāṇas.

390. शरद्वसन्तयोस्तुल्य एव दुर्गोत्सवः कार्यः। निर्णयामृत p. 56, स. म. p. 15.

391. शरत्काले महापूजा क्रियते या च वार्षिकी। मार्कण्डेयपु. 89.11 q. by नि. सि. p. 80, स. म. p 15 वार्षिकी means वर्षारम्भसम्बन्धिनी. In the तिथितत्त्व (pp. 64–65) रघुनन्दन interprets वार्षिकी as an adjective of महापूजा meaning yearly; but नागोजिभट्ट in his com. on सप्तशती (मार्कण्डेय 89.11) explains वर्षशब्दो वर्षादौ लाक्षणिकः, तेन चैत्रशुक्लप्रतिपदमारभ्य क्रियमाणा इत्यर्थः (folio 50a of the ms. in the Bombay University Library described in Prof. Devasthali's Cat No. 1358).

392. आश्विने मासि शुक्ले तु कर्तव्यं नवरात्रकम्। प्रतिपदादिक्रमेणैव यावच्च नवमी भवेत्॥ त्रिरात्रं वापि कर्तव्यं सप्तम्यादि यथाक्रमम्॥ इति। धौम्य q. by हे. on व्रत vol. I. pp. 907–908, by पु. चि. p. 60, का. त. वि. p. 271.

393. एवं च तत्रैव वक्ष्यमाणतत्तद्वचनात् कृष्णनवम्यादि-प्रतिपदादि-षष्ठ्यादि-सप्तम्यादि-महाष्टम्यादि-केवलमहाष्टमी-केवलमहानवमी-पूजारूपाः कल्पा उन्नेयाः। ति. त. p. 67; नवरात्रव्रतेऽशक्तस्त्रिरात्रं चैकरात्रकम्। व्रतं चरति यो भक्तस्तस्मै दास्यामि वाञ्छितम्॥ नि. सि. p. 173, quoting 'गोविन्दार्णवे देवीपुराणे'. As to महाष्टमी and महानवमी, the कालिका-पुराण says 'आश्विनस्य तु शुक्लस्य भवेद्या अष्टमी तिथिः। महाष्टमीति सा प्रोक्ता देव्याः प्रीतिकरी परा॥ ततो तु नवमी या स्यात्सा महानवमी स्मृता॥ chap. 62. 2–3; vide also देवीपुराण q. by हे. (on व्रत vol. I. p. 900). कन्यायां कृष्णपक्षस्य पूजयित्वार्द्रभे दिवा। नवम्यां बोधयेद्देवीं गीतवादित्रनिःस्वनैः॥ कालिका 62.17, q. by का. वि. p. 511 (from भगवतीपुराण), कृ. र. p. 362. This supports the first alternative; केवलाष्टमीकेवल-नवमीकल्पावाह कालिकापुराणम्। यस्त्वेकस्यामथाष्टम्यां नवम्यां वाथ साधकः। पूजयेद्वरदां (देवीं) सर्वकामफलप्रदाम्॥ इति। ति. त. p. 88.

There is a voluminous literature on Durgotsava. Every digest on vratas, tithis and pūjā devotes considerable space to this subject. Moreover, there are special treatises on Durgotsava or Navarātra, such as the Durgotsavaviveka of Śūlapāṇi, the Durgāpūjā-prayogatattva (published by the Sanskrit Sāhity Parishad, 1924) of which the Durgārcanapaddhati of Raghunandana (published by Jivananda, vol. II) is a part, Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī of Vidyāpati,[394] the Navarātra-pradīpa of Vināyaka *alias* Nanda-paṇḍita, the Durgotsavapaddhati by Udayasiṁha (2nd half of 15th century A. D.).[395] Besides these, the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (chapters 78–90 in Venk. Press ed. and 81–93 in Banerji's) contains what is called Devīmāhātmya[396] (or Saptaśatī or Caṇḍī) in which are described the appearance of Devī from the accumulated *tejas* of Viṣṇu, Śaṅkara, Agni and other gods, her getting different weapons from the several gods such as the trident from Śiva, discus from Viṣṇu, Vajra from Indra, her victory over and slaughter of the

394. For the opening lines of this work, vide I. A. vol. 14 p. 192; it was published at Darbhanga in 1900 A. D. in Devanāgarī script. Reference is made to the pages of this edition in the following.

395. Vide I. H. Q. vol. 21. pp. 227–231 for remarks on this work.

396. Modern scholars generally hold that the Devīmāhātmya, of which the oldest known ms. is dated in 998 A. D. (as stated in Winternitz's 'History of Indian Literature, English Translation, 1927, p. 565 note 2) was later inserted in the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa. Though the Devīmāhātmya is called Saptaśati (collection of 700 verses), the total number of verses therein is only about 573 to 590 in different mss. and editions. The Venk, press edition in chap. 78–90 has 589 and K. M. Banerjea's in chap. 81–93 has 573. Nāgojībhaṭṭa in his com. on सप्तशती remarks (folio 55 b) 'अष्टसप्तत्युत्तराणां श्लोकानां शतपञ्चकम्। प्रोक्तं सप्तशतीस्तोत्रं तत्सप्तशतसंख्यया॥'. The number 700 is made up by looking upon words like उवाच as मन्त्रs and half verses as full verses and so on. The 13 chapters are divided into three parts, chap. I being प्रथमचरित, chap. 2–4 being मध्यमचरित and 5–13 being उत्तमचरित. The 77 or 78 verses of the 1st chapter (प्रथमचरित) are made into 104 mantras viz. उवाचमन्त्राः 14, अर्धमन्त्राः 24, श्लोकमन्त्राः 66. The सप्तशती is treated as if it were a Vedic hymn or verse with ऋषि, metres, प्रधानदेवता, and विनियोग (for जप) 'अस्य श्रीसप्तशतीमन्त्रस्य मार्कण्डेय-ब्रह्मेन्द्र-वासुदेव-रुद्रा ऋषयः। गायत्र्युष्णिगनुष्टुप् छन्दांसि। मधुकैटभमर्दिनी— महिषासुरसेनामहिषासुरमर्दिनी — धूम्रलोचनचण्डमुण्डरक्तबीजशुम्भनिशुम्भमर्दिन्यः प्रधानदेवताः।. Besides, some verses are described as कवच (armour), others as अर्गल (bolt for fastening) and still others as कीलक (pin, the inner syllables of a mantra); पठित्वा कवचं चादौ अर्गलं कीलकं तथा। जपेत्सप्तशतीं चण्डीं क्रम एष शिवोदितः॥'. These three (कवच, अर्गल and कीलक) are outside the देवीमाहात्म्य. The महिषासुरवध in वराहपुराण chap. 95 is to some extent different from the description in the other Purāṇas. It appears to be the earliest Paurāṇika version of the slaughter of Mahiṣāsura.

great demon Mahiṣāsura, and of the demons Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa, Śumbha and Niśumbha. The Kālikāpurāṇa, the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-purāṇa[397] and the Devīpurāṇa also devote considerable space to Durgā and her pūjā. I have used, though not much, the English work on Durgā-pūjā by Pratapachandra Ghosh published so far back as 1871. My endeavour will be to give as briefly as possible an account of all the salient features of this great religious worship and festival from the Sanskrit texts themselves.

This pūjā is nitya as well as kāmya;[398] it is the first because the Kālikāpurāṇa (63. 12–13) prescribes that whoever, through laziness, hypocrisy, hatred or stupidity, does not celebrate the great festival of Durgā has all his desires frustrated by the angry Devī; it is also kāmya because rewards are promised when one celebrates Durgotsava 'all should always perform the worship of Devī in order to secure incomparable eminence which confers the puruṣārthas, viz. Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa' and 'one should worship Bhavānī for pleasing her, for happiness in that year, for the destruction of evil spirits and goblins and for delight' (Tithitattva p. 65). The original purposes and objects of this festival were high and noble as stated in the Devīpurāṇa[399] "This is a great and holy vrata conferring great *siddhis*, vanquishing all enemies, conferring benefits on all people, especially in great floods; this should be performed by brāhmaṇas for solemn sacrifices and by kṣatriyas for the protection of the people, by vaiśyas for cattle wealth, by śūdras desirous of sons and happiness, by women for blessed wifehood and by rich men who hanker for more wealth; this was performed by Śaṅkara and others". But in course of time, the objects were brought down to the ordinary level as stated in the Devīmāhātmya[400] 'by listening

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397. I could not secure a copy of the Nandikeśvarapurāṇa. The Devīpurāṇa was published in the Vaṅgavāsī series in Calcutta in śaka 1832 (2nd ed.).

398. नारदीये त्वाहरयैव नित्यकाम्यता प्रतिपादिता। यावज्जीवं नरः स्त्री वा नवरात्रं महाव्रतम्। कुरुते चण्डिकाप्रीत्यै भुक्तिं मुक्तिं च विन्दति॥ यावज्जीवश्रवणात्फलश्रवणाच्च नित्यकाम्यता। नवरात्रप्रदीप p. 36.

399. महासिद्धिप्रदं धन्यं सर्वशत्रुनिबर्हणम्। सर्वलोकोपकारार्थं विशेषादतिवृष्टिषु। क्रत्यर्थं (क्रत्वर्थं?) ब्राह्मणाद्यैश्च क्षत्रियैर्भूमिपालने। गोधनार्थं विशा वत्स शूद्रैः पुत्रसुखार्थिभिः। सौभाग्यार्थं स्त्रिया कार्यमाढ्यैश्च धनकाङ्क्षिभिः। महाव्रतं महापुण्यं शङ्कराद्यैरनुष्ठितम्। देवीपुराण q. by हे. on व्रत vol. I. p. 901, कृ. र. p. 359, दु. भ. त. p. 16, ति. त. p. 67.

400. शरत्काले महापूजा क्रियते या च वार्षिकी। तस्यां ममैतन्माहात्म्यं श्रुत्वा भक्तिसमन्वितः। सर्वबाधाविनिर्मुक्तो धनधान्यसमन्वितः। मनुष्यो मत्प्रसादेन भविष्यति न संशयः॥ मार्कण्डेय chap. 89. 11–12.

with devotion to my greatness in the great annual pūjā *performed in autumn,* a man becomes free from all troubles and becomes endowed with wealth and agricultural produce by my favour'. The exaggerated importance of this Durgā-pūjā will be clear from one verse of the Bhaviṣya 'rites like Agnihotra, solemn sacrifices described in the Vedas and completed with dakṣiṇā are not equal even to one hundred-thousandth part of the worship of Caṇḍikā.'[401]

This Durgāpūjā is very cosmopolitan in character. It could be performed not only by persons belonging to the four varṇas, but even by those who were outside the pale of the caste system. Durgā-pūjā has a congregational character and is not purely religious, but has also a social element in it (such as inviting friends and treating them &c.). The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa[402] says 'Devī should be worshipped (in her shrine) on Vindhya mountain, in all places, cities, houses, villages and forests by brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, kings, vaiśyas, śūdras, who are full of devotion, who have taken a bath and who are cheerful and jolly, by *mlecchas* and other men (such as pratilomas) and by women'. In another place the Bhaviṣya states[403] 'Durgā is worshipped by various groups of mlecchas, by all *dasyus* (thievish tribes or outcaste Hindus), by people from Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga, by kinnaras, Barbaras (non-Aryans) and Śakas'. Later medieval writers were careful to point out that mlecchas had no *adhikāra* to perform *japa* or *homa* or *pūjā* with mantras through a brāhmaṇa as śūdras had, but they could only mentally resolve to offer in honour of Devī animals as offerings and wine[404] also and do so.

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401. अग्निहोत्रादिकर्माणि वेदयज्ञाः सदक्षिणाः। चण्डिकार्चार्चनस्यैते लक्षांशेनापि नो समाः॥ भविष्य q. by पूजाप्रकाश p. 309.

402. एवं च विन्ध्यवासिन्यां नवरात्रोपवासतः। ...पूजनीया जनैर्देवी स्थाने स्थाने पुरे पुरे। गृहे गृहे भक्तिपरैर्ग्रामे ग्रामे वने वने। स्नातैः प्रमुदितैर्हृष्टैर्ब्राह्मणैः क्षत्रियैर्नृपैः। ...वैश्यैः शूद्रैर्भक्तियुक्तैर्म्लेच्छैरन्यैश्च मानवैः। स्त्रीभिश्च कुरुशार्दूल तद्विधानमिदं शृणु॥ भविष्य q. by हे. on व्रत I. p. 910, ति. त. p. 68, नि. सि. p. 164, स्मृतिकौ. p. 201, का. त. वि. p. 267.

403. एवं नानाम्लेच्छगणैः पूज्यते सर्वदस्युभिः। अङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गैश्च किन्नरैर्बर्बरैः शकैः॥ भविष्योत्तर q. by कृ. र. p. 357, नि. सि. p. 114, ति. त. p. 68, कृत्यकल्प° (नैयतकालिक) p. 410.

404. अतो म्लेच्छादीनां न शूद्रवद् ब्राह्मणद्वारापि जपे होमे समन्त्रकपूजायां चाधिकारः किंतु तैस्तत्तदुपचाराणां सुराद्युपहारसहितानां पश्वादिबलेश्च मनसोत्सर्गमात्रं देवीमुद्दिश्य विधेयमिति सिद्धम्। स्मृतिकौ. p. 291.

It is stated in the Skanda and Bhaviṣya[405] purāṇas that the worship of Caṇḍikā in autumn (Āśvina) is of a threefold character; viz. sāttvikī, rājasī and tāmasī; the sāttvikī worship is effected by *japa*, by offering *naivedya* in which there is no meat; and japa consists in reciting the texts of the purāṇas in which the greatness of Devī is described; rājasī worship is effected by offering a *bali* and with naivedya which contains flesh; that is tāmasī worship which is effected by the offerings of wine and meat and from which *japa* is absent and which is without mantras; this last is approved among Kirātas (i. e. forest tribes and the like). Raghunandana adds[406] in his Prāyaścitta-tattva that the offering of wine in Durgāpūjā relates to ages other than the Kali age (i. e. other than the present age).

It has been stated above (pp. 110–111, n. 280) that the principal gods are deemed to go to sleep for four months on different tithis from the *pratipad* (1st) of Āṣāḍha-śukla to the 15th. Therein Durgā is said to go to sleep on the 8th of the bright half of Āṣāḍha. Therefore, in Āśvina she would be asleep. Hence the texts provide for the rousing (*bodhana*) of Devī from sleep. As usual there are conflicting views. The Tithitattva[407] notices the views of some that if the Devī is to be worshipped as having 18 arms she was to be roused on the 9th of the dark half preceding Āśvina bright half, but that if she was to be worshipped as possessing ten arms then the *bodhana* was to be on the 6th (of the bright half of Āśvina). Raghunandana does not accept this and holds that the *bodhana* of Devī with ten arms was to be either on the 9th (of the preceding dark half) or on the 6th (of the bright half of Āśvina). If the performer begins on the 9th of the dark half the saṅkalpa will be as noted below.[408] He may, however, begin on the first

405. स्कान्दभविष्यपुराणयोः। शारदी चण्डिकापूजा त्रिविधा परिगीयते। सात्त्विकी राजसी चैव तामसी चेति तां शृणु। सात्त्विकी जपयज्ञाद्यैर्नैवेद्यैश्च निरामिषैः। माहात्म्यं भगवत्याश्च पुराणादिषु कीर्तितम्। पाठस्तस्य जपः प्रोक्तः पठेद्देवीमनाः प्रिये। राजसी बलिदानेन नैवेद्यैः सामिषैस्तथा। सुरामांसाद्युपहारैर्जपयज्ञैर्विना तु या। विना मन्त्रैस्तामसी स्यात्किरातानां च संमता॥ ति. त. p. 68, का. त. वि. pp. 269–270.

406. एवं च दुर्गापूजादौ यन्मद्यदानमुक्तं तत्कलीतरपरम्। प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व p. 520 (Jiv. vol. I.)

407. अथ कालिकापुराणे। नवम्यां बोधनमष्टादशभुजायाः, षष्ठ्यां बोधनं दशभुजाया विशेष्याभिधानात्तथैवेति वदन्ति तन्न। ...तस्माद्दशभुजाया नवम्यां षष्ठ्यां वा बोधनमिति। ति. त. p. 71.

408. अथाश्विने मासि कृष्णपक्षे नवम्यां तिथावारभ्य शुक्लदशमीं यावत् प्रत्यहम्, अमुकगोत्रः श्रीअमुकदेवशर्मा अतुलविभूतिकामः संवत्सरसुखप्राप्तिकामो दुर्गाप्रीतिकामो वा वार्षिकशरत्कालीन-दुर्गामहापूजामहं करिष्ये। दुर्गार्चनपद्धति p. 660.

tithi of Āśvina bright half and then the bodhana will be on the 6th of the bright half. If he begins on the pratipad the saṅkalpa will be as noted below.[409] Then he should recite Ṛg. VII. 16. 11 'God[410] Draviṇodas specially desires your ladle filled (with offering); may you pour out (Soma) or fill (the vessel with Soma); the god then immediately comes down'. Then he should establish a *ghaṭa* * (a jar with a peculiar shape, the central portion bulging out, the neck narrow and the brim being broad and open), fill it with water, place twigs of mango and other sacred trees thereon and worship Durgā with the 16 or 5 upacāras. Then he should offer materials such as sandal-wood paste, myrobalan for purifying the hair and also a comb.[411] On the 2nd tithi he should offer a silken ribbon for keeping the hair in position, on the third alaktaka (red lac) dye for reddening the feet, vermilion for putting it on the head, a mirror for observing the face; on the 4th tithi he should offer *madhuparka* (to the goddess), a silver piece having the shape of a *tilaka* (for the forehead) and collyrium as decoration for the eyes; on the 5th tithi he should offer sandalwood paste, unguents and ornaments according to his means.

409. अद्याश्विने मासि शुक्ले पक्षे प्रतिपदि तिथावारभ्य शुक्लदशमीं यावत् प्रत्यहम् अमुकगोत्रोऽमुकदेवशर्मा स्कन्दवत्पालनासंख्यातपुत्रदारधनर्द्धिमदैहिकपरमभोगलाभपूर्वकअमुत्र-देवभवनकामो दुर्गाप्रीतिकामो वा वार्षिकशरत्कालीन-श्रीदुर्गामहापूजामहं करिष्ये । दुर्गार्चनपद्धति p. 663. This follows from भविष्यपुराण q. by दु. भ. त. p. 21 'अनेन विधिना यस्तु देवीं पूजयते नरः । स्कन्दवत्पालयेत्तं तु देवी सर्वापदि स्थितम् ॥ पुत्रदार-धनर्द्धीनां संख्या तस्य न विद्यते । भुक्त्वेह परमान्भोगान् प्रेत्य देवगणो भवेत् ॥.'

410. देवो वो द्रविणोदाः पूर्णां विवष्ट्वासिचम् । उद्वा सिञ्चध्वमुप वा पृणध्वमादिद्वो देव ओहते ॥ ऋ. VII. 16.11. Vide निरुक्त VIII. 1-3 for a discussion about द्रविणोदस्, whether he is Indra or Agni. No vedic mantra could be recited according to Dharmaśāstra works by a śūdra, who was simply to utter 'namaḥ' (salutation) after contemplating on the deity (here Durgā); vide गौ. X. 60 'अनुज्ञातोऽस्य नमस्कारो मन्त्रः' and या. I. 121 'नमस्कारेण मन्त्रेण पञ्च यज्ञान्न हापयेत्'.

* God may be worshipped without an image by means of the *ghaṭa* alone.

411. केशसंस्कारद्रव्याणि प्रदद्यात्प्रतिपद्दिने । पट्टडोरान् (दोरान् ।) द्वितीयायां केश-संयमहेतवे ॥ दर्पणं च तृतीयायां सिन्दूरालक्तकं तथा । मधुपर्कं चतुर्थ्यां तु तिलकं नेत्रमण्डनम् । पञ्चम्यामङ्गरागं च शक्त्यालङ्करणानि च । षष्ठ्यां बिल्वतरोर्बोधं सायं सन्ध्यासु कारयेत् ॥ सप्तम्यां प्रातरानीय गृहमध्ये प्रपूजयेत् । उपोषणमथाष्टम्यां &c.... भविष्य q. by दु. भ. त. p. 20. The कालिकापुराण summarises the acts to be performed from the 4th tithi to the 9th as follows:—शुक्लपक्षे चतुर्थ्यां तु देवीकेशविमोचनम् । प्रातरेव तु पञ्चम्यां स्नापयेत्तु शुभैर्जलैः । सप्तम्यां पत्रिकापूजा अष्टम्यां चाप्युपोषणम् । पूजा जागरणं चैव नवम्यां विधिवद्बलिः ॥ 62. 18-20.

If he starts Durgāpūjā-utsava from the 6th tithi either conjoint with Jyeṣṭhā-nakṣatra or without it he should go in the morning near a *bilva* tree, should utter the saṅkalpa noted below,[412] repeat Ṛg. VII. 16. 11, establish a *ghaṭa*, should worship the *bilva* tree as Durgā. If he has already started the utsava on *pratipad*, then he should go near a bilva tree in the evening conjoint with Jyeṣṭhā or without it (and even if ṣaṣṭhī has expired before evening, then in the evening without ṣaṣṭhī) and rouse Devī with the mantra[413] 'for the destruction of Rāvaṇa and in order to favour Rāma, Brahmā, O goddess, in former times roused you at an unusual time; therefore, I also awaken you in the evening of the 6th tithi of Āśvina.' After thus awakening Devī he should invite the bilva tree with the words 'O bilva tree! born on the top of Śrīśaila and the abode of Lakṣmī, I have to take you; come, you are to be worshipped as Durgā.' Then he should, after taking each of the substances mentioned below and accompanying each with a mantra, place them on the bilva tree and make it an auspicious dwelling place for Durgā. The substances for making a holy[414] residence for Devī are; earth or clay, sandalwood paste, pebbles, coriander, dūrvā grass, flowers, fruits, curds, ghee, *svastika*, vermilion, conch-shell, collyrium, rocanā (yellow pigment), mustard seeds,

412. ओं अद्य आश्विने मासि शुक्ले पक्षे षष्ठ्यां तिथावारभ्य शुक्लदशमीं यावत् प्रत्यहम्, अमुकगोत्रः ... (as in note 409 above) वार्षिक-शरत्कालीन-दुर्गापूजामहं करिष्ये। दुर्गार्चन० p. 663.

413. अस्मिन्नवरात्रे षष्ठ्यां बिल्वशाखादिमन्त्रणं कार्यम्। तथा लिङ्गपुराणे। ऐं रावणस्य वधार्थाय रामस्यानुग्रहाय च। अकाले ब्रह्मणा बोधो देव्यास्त्वयि कृतः पुरा। अहमप्याश्विने षष्ठ्यां सायाह्ने बोधयाम्यतः। श्रीशैलशिखरे जात श्रीफल श्रीनिकेतन। नेतव्योऽसि मया गच्छ पूज्यो दुर्गास्वरूपतः। हे. on व्रत vol. I. pp. 906-907, दु. भ. त. pp. 69-70. The दुर्गार्चनपद्धति (p. 664) has the passage from 'ऐं... स्वरूपतः' but adds before the verse 'श्रीशैलशिखरे' one verse viz. मेरुमन्दरकैलासहिमवच्छिखरे गिरौ। जातः श्रीफलवृक्ष त्वमम्बिकायाः सदा प्रियः॥'. The कालिकापु. refers to the legend that Devī brought about the war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa for seven days and that Rāvaṇa was killed on the 9th tithi of Āśvina-śukla (chap. 62. 28). Vide दु. भ. त. pp. 19-20 for a passage from कालिका similar to the one from लिङ्गपुराण.

414. ततो महीं गृहीत्वा तत्तन्मन्त्रं गायत्रीं वा पठित्वा अनया मह्या अमुष्या भगवत्या दुर्गादेव्याः शुभाधिवासनमस्तु-इत्यादिना बिल्ववृक्षेऽधिवासयेत्। तत्र द्रव्याणि। मही गन्धः शिला धान्यं दूर्वा पुष्पं फलं दधि। घृतं स्वस्तिक-सिन्दूरं शङ्खकज्जलरोचनाः। सिद्धार्थः काञ्चनं रूप्यं ताम्रं चामरदर्पणम्। दीपः प्रशस्तिपात्रं च विज्ञेयमधिवासने। दुर्गार्चनपद्धति p. 664. Svastika is explained by Mr. Ghosh in his note on p. XLVI 'It is made of dough of rice. It is moulded by brāhmaṇa ladies and painted yellow. It is supposed to represent the generative principle of the deity. It is shaped, like a triangle.'

gold, silver, copper, whisk, mirror, lamp, *praśastipātra* (a broad-plate). Then he should repair to the *pandal* erected for Durgā-pūjā, perform *ācamana*, should bind together with Aparājitā creeper twigs or leaves of nine plants[415] so as to form one bundle or sheaf, viz. plantain, pomegranate, coriander, turmeric, Arum Indicum, Arum colocacia, bilva, aśoka and jayantī. Each of these substances is accompanied by an appropriate separate mantra.

He should offer worship to the bundle of nine plants and to the image (of Durgā) and make the Devī abide in the bilva tree with sandalwood (and other substances mentioned above). The rousing (bodhana) of the Devī and the invitation to the bilva tree are separate and are done with separate mantras (Tithitattva pp. 75–76). The two may be done at the same time if 6th tithi exists in the evening; but if it does not exist in the evening then *bodhana* may be done on the 6th and invitation on the 7th or bodhana may be done in the morning and invitation in the evening. The clay image of Durgā together with the twig of bilva is to be entered in the house and worshipped. The details of the complicated discussion are not set out here.

Then follow acts to be done on the 7th tithi. On the 7th tithi conjoint with mūla-nakṣatra or without it the performer after taking a bath approaches a bilva tree, worships it, folds his hands and says 'O blessed bilva tree! you are always dear to Śaṅkara; after taking from you a branch I shall perform Durgā worship; O Lord! you should not feel pain due to the cutting of a branch; O bilva! prince among trees, salutation to you!' After saying this he should cut off from the bilva tree a branch other than one in the south-west or north-west and endowed with a couple of fruits (or without fruit) with the mantra noted below.[416] Then he should take the branch, come to the place of worship (the maṇḍapa or the like) and place it on a pīṭha (a seat). Then taking white mustard grains he

415. कदली दाडिमी धान्यं हरिद्रा माणकं कचुः। बिल्वोऽशोको जयन्ती च विज्ञेया नवपत्रिकाः। ति. त. p. 77 and दुर्गार्च॰ p. 664: रम्भा कची हरिद्रा च जयन्ती बिल्व-दाडिमौ। अशोको मानवृक्षश्च धान्यादि नवपत्रिकाः। नि. सि. p. 173 quoting कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव; the same is quoted from भविष्य by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 372 (reads रम्भा कची... मानकश्चैव); दु. भ. त. p. 31 'कदली दाडिमी धान्यं हरिद्रामानकञ्चुकाः। बिल्वोऽशोको जयन्ती च विज्ञेया नव पत्रिकाः ॥.'

416. ओं छिन्धि छिन्धि फट् फट् हुं फट् स्वाहा—इत्यनेन छेदयेत्। दुर्गार्चन॰ p. 665, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 401.

throws them with two mantras and effects the driving away of goblins, evil spirits, rākṣasas, Vināyakas that cause obstacles, takes up an offering of boiled rice and *māṣa* pulse and requests Kālī who is surrounded by goblins to accept that *bali* for protection against the evil spirits and prays her to confer upon himself all his objects in return for the offering of the *bali*. He then establishes the bundle of (the leaves and twigs) of nine plants tied together with Aparājitā creeper and the bilva branch. He worships the latter with 'salutation to the bilva branch' and honours Cāmuṇḍā on the bilva branch and the clay image with the words 'this is pādya (water for washing the feet), salutation to Cāmuṇḍā' and addresses the bilva branch with the mantra quoted in n. 413 above. Then he utters the mantra 'O Cāmuṇḍā'! move, move, make others move, enter my house quickly and go to the place of worship, *svāhā*'. Then he establishes the *ghaṭa*, worships the nine plants and five devatās, establishes the image on a seat and the bundle of nine plants to its right to the accompaniment of songs and instrumental music and places the bilva branch in a copper vessel near the (image of) Devī and performs the prāṇapratiṣṭhā[417] (vivifying or endowing with life) of the image of the Devī and of Gaṇeśa and other deities in the manner provided in the Durgārcanapaddhati (p. 666) and Tithitattva (pp. 77–78). Then he should, after taking in his hand husked rice-grains and flowers, contemplate upon the form of Devī. Then the Durgārcanapaddhati (pp. 666–667) quotes a long but finely worded passage from the Matsya; the corresponding passage from the Kālikāpurāṇa may be briefly rendered as follows:[418]

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417. The तिथितत्त्व on प्राणप्रतिष्ठा is quoted in the नि. सि. p. 338. रघुनन्दन in his देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व (pp. 506–507) describes at length प्राणप्रतिष्ठा of gods in images, basing himself on the 23rd पटल of शारदातिलक. Vide my notes (p. 112) to the edition of the व्यवहारमयूख where a long passage from शारदातिलक is quoted.

418. जटाजूटसमायुक्तामर्धेन्दुकृतशेखराम् । लोचनत्रयसंयुक्तां पद्मेन्दुसदृशाननाम् ॥ तप्तकाञ्चनवर्णाभां सुप्रतिष्ठां सुलोचनाम्। नवयौवनसम्पन्नां सर्वाभरणभूषिताम्। सुचारुदशनां तीक्ष्णां पीनोन्नतपयोधराम् । त्रिभङ्गस्थानसंस्थानां महिषासुरमर्दिनीम् । मुणाला (मृणाला ?)यतसंस्पर्शदशबाहुसमन्विताम् । त्रिशूलं दक्षिणे देयं खड्गं चक्रं क्रमादधः। तीक्ष्णबाणं तथा शक्तिं बाहुसङ्घेषु सङ्गताम् । खेटकं पूर्णचापं च पाशं चांकुशमूर्ध्वतः। घण्टां च परशुं चापि वामेऽधः प्रतियोजयेत् । अधस्तात् महिषं तद्वच्छिन्नशिरस्कं प्रदर्शयेत् । शिरश्छेदोद्भवं तद्वद् दानवं खड्गपाणिनम् । हृदि शूलेन निर्भिन्नं तिर्यग्दन्तविभूषितम्। रक्तरक्तीकृताङ्गं च रक्तविस्फुरितेक्षणम्। वेष्टितं नागपाशेन भ्रुकुटीकुटिलाननम्। सपाशवामहस्तेन धृतकेशं च दुर्गया। वमद्रुधिरवक्त्रं च देव्याः सिंहं प्रदर्शयेत्। देव्यास्तु दक्षिणं पादं समं सिंहोपरि स्थितम्। किञ्चिदर्धं (दूर्ध्वं ?) तथा वाममङ्गुष्ठं महिषोपरि। कालिकापु०

(*Continued on next page*)

Devī possesses a mass of hair, her head ornament is the crescent of the moon, she has three eyes, her face resembles a lotus and (full) moon, her complexion is like molten gold, she is well formed and has charming eyes, she is endowed with blooming youth, decked with all kinds of ornaments, has charming teeth, looks keen and has full and upraised breasts, her posture is such that she is bent at three places, she has crushed the demon Mahiṣa, she has ten arms long and soft like lotus stalks, she holds a trident in the right hand and a sword and discus below that (trident) in order, a sharp arrow and śakti (missile) in the group of her arms, a shield, a fully bent bow, a noose, a goad (held in order) from above and a bell and axe should be held in the left hand from below; under her one should show a headless buffalo from which rises a demon with a sword in his hand, who is pierced in the region of the heart by the trident (of Devī), who (demon) possesses teeth set awry, whose body is dyed red with blood, whose eyes are bloodshot and distended, who is encircled by a noose of snakes, whose face is rendered fearful by his curved eyebrows, whose hair is seized by Durgā with the left hand holding a noose, whose mouth emits blood; one should exhibit Devī's lion; the right foot of Devī (should be shown) as resting evenly on the lion's back and her left foot toe (resting) a little higher on the demon.

Then the performer should put a flower on his head, take flowers and rice grains in his hand and make an invocation (āvāhana) with two mantras to Durgā to be present in the bilva branch and establish her with the prayer to bestow long life, health and prosperity. He offers to the Devī the several upacāras of āsana, pādya, arghya &c. Then he should go near the sheaf of nine plants and repeat the mantra "O blessed Durgā! come, enter into the (sheaf of) plants; this is your place in the mortal world; I throw myself on your mercy"! So saying he should worship Devī in the *ghaṭa* (jar) with ten or five upacāras

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(*Continued from last page*)

61, 11-20. The मत्स्यपुराण (260. 56-66) has almost the same verses (with a few variations) that are quoted by दु. भ. त. pp. 4-5 and 75-76, व. क्रि. कौ. pp. 413-414, दुर्गार्चन० pp. 666-67, and by का. त. वि. p. 285. For तीक्ष्णां, मत्स्य reads तद्वत् and दुर्गार्चनप० reads देवीम्; मत्स्य and का. त. वि. read शक्तिं वामतोपि निबोधत; मत्स्य and दुर्गा० read निर्यदन्त्रविभूषितम् for तिर्यग्वस्त०. त्रिभङ्ग—probably refers to त्रिवलि which was held to be a sign of beauty among women or it means that the figure of Devi should be shown as bent in three parts of the body. दु. भ. त. (pp. 5-6) quotes कालिकापुराण also for description of भद्रकाली with 16 arms. On p. 6 (दु. भ. त.) भद्रकाली is described as त्रिवलीमध्यभूषिता.

or with flowers and sandalwood paste with separate mantras for each of the nine plants (mentioned in note 415) in the form 'Hrīm, om, kadalīsthāyai brahmāṇyai namaḥ' and so on (Durgārcanapaddhati[419] p. 669). Then he should worship Durgā with pādya and other upacāras[420] and offer a kid or the like as an offering. The kid or he-buffalo should be dark and should be at least five years old.[421]

Much has been written about the sacrifice of animals in Durgāpūjā. Only a few points can be dealt with here. The Kālikā-purāṇa enumerates the following animals as fit for sacrifice in honour of Durgā and Bhairava[422] 'birds, tortoises, crocodiles, fish, deer of nine kinds, buffalo, *gavaya* (Gayal), bull, goat, *mongoose*, boar, rhinoceros, black antelope, śarabha (a fabulous animal), lion, tiger, a human being and blood from one's own (i. e. the performer's) body; but the females of the species specified above were not to be offered as *bali* and the person whe did so would go to hell. This was probably a concession to placate Devī who might have a soft corner for a bali

419. The procedure in the Durgārcana-paddhati is very elaborate; for reasons of space I have not reproduced the whole; but have mentioned only the salient features.

420. The sixteen upacāras in the worship of Durgā are slightly different from the usual upacāras noted above. (p. 34 note 77); षोडशोपचारानाह कालिकापुराणे। आसनं पाद्यमर्घ्यं च ततो ह्याचमनीयकम्। मधुपर्कं स्नानजलं वस्त्रं भूषणचन्दने। पुष्पं धूपश्च दीपश्च नेत्राञ्जनमतःपरम्। नैवेद्याचमनीये तु प्रदक्षिणनमस्कृतिः। एते षोडश निर्दिष्टा उपचाराम्बिकार्चने। व. क्रि. कौ. p. 383. The कालिकापुराण (chapters 72 and 73) contains a long dissertation on the 16 upacāras. There are special provisions about the fragrant substances, incense etc. to be used in the worship of Devī. देवीपुराणे। घृतं तिलाश्च होमार्थे मदश्चैवानुलेपने। चन्दनागुरुकर्पूरं नखं धूपे वरं मतम्॥ कालिकापुराणे। कृष्णागुरुः सकर्पूरः सहितो मलयोद्भवैः। कुङ्कुमागुरुकस्तूरीचन्द्रभागैः समीकृतैः। गन्धः प्रीतिप्रदो देव्या दुर्गायाः सह शम्भुना॥' दु. भ. त. p. 11; सर्वेषामेव धूपानां दुर्गाया गुग्गुलुः प्रियः॥ घृतयुक्तो विशेषेण सततं प्रीतिवर्धनः॥ भविष्यपुराण q. by दु. भ. त. p.13; the दु. भ. त. (p. 95–99) describes at length the various kinds of naivedya to be offered to Dūrgā.

421. पञ्चाब्दं लक्षणोपेतं गन्धधूपस्रगर्चितम्। विधिवत् कालि कालीति जप्त्वा खड्गेन घातयेत्॥ देवीपुराण q. by दु. भ. त. p, 54

422. पक्षिणः कच्छपा ग्राह्या (ग्राहा ?) मत्स्या नवविधा मृगाः। महिषो गवयो गावश्छागो बभ्रुश्च शूकरः। खड्गश्च कृष्णसारश्च गोधिका शरभो हरिः। शार्दूलश्च नरश्चैव स्वगात्ररुधिरं तथा। चण्डिकाभैरवादीनां बलयः परिकीर्तिताः। पशूनां पक्षिणां वापि नराणां च विशेषतः। स्त्रियं न दद्यात्तु बलिं दत्त्वा नरकमाप्नुयात्। कालिकापु॰ 71.3–5, 95–96; q. by दु. भ. त. p. 53; व. क्रि. कौ. pp. 394–395 reads पञ्चविधा); vide दु. भ. त. p. 52 for a verse similar to the first and explanation of 'नवविधा मृगाः' as 'कृष्णसाररुरुप्रभृतयः'.

of her own sex. The bali should have no defect and should not be one whose tail or ears were cut off. Though the above list of victims that may be offered is long, usually only goats and he-buffaloes were sacrificed. It is said [423] 'the Devī that resides on Vindhya is not so well pleased with the offerings of flowers, incense, and unguents and of other animals as she is pleased with offerings of rams and he-buffaloes'. The Varṣa-kriyā-kaumudī [424] quotes "one should never offer to the great Devī a horse or elephant; if a brāhmaṇa offers a lion, a tiger or a human being (as *bali*) he would go to hell and even in this world he would have a short life and would be devoid of happiness and prosperity; if (a brāhmaṇa) offers his own blood, he would be guilty of suicide. If a brāhmaṇa offered wine he would lose his status as a brāhmaṇa. When wine is laid down as a necessary offering he should offer cocoanut water in a vessel of bell-metal or honey in a copper vessel." But there were texts that contradict this. For example, it is said in the Kālikāpurāṇa 'goat, he-buffalo, human being are declared to be bali, mahābali and atibali, respectively.' [425] It has to be remembered that though an animal is killed still what is offered to the Devī is generally blood and the head of the victim. The Kālikāpurāṇa [426] says 'blood purified by the recitation of mantras over it and the head (of a victim) are said to be nectar; in the worship (of Devī) the adept worshipper

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423. न तथा बलिदानेन पुष्पधूपविलेपनैः। यथा सन्तुष्यते मेषैर्महिषैर्विन्ध्यवासिनी। q. by हे. on व्रत vol. 1 p. 909.

424. न कदाचिन्महादेव्यै प्रदद्यादश्वहस्तिनौ। सिंहव्याघ्रनरान् दत्त्वा ब्राह्मणो नरकं व्रजेत्। इहापि स्यात् स हीनायुः सुखसौभाग्यवर्जितः। स्वगात्ररुधिरं दत्त्वा आत्मवध्यामवाप्नुयात्॥ मद्यं दत्त्वा ब्राह्मणस्तु ब्राह्मण्यादेव हीयते। न कृष्णसारं वितरेद्बलिं तु क्षत्रियादयः। कालिका-पु० 71.46–51 q. by व. क्रि. कौ., p. 397. The latter adds before 'न कृष्णसारं' the verse 'अवश्यं विहितं यत्र तत्र तत्र द्विजः पुनः। नारिकेलजलं कांस्ये ताम्रे वा विसृजेन्मधु॥' which is कालिका 71.112–113.

425. कालिकापुराणे। अजश्च माहिषश्चैव नरश्चैव यथाक्रमात्। बलिर्महाबलिश्चातिबलिश्चेति प्रकीर्तिताः॥ दु. भ. त. p. 53.

426. शोणितं मन्त्रपूतं च शीर्षं पीयूषमुच्यते। तस्मात्तु पूजने दद्याद्बलेः शीर्षं च लोहितम्। भोज्ये होमे च मांसानि नियुञ्जीयाद्विचक्षणः। पूजासु नाम मांसानि दद्याद्वै साधकः क्वचित्। ऋते तु लोहितं शीर्षममृतं तत्तु जायते॥ कालिकापुराण 71.20-22 q. by ति. त. p.82, which remarks 'मधुसैन्धवयुक्तं कृत्वा (लोहितं) दद्यात्' and 'अत्र पशुघातपूर्वकरक्तशीर्षयोर्बलित्वम्' and quotes the राजमार्तण्ड verse in support viz. 'मूलेन प्रतिपूजयेद्भगवतीं चण्डीं प्रचण्डाकृतिमष्टम्यामुपवाससंयतधिया कृत्वा नवम्यां बलिम्। नानापाशुकमज्जमांसरुधिरैर्भक्त्या समाराधयन् नक्षत्रं श्रवणं तिथिं च दशमीं संप्राप्य संप्रेषयेत्॥'; vide ABORI vol. 36 p.327. This last verse is q. by का. वि. p. 515 as कात्यायनीयश्लोक, by ति. त. p. 86 (from राजमार्तण्ड), दु. भ. त. p. 22 (from कात्यायनः); दु. भ. त. p. 53 quotes the verse 'शोणितं... शीर्षं च लोहितम्'

should offer flesh rarely (if at all) except blood and the head, which (two) become nectar." The Kālikāpurāṇa further states that Śivā (Durgā) partakes of the head as well as the flesh of the victim, that one should offer in pūjā the blood and head of the victim, but the wise (devotee) should employ flesh in edibles and in *homa*. The Durgārcanapaddhati (pp. 669–671) prescribes an elaborate ritual about killing the *bali* and offering its blood and head and the rites and mantras slightly differ according as the bali is a goat, a buffalo or the performer's own blood. The[427] *bali* is made to face the east, the sādhaka (devotee) faces the north and repeats certain mantras one of which is Vāj. S. 23. 17 'Agni was the animal to be sacrificed. They sacrificed with him, he conquered this world (the earth) on which Agni exists; that will be your world, you will conquer that world, drink this water. Vāyu (wind God) was the animal &c.; the Sun was the animal &c.' Another mantra is Manu V. 39 (= Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra 51. 61 = Kālikā 71.39) viz. 'animals were created by Brahmā himself for serving the purpose of sacrifice, for the well-being of sacrifice and of all; therefore killing (an animal) in a sacrifice is no killing (does not cause the sin or blame of ordinary killing)'. He should place on the head of the bali a flower with a mantra; then he sprinkles water with kuśas over the bali and then worships the sword with the mantra 'you are the tongue of Caṇḍikā and you accomplish heaven (for the worshipper); Hrīm, Śrīm, O sword!'. The performer contemplates on the sword as described in Tithitattva (p. 81) and Durgārcana-paddhati (p. 670), honours it with sandalwood paste and the rest and repeats eight names of the sword, bows to it, takes it up with the words 'Ām, Hrīm, Phaṭ' and with one stroke cuts off the victim facing the east (while the performer faces the north) or facing the north (while the performer faces the east). Then he collects blood in a vessel of clay or other material, places it before the Devī and offers it with the words 'this is the blood of the goat; Om, O Jayantī!' and says 'Aim, Hrīm, Śrīm, O Kauśikī! May she be pleased by the blood.' Then he offers the head of the bali (goat or the like) placing on the head a lamp with a flaming wick. He then takes blood from the sword (with

427. यथा स्वयमुत्तराभिमुखः स्नातं पूर्वाभिमुखं बलिं कृत्वा-ओं अग्नाय फट् इत्यवलोक्य 'ओं, अग्निः पशुरासीत् तेनायजन्त स एतं लोकमजयद्यस्मिन्नग्निः स ते लोको भविष्यति तं जेष्यसि पिबैता अपः । वायुः पशुरासी...यस्मिन्वायुः स ते... अपः । सूर्यः पशुरासीत्तेनायजन्त यस्मिन्सूर्यः...अपः । इति कुशोदकैः संप्रोक्ष्य ओं छागपशवे नम इति गन्धादिभिरभ्यर्च्य । दुर्गार्चन० p. 669. The मन्त्र is वाज. सं. 23.17 and is explained in शतपथ XIII.2.7.13 ff.

which the animal's neck was cut) and makes a tilaka mark with it on his forehead with two mantras. It was supposed that the *tilaka* of blood would make all persons amenable to the person who had that blood mark on the forehead as the mantra quoted below expresses. When the *bali* is a buffalo, the mantras repeated over a goat are omitted and two others are substituted viz. 'as you hate a horse and as you carry Caṇḍikā, so kill my enemies and bring happiness, O buffalo; you are the vehicle of Yama, you possess excellent form, you who are deathless; bestow on me long life, wealth, fame, a bow to you who are a buffalo'. The fruit of offering buffalo's blood to Devī was deemed to be her gratification and favour for a hundred years. Then he performs japa of a mantra (quoted in note)[428] and also certain verses of laudation and asks for certain benefits (Durgārcana. p. 672).[429]

The Kālikāpurāṇa in a long passage[430] provides gradually rising periods of times for which Durgā becomes gratified by the offering of the blood of various animals. A few might be cited here: Durgā secures satisfaction for one month by the (offering of the) blood of fishes and tortoises, and for two months by (the blood of) crocodiles; by the blood of the black antelope and of the boar Devī is pleased for twelve years and by the blood of buffalo and rhinoceros for a hundred years; by the blood of the lion, the śarabha and from the performer's body Devī is gratified for a thousand years and by a human being as a *bali* for a thousand years." There was a revulsion of feeling against blood sacrifices in some hearts and so even the Kālikā provides[431] that the offerings of kūṣmāṇḍa (pumpkin-gourd) and sugarcane stalks, intoxicants and *āsavas* (spirits distilled from molasses, flowers or herbs) are like (animal) victims and gratification

428. Vide दुर्गार्चन० p. 671 'इत्युक्त्वा खड्गस्थरुधिरमादाय—ओं यं यं स्पृशामि पादेन यं यं पश्यामि चक्षुषा। स स मे वश्यतां यातु यदि शक्रसमो भवेत्॥ ओं ऐं ह्रीं श्रीं नित्यक्लिन्ने मदद्रवे स्वाहा इति सर्ववश्यमन्त्रेण स्वीयललाटे तिलकं कुर्यात्।; दु. भ. त. p. 56 cites: राजा वा राजपुत्रो वा स्त्रियो वा यक्षराक्षसाः। सर्वे तस्य वशं यान्ति भूतग्रामश्चतुर्विधः॥ तत ओं जयन्तीति मन्त्रं यथाशक्ति जप्त्वा ओं गुह्यातिगुह्यगोप्त्री त्वं गृहाणास्मत्कृतं जपम्। सिद्धिर्भवतु मे देवि त्वत्प्रसादात् त्वयि स्थिते॥ इति जपं समर्पयेत्।

429. यथा वाहं भवान् द्वेष्टि यथा वहसि चण्डिकाम्। तथा मम रिपून् हिंस शुभं वह लुलापक॥ यमस्य वाहनं त्वं तु वररूपधराव्यय। आयुर्वित्तं यशो देहि कासराय नमोऽस्तु ते॥ कालिका 71. 57–58 q. by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 443, दुर्गार्चन० p. 671.

430. Vide कालिकापुराण 71. 6–18, व. क्रि. कौ. pp. 395–6, ति. त. p. 83 for the periods.

431. कूष्माण्डमिक्षुदण्डं च मद्यमासवमेव च। एते बलिसमाः प्रोक्तास्तृप्तौ छागसमाः सदा॥ कालिका 71. 23–24 q. by दु. भ. त. p. 55.

(to the Devī) is the same as by the offering of a goat. But even in these days castes deemed higher, even including brāhmaṇas, offer goats and rarely buffaloes to Durgā, if that is the custom of the caste or family. I understand that many families of learned brāhmaṇas such as the Bhaṭṭācāryas of Bhatpara in West Bengal sacrifice fruits and vegetables in lieu of animals. The Ahalyākāma-dhenu[432] says that some Vaiṣṇavas regard the night when victims are killed as horrible and do not eat food or even drink water on that night and that among brāhmaṇa castes the offering (bali) should be in the form of kūṣmāṇḍa and the like or flour images of animals or simple ghee should be offered. As to other castes also it has been declared that Kūṣmāṇḍa, bilva fruit, sugarcane stalks may be cut into pieces.

The convenient belief from very ancient times has been that a victim offered in sacrifice to gods and pitṛs went to heaven. Ṛg. I. 162.21[433] (= Vāj. S. 23. 16) and Manu V. 42 say so. Hemādri quotes verses saying that all the animals such as the buffalo that are employed for (gratifying) Devī go to heaven and those that kill them incur no sin.[434]

The foregoing is somewhat of a digression, as the *bali* is generally to be sacrificed on the 9th and as the rites of even of the 8th have not yet been described. On the Mahāṣṭamī conjoined to Pūrvāṣāḍhā-nakṣatra or without it, the devotee after taking a bath and sipping water, should face the east or north, sit on a seat of *darbhas*, perform purification of himself and the body which is made up of five elements by repeating separately the mystic letters 'yam, ram, lam, vam' in the manner set out on p. 673 of Durgārcanapaddhati; then he performs *prāṇāyāma*, and then *nyāsa* on the several parts of the body from the heart and head to the feet. He sprinkles over himself and the materials of worship water contained in a vessel of conch-shell

432. यच्च-छागैश्च महिषैः कूष्माण्डैरपि भावतः। कृत्वा पिष्टमयैर्वापि बलिना तां समर्पयेत्। नारिकेलैर्बीजपूरैर्जम्बीरैर्निम्बुजातिभिः। महाफलैरर्पयेच्च न वन्ध्यां तां निशां नयेत्॥ इत्युक्त्वा ... तत्र नारिकेलैः पिष्टमयैरित्यादिवचनानि केवलब्राह्मणादि-वैष्णवविषये च। तथा अवन्ध्यां तां निशां नयेदित्यतोपि ब्राह्मणजातिषु कूष्माण्डादिना बलिर्ज्ञेय इति। तदुक्तं गौरीकल्पे रहस्यादिषु। ब्राह्मणस्य बलिर्यत्र तत्रायं विहितः क्रमः। कृत्वा घृतमयं सिंहं नरं व्याघ्रं च माहिषम्। अजं वा बलिदानार्थं योजयेत्प्रीतये शुभम्॥ अ. का. folio 543b and 544a. The दुर्गार्चन° (p. 671) also says 'कूष्माण्डेक्षुबालिं दद्यात्'.

433. न वा उ एतन्म्रियसे न रिष्यसि देवाँ इदेषि पथिभिः सुगेभिः। ऋ. I. 162. 21 = वाज. सं. 23. 16. This is addressed to the horse sacrificed in अश्वमेध.

434. तस्यै ये ह्युपयुज्यन्ते प्राणिनो महिषादयः। सर्वे ते स्वर्गतिं यान्ति घ्नतां पापं न विद्यते॥ हे. on व्रत vol. I. p. 909.

and the like and over which he mutters eight times the mantra 'Hrīm, Om Durgāyai namaḥ', he contemplates on Durgā as described on p. 163 and note 418 above, places a flower on his head, mentally offers *upacāras* (to Devī), again contemplates on Devī's form and then offers the upacāras from *āsana* (seat) to praṇāma (as indicated in note 420 above) with appropriate brief mantras. Then he offers worship to several goddesses to the right side, front side and left side of Devī with brief mantras and to the Mātṛs[435] (64 are enumerated in Durgārcanao. pp. 676–677, or 32, or 16 or 8) according to one's ability with five upacāras or with sandalwood paste and flowers and to the eight mātṛs Brahmāṇī &c. Then there is *aṅgapūjā* (worship of Devī's limbs) from heart and head to the feet. Then worship is offered to her weapons such as trident, sword, discus, sharp arrow, shield, fully strung bow, the noose, goad, bell; and then her lion-seat is honoured and also armour, whisk, umbrella, flag and flag-staff, drum, conch. Separate mantras are recited in connection with the pūjā of each of these, as laid down in Durgārcanapaddhati pp. 678–681, in the Nirṇayasindhu pp. 179–181 (which quotes them from Viṣṇudharmottara) and other works. They are all passed over here for saving space. Then he goes near the sheaf of nine plants and worships it with five upacāras or with sandalwood paste and flowers offered to each separately. Then he makes an offering of *māṣa* pulse and boiled rice.

On the day on which there is Mahāṣṭamīpūjā the performer observes a fast. But a householder[436] who has a son should not observe a fast on the Mahāṣṭamī. He should follow one of the alternatives specified above in note 252 (naktam haviṣyānnam &c). Whatever procedure about food he may follow, he, keeping himself pure and observing the rules of conduct for vrata, should worship Devī; he should offer worship on the Mahāṣṭamī and on the 9th with *balis*; he should take leave (of Devī) on the 10th with

435. The मातृs are eight, ब्रह्माणी, माहेश्वरी, कौमारी, वैष्णवी, वाराही, इन्द्राणी, चामुण्डा, महालक्ष्मी. Vide दुर्गार्चन० p. 677. दु. भ. त. p 46 gives the names somewhat differently. This whole procedure of the 8th tithi is very lengthy and tiresome to read It has been very much shortened in the above.

436. उपवासं महाष्टम्यां पुत्रवान्न समाचरेत्। यथा तथैव पूतात्मा व्रती देवीं प्रपूजयेत्। पूजयित्वा महाष्टम्यां नवम्यां बलिभिस्तथा। विसर्जयेद् दशम्यां तु श्रवणे शाबरोत्सवैः। अन्त्यपादो दिवा भागे श्रवणस्य यदा भवेत्। तदा संप्रेषणं देव्या दशम्यां कारयेद् बुधः। कालिका 63. 16–19, q. by दु. भ. त. pp. 37–38 (first two verses), ति. त. p. 88, व. क्रि. कौ. 379. दु. भ. त. p. 32 quotes ब्रह्मपुराण 'तत्राष्टम्यां भद्रकाली दक्षयज्ञविनाशिनी। प्रादुर्भूता महाघोरा योगिनीकोटिभिः सह। अतोऽर्थं पूजनीया सा तस्मिन्नहनि मानवैः।',

Śravaṇa–nakṣatra after performing the Śābara festival. When the last quarter of Śravaṇa (nakṣatra) is running then he should give a send-off to Devī on the 10th tithi. The Tithitattva[437] positively asserts that a fast is to be observed on the same day on which Mahāṣṭamī-pūjā is performed.

On this 8th tithi the performer has to honour maidens, feed them and brāhmaṇas also. He may honour a maiden or maidens from the first to the 9th tithi, but he must do so at least on 8th. The Devīpurāṇa[438] says "Durgā is not so much gratified by *homa*, gifts and *japa* as she is gratified (becomes favourable) by honouring maidens." And he has to give them dakṣiṇā also. Hemādri (on vrata vol. I. 903–906) quotes a long passage from the Skanda-purāṇa on this subject. Skanda provides that the performer should feed maidens from the first tithi of Navarātra on a rising scale, viz. one maiden on the first tithi, two on the 2nd and so on up to nine on the 9th. If he feeds nine virgins every day (of the Navarātra) he secures land; if he feeds double the number on each succeeding day he gets prosperity. He should not honour a maiden who is one year old (or less), for, such a girl has not developed at that age liking for fruits, flowers and sandal-wood paste. Therefore, he should honour maidens who are from two to ten years old, and not those that are beyond ten years. The Devīpurāṇa provides that if no virgin is available, one may honour even a married girl who has had no menstruation.[439] The Skanda provides that maidens from two years to ten should be honoured under the following names respectively, viz. Kumārikā (two years old), Trimūrti (three years old), Kalyāṇī, Rohiṇī, Kālī, Caṇḍikā, Śāmbhavī, Durgā, Subhadrā. The Skanda provides special pūjā mantras for each of the nine kinds of maidens and different rewards are provided for honouring each of the nine classes. These are passed over here. The general *āvāhanamantra* for all in the morning after the performer has

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437. एवं च यस्मिन् दिने महाष्टमीपूजा तस्मिन्दिन एवोपवासः। न तु सन्धिपूजादिने। ... यथा तथैव ... पूजयेत्—इत्युत्तरार्धेन पुत्रवत एव उपवासेतरहविष्यादिना पूतात्मनः पूजा-विधानात्। ति. त. p. 88. For यथा तथैव...पूजयेत्, vide note 436.

438. न तथा तुष्यति शिवा होमदानजपादिना। कुमारीपूजनेनात्र यथा देवी प्रसीदति॥ देवीपुराण q. by स. म. p. 22, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 447 (reads कुमारीभोजनेन), पूजाप्रकाश p. 328, दु. भ. त. p. 51.

439. यथोक्तालाभे तु देवीपुराणे। विवाहानन्तरं कन्यां कन्यात्वद्युपजायते। तावत्संपूज्यते कन्या यावत्पुष्पं न दृश्यते॥ स. म. p. 22.

taken a ceremonial bath with oil is noted below.[440] In this way he is to honour virgins with bodice, clothes, sandalwood paste, flowers and *akṣatas*, with different kinds of edibles and dishes and feed them with *pāyasa* (rice boiled in milk and sugar). One should not honour a maiden that has a limb more or less, that suffers from leprosy, or that has varicose veins or has a broken head or has limbs from which blood or pus oozes or has ulcers, that is blind from birth, is squint-eyed or blind of one eye or is ugly or has little hair or much hair or is diseased or is born of a slave woman. A man should honour a brāhmaṇa maiden in all acts, a kṣatriya maiden for victory, one belonging to untouchable castes in acts of terrible nature. After the maidens are fed, brāhmaṇas also should be fed (Durgārcana. pp. 681),

The Tithitattva (pp. 69–72), Nirṇayasindhu and other works provide that in the Navarātra the performer should hear the recitation of the Vedas (Vedapārāyaṇa) and that beginning with the first tithi up to the 9th he should himself mutter Caṇḍīpāṭha (recitation of Devīmāhātmya) or engage a person to do so, reciting it once on the first, twice on 2nd tithi and so on up to nine times on 9th tithi. The Devīpurāṇa provides for pūjā, japa and homa and the mantras therefore by saying that the worship of Devī is to be performed by casting into the fire sesame and with curds, milk and ghee. The Devīmantra is either what is called the Jayantīmantra[441] (quoted in note) or the mantra of nine syllables (quoted in the note). The Dvaitanirṇaya-siddhāntasaṅgraha states that the mantra is either one that a man's *guru* has taught him, or the Vedic verse 'Jātavedase sunavāma' (Ṛg. I. 99. 1) or one with nine letters or the one 'namo devyai mahādevyai' or the ślokas in the Saptaśatī.[442] The Tithitattva quotes (pp. 69–71) a long passage

440. मन्त्राक्षरमयीं लक्ष्मीं मातॄणां रूपधारिणीम्। नवदुर्गात्मिकां साक्षात् कन्यामावाहयाम्यहम्॥ हे. on व्रत vol. I. p. 904, नि. सि. p. 168, स. म. p. 22.

441. पूजाजपहोममन्त्रस्तु देवीपुराणे। पूजयेत्तिलहोमैस्तु दधिक्षीरघृतादिभिः। कुर्याद्देव्यास्तु मन्त्रेण — इत्यभिधाय, जयन्ती मङ्गला काली भद्रकाली कपालिनी। दुर्गा शिवा क्षमा धात्री स्वाहा स्वधा नमोऽस्तु ते॥ अनेनैव तु मन्त्रेण जपहोमौ तु कारयेत्। तिथितत्त्व p. 93 ; vide दु. भ. त. p. 9 for the same मन्त्र; सा (पूजा) च जयन्तीमन्त्रेण नवाक्षरेण वा कार्या। तदुक्तं दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिण्यां देवीपुराणे। कुर्याद्देव्यास्तु मन्त्रेण पूजां क्षीरघृतादिभिरित्युक्त्वा — जयन्ती ... तु कारयेत्। इति। ओं दुर्गे दुर्गे रक्षिणि स्वाहेति नवाक्षरः। नि. सि. p. 167; vide दु. भ. त. p. 9 for this reference. Vide कालिका 63. 38–39 'पूजयेन्मूर्तिरूपस्थमेता एवाष्टयोगिनीः॥ जयन्तीं मङ्गलां कालीं भद्रकालीं कपालिनीम्। दुर्गां शिवां क्षमां धात्रीं दलेष्वष्टसु पूजयेत्॥'.

442. स्वमन्त्रो गुरूपदिष्टो जातवेदस इति वा नवाक्षरो वा, नमो देव्यै महादेव्यै-इत्यादि वा, अथवा सप्तशतीश्लोकैर्वेति पञ्च पक्षा वैकल्पिकाः। द्वै. नि. सि. सं. p. 7.

from the Vārāhī-tantra about the result of reciting Devīmāhātmya several times. A few verses are cited for sample. "When some great danger threatens, one should recite (Devīmāhātmya) seven times; if repeated twelve times one secures fulfilment of one's desires and the destruction of enmity; if repeated 14 times, an enemy would be subdued and a woman would be brought under one's control; repeating a hundred times results in increase of one's kingdom; if repeated a thousand times Lakṣmī comes to a man of her own accord. As Aśvamedha is the prince among sacrifices, as Hari (is superior) among gods, so the laud called Saptaśatī is the highest among all lauds.[443]" The Tithitattva further provides that one should recite[444] before the reading of the 'prathamacarita' the ṛṣi (sage), the metre &c. of it and also when repeating the *Madhyamacarita* and the *Uttaracarita*. Very great importance was attached in ancient and medieval times to the recitation of mantras and even modern men brought up in English schools, colleges and Universities often implicitly believe in their efficacy, even if one may not understand their meaning. The qualities of the sounds of mantras or of parts of mantras (such as 'hrīm') and their potentialities, the various devices employed when using them are deemed of far greater importance than the meaning. The Gītā (X. 25) itself puts Japa-yajña as the highest among yajñas such as those of *dravya* (materials or money), tapoyajña (Gītā IV. 28). Mantras are supposed to have a tremendous effect on the sub-conscious mind and it may perhaps be so if one concentrates one's mind thereon to the exclusion of all else. A person could himself recite the Saptaśatī or engage a person to read it to him who was called *pāṭhaka* or *vācaka* as in T. T. p. 72, Durgārcana. p. 661. Some very orthodox writers went so far as to lay down that a śūdra could only listen to the Mahābhārata or Saptaśatī but could not read it himself. Raghunandana[445] like Kamalākara appears to have held this view. One

443. यथाश्वमेधः क्रतुराड् देवानां च यथा हरिः। स्तवानामपि सर्वेषां तथा सप्तशतीस्तवः। अथवा बहुनोक्तेन किमेतेन वरानने। चण्ड्याः शतावृत्तपाठात् सर्वाः सिध्यन्ति सिद्धयः॥ q. by ति. त. p. 70.

444. ततश्च मार्कण्डेयपुराणीयदेवीमाहात्म्यपाठस्यादौ ऋषिच्छन्दादिकं पठेत्। तद्यथा-प्रथमचरितस्य ब्रह्म ऋषिर्महाकाली देवता गायत्री छन्दः, नन्दा शक्तिः, रक्तदन्तिका बीजमग्निस्तत्त्वं महाकालीप्रीत्यर्थं जपे विनियोगः। मध्यमचरितस्य विष्णुर्ऋषिर्महालक्ष्मीर्देवता अनुष्टुप् छन्दः शाकम्भरी शक्तिर्दुर्गा बीजं सूर्यस्तत्त्वं महालक्ष्मीप्रीत्यर्थं जपे विनियोगः। उत्तरचरितस्य रुद्र ऋषिः सरस्वती देवता उष्णिक्छन्दो भीमा शक्तिर्भ्रामरी बीजं वायुस्तत्त्वं सरस्वतीप्रीत्यर्थं जपे विनियोगः। ति. त. p. 72. For प्रथमचरित &c. vide note 396 above.

445. अत्राविशेषात्सर्वेषामेवाधिकारः, द्विजानां पाठश्रवणयोः शूद्रस्य श्रवणेऽधिकारः। ति. त. p. 70; vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 155–156 for the views of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa and others on this point.

should stop reading at the end of a chapter and not in its middle; but if for some reason one had to stop in the middle of a chapter, when one again commenced reading or reciting Saptaśatī, one should not proceed from where one left off in the middle of a chapter, but begin with the first verse of the chapter half read or recited. Provision was made that the reader engaged for reading Saptaśatī should be handsomely requited for his labour by gifts of gold, silver, cows with bell-metal pails for milking. Mr. Ghosh notes (p. 39) that besides the reader of Devīmāhātmya a separate priest is selected to repeat the mūlamantra a hundred thousand times and is called *Jāpaka.* The Nirṇayasindhu (pp. 185–186) gives elaborate descriptions of Śatacaṇḍī–pāṭha and Sahasracaṇḍī. In the first, ten well-conducted brāhmaṇas including the *ācārya* are chosen. They are to recite together Saptaśatī once on the 1st day, twice on the 2nd, thrice on the 3rd and four times on the 4th; in this way Saptaśatī would be repeated one hundred times. In Sahasracaṇḍi one hundred brāhmaṇas are to be chosen and they are to repeat Saptaśatī for four days as in Śatacaṇḍī–pāṭha. A thousand brāhmaṇas are to be fed and one hundred cows are to be donated. The Nirṇayasindhu notes that these two are not included in the great digests but there is popular usage to this effect.

After each pūjā prescribed for the day, the family members, their friends and guests sit together and partake of the *prasāda* (which in the houses of the well-to-do comprises select delicacies). Formerly, the persons sitting together would have sometimes numbered hundreds, but in the days of rationing and control, this would not happen. Mukerji (p. 124) notes that guests made offerings to the goddess (usually cash which belongs to the owner and not to the priest.)

After the pūjā, homa is performed as indicated above; offerings are to be made in fire called 'Balada'[446] with the word 'svāhā' at the end to the accompaniment of a mantra preceded by 'om'. The Durgārcana-paddhati notes (p. 681) that after the special rites on the Mahāṣṭamī described above (viz. pūjā, honouring maidens, homa &c.) are finished the rest of the tithi should be spent by the devotee in dance, songs[447] and music

446. Vide ति. त. p. 99 for the names of the fires employed in religious rites; 'एवं च दुर्गापूजनस्य पौष्टिककर्मत्वात् तदङ्गहोमे बलदनामाग्निरिति।' ति. त. p. 99.

447. नटनर्तकसङ्घैश्च वेश्याभिश्चैव भैरव। नृत्यगीतैः सह्लादितो जागरं कारयेन्निशि॥ कालिका 61. 88.

(jāgara). It appears that in the Devī and Kālikā purāṇas it is provided that even on the 8th at midnight an animal such as a goat or he-buffalo should be sacrificed and that on the 9th tithi many *balis* were to be sacrificed. 'When the Sun is in the sign of Kanyā (Virgin or Virgo) and in the month of Īṣa (Āśvina) one should offer pūjā on the 9th tithi of the bright half ; one should observe a fast (on that tithi) and at midnight should begin pūjā of Devī with great expenditure and paraphernalia when the nakṣatra is Mūla or Purvāṣāḍhā ; an animal should be killed and a he-buffalo and a goat should be sacrificed'.[448]

A short period of time, viz. the last *ghaṭikā* [449] of Mahāṣṭamī and the first ghaṭikā of navamī, was called 'sandhi'. During that period of two ghaṭikās a pūjā of Devī together with Yoginīs is to be performed which is deemed to be the holiest pūjā (Ghosh p. 120). This pūjā is to be performed like the pūjā on Mahāṣṭamī, but the bali is to be offered at and after the Mahānavamī begins [450] and not during the last ghaṭikā of Mahāṣṭamī.

Now the rites of the Mahānavamī have to be described. On the 9th tithi conjoined to Uttarāṣāḍhā nakṣatra or without it, pūjā is to be performed on the lines of the one of Mahāṣṭamī. This day's pūjā is [451] only a repetition of that on the 8th, the

448. कन्यासंस्थे रवावीषे शुक्लाष्टम्यां प्रपूजयेत्। सोपवासो निशार्धे तु महाविभवविस्तरैः। पूजां समारभेद्देव्या रक्षर्क्षे वारिभेऽपि वा। पशोर्घातः प्रकर्तव्यो गवलाजवधस्तथा॥ देवीपुराण q. by कृ. र. p. 35, दु. भ. त. p. 34, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 373, ति. त. pp. 85–86 ; अष्टम्यां रुधिरैश्चैव महामांसैः सुगन्धिभिः। पूजयेद्बहुजातीयैर्बलिभिर्भोजनैः शिवाम्॥ कालिका 63. 14–15, q. by ति. त. p. 86.

449. अष्टमीनवमीसन्धौ तृतीया खलु कथ्यते। तत्र पूज्या त्वहं पुत्र योगिनीगणसंयुता। कालिकापुराण q. by ति. त. p. 86 ; अष्टम्याः शेषदण्डश्च नवम्याः पूर्व एव च। अत्र या क्रियते पूजा विज्ञेया सा महाफला॥ q. by ति. त. p. 86 from कामरूपीयनिबन्ध. The योगिनीs are said to the eight (viz. उग्रचण्डा and others named in कालिका 61.21), or sixty-four or a crore in कालिका 62. 50–51 'उग्रचण्डादिकाः पूज्यास्तथाष्टौ योगिनीः शुभाः। योगिन्यश्च चतुःषष्टिस्तथा वै कोटियोगिनीः। नवदुर्गास्तथा पूज्या देव्याः संनिहिताः शुभाः॥'; vide दु. भ. त. p. 39 for these verses. Vide Archaeological Survey of India, vol. XIII pp. 132–136 for a temple of 64 Yoginīs at Khajuraho and Orissa Historical Research Journal, vol. II. pp. 23–40 for another temple of 64 yoginīs at Hirapur about three miles to the east of Bhubaneswar.

450. अथ सन्धिपूजा। तत्र महाष्टमीशेषदण्ड–महानवमीप्रथमदण्डात्मको यः कालस्तत्र महाष्टमीपूजावत् यथालाभं पूजां कुर्यात्। महानवमीक्षण एव छागादिबलिदानं न तु महाष्टमीक्षणे। दुर्गार्चनपद्धति p. 681.

451. पुनः पूजां तथाष्टम्यां विशेषेण समाचरेत्। जागरं च स्वयं कुर्याद् बलिदानं महानिशि। प्रभूतबलिदानं तु नवम्यां विधिवच्चरेत्। ध्यायेद्दशभुजां देवीं दुर्गामन्त्रेण पूजयेत्। विसर्जनं दशम्यां तु कुर्याद्वै साधकोत्तमः। कालिका 62. 8–10 ; vide also कालिका 61. 26–28 'नवम्यां बलिदानानि प्रभूतानि समाचरेत्। सन्ध्यायां च बलिं कुर्याज्जगन्नाथप्रसादितम्। एवं कृते तु कल्याणैर्युक्तो नित्यं प्रमोदते। पुत्रपौत्रसमृद्धस्तु धनधान्यसमृद्धिभिः।.'

only difference being that a larger number of balis (goats etc.) may be sacrificed on it than on the 8th tithi. A bali is to be offered as it is obligatory to do so on the 9th.[452] Then the worshipper should perform homa, if able to do so. If he be unable to perform homa on both days, he should perform it on Mahāṣṭamī. The offerings in the fire are to be 108. If a person cannot perform a homa in person he should choose a brāhmaṇa to do it, while a śūdra must always get the homa performed through a brāhmaṇa. Lamps should be waved before the Devī (nīrājana)[452a] from her head down to her feet. Dakṣiṇā (fee) to the priest for the whole of the autumnal pūjā is to be given on the 9th tithi and Raghunandana expressly[453] says that the Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī is wrong in saying that dakṣiṇā is to be paid after taking leave (*visarjana*) of Devī. The saṅkalpa at the time of giving dakṣiṇā is given in the note.[454] If no dakṣiṇā be paid, the whole rite becomes fruitless. Then he should pray that 'all defects in the pūjā may be remedied, that whatever he has offered with a devout heart, whether leaves or flowers, fruits or water, whatever naivedya he has offered, may be graciously accepted by Devī and that if any mistake has occurred by his missing some letter or *mantra* Devī should forgive all that.' He should wash the feet of a brāhmaṇa maiden and give her sumptuous dinner and ask her to place with her hand on his head *akṣatas* and devoutly follow her a few steps. He should feed brāhmaṇas. It is the practice in many families to embrace each other and sing the praise of Durgā while drums are beaten. Then in a large procession they visit the houses of such relatives and neighbours as have performed the pūjā. Then the united

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452. नवम्यां बलेरावश्यकत्वाद् बलिर्दातव्यः । ति. त. p. 87.

452 a. This नीराजन is mentioned in कालिका॰ 'शरत्काले महाष्टम्यां दुर्गायाः परिपूजनम् । नीराजनं दशम्यां तु कुर्याद्वै बलवृद्धये ॥' 88.9.

453. शारद्याः पूजाया नवम्यामेव दक्षिणा देया । व्यक्तं मत्स्यसूक्ते । नवम्यां पूर्ववत्पूजा कर्तव्या भूतिमिच्छता । दक्षिणां वस्त्रयुग्मं च आचार्याय निवेदयेत् । न तु देवीविसर्जनानन्तरं दक्षिणेति दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिण्युक्तं युक्तम् । ति. त. p. 101 ; दु. भ. त. (p. 126) says : अद्याश्विनशुक्लदशम्यां तिथौ कृतैतच्छरत्कालीनदुर्गापूजाप्रतिष्ठार्थमेककर्षमितहिरण्यमाग्नेयदैवतं यथानामगोत्राय ब्राह्मणाय दक्षिणां दातुमहं समुत्सृजे । इति दक्षिणां दद्यात् ।

454. ओम् । अद्य आश्विने मासि शुक्ले पक्षे महानवम्यां तिथौ अमुकगोत्रः श्रीअमुकदेवशर्मा कृतैतद्वार्षिकशरत्कालीनदुर्गामहापूजाकर्मणः प्रतिष्ठार्थं दक्षिणामिदं काञ्चनं तन्मूल्यं वा विष्णुदैवतं अमुकगोत्राय अमुकदेवशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय तुभ्यमहं ददे । दुर्गार्चन॰ p. 682 ; दक्षिणारहिते सर्वं व्यर्थं स्यान्नात्र संशयः । दु. भ. त. p. 10.

procession visits other houses and the parties return the visits to each other by turns and wish happiness and good luck to each other and offer sweets. Rājanītiprakāśa (pp. 439–444) quotes a long passage from the Devī-purāṇa about the worship of Devī on 9th of Āsv. śu.

On the 10th tithi after bathing and sipping water he should offer worship with sixteen upacāras or with as many as possible, should praise Devī with these words 'Om Durgām Śivām' &c. (on p. 672 of Durgārcanapaddhati), should prostrate himself before her and make request to Devī with the mantra 'Mahiṣaghni mahāmāye &c.' (*ibid.* p. 672) and with the verse quoted[454a] below take a flower and cast it on the image with the words 'forgive'. Then after repeating two verses he should raise the image (of Devī), the bilva twig and the sheaf of nine plants from their places and keep them in another place and wave lamps made of[454b] flour before them. He should go near the water of a river with dance, song, music, Vedic recitations and auspicious sports and pastimes and immerse the image in a tank or in a river after the prayer[454c] 'O Durgā, mother of the world, go to your place in order to come back after the lapse of a year.' Then he should perform the *śābarotsava*. This last means that actions usually associated with the śabaras (i. e. aboriginal tribes like the Bhils &c.) should be indulged in (to express ecstacy of the Durgāpūjā) on the 10th tithi after the immersion

454 a. सर्वमङ्गलमाङ्गल्ये शिवे सर्वार्थसाधिके। शरण्ये त्र्यम्बके गौरि नारायणि नमोस्तु ते। मार्कण्डेय 88. 9 q. by दुर्गार्चन॰ p. 682; in देवीभागवत VII. 30.66 नारायणी is said to be a पीठ on सुपार्श्व.

454 b. तथा मत्स्यः।... अन्त्यपादो (दे?) दिवा भागे श्रवणा च यदा भवेत्। तदा संप्रेषणं देव्या दशम्यां शाबरोत्सवः। शबरवर्ण इव पर्णाद्यावृतकर्दमादिलिप्तशरीरो नानाविधासम्भ्रमवल्गितनृत्यगीतवाद्यादिपरो भूत्वा इति शाबरोत्सवपदार्थः। का. वि. p. 514. The दु. भ. त. p. 21, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 377 quote the verse as from कालिकापुराण but the latter reads शारदोत्सवैः probably because it could not make out what शाबरोत्सव meant or did not like the idea, but the former explains 'शाबरोत्सवैः शबरोचितवेषभाषाकर्दमानुलेपनादिभिः।.'

454 c. दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी (p. 126) quotes देवीपुराण as follows 'दुर्गे देवि जगन्मातः स्वस्थानं गच्छ पूजिते। संवत्सरे व्यतीते तु पुनरागमनाय वै। इमां पूजां मया देवि यथाशक्त्योपपादिताम्। रक्षार्थं त्वं समादाय व्रज स्वस्थानमुत्तमम्।' इति जले प्रवाहयेत्। नि. सि. p. 189. The same occur in दुर्गार्चन॰ p. 683. In the famous Victoria Museum in Calcutta, their is a painting of the *visarjana* of Durgā in a boat made by Thomas Daniel in 1780 A. D.

of the image of Devī.[455] The Kālaviveka quotes Satya to the effect that leave is taken of Devī on the last *pāda* of Śravaṇa-nakṣatra in the day and śābarotsava is celebrated on the 10th, and explains that what is meant is that like men of the Śabara tribe, people wear leaves of trees, their bodies are besmeared with mire, they make incoherent prancing movements and are engaged in dances, songs and music. The Kālikāpurāṇa dwells on this at great length. It says: "the *visarjana* (sending away) of Devī should be made with festivals in the manner of śabaras, viz. people may make merry to their heart's content by throwing dust and mud, with auspicious sports and revelry, with indulgence in words and songs referring to male and female organs and with words expressive of the sexual act. The Devī becomes angry with him who does not abuse another and whom others do not abuse and pronounces on him a terrible curse." This provision that every one, how highsoever, was to join in the śābarotsava was probably made for emphasizing that before the Devī the highest and the lowest were of equal status and every one must join in the frolics on the 10th tithi to show that all men were equal at least one day in the year. After the immersion friends visit friends and partake of sweets. It appears that this last practice is now not in vogue.

A few words must be said with reference to certain relevant matters. How Devī was to be contemplated upon can be seen from p. 163, note 418 above. That shows that only the image of Devī with the lion and the demon Mahiṣāsura was to be constructed. In the Mārk. purāṇa[456] it is stated that Devī strode over the great demon's throat, struck him with her trident and with her heavy sword cut off his head and made him fall down on the ground. But in modern times the image of Devī is placed in a structure of wickerwork and there are images of Lakṣmī and Gaṇeśa on

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455. विसर्जनं दशम्यां तु कुर्याद्वै शाबरोत्सवैः। धूलिकर्दमविक्षेपैः क्रीडाकौतुकमङ्गलैः। भगलिङ्गाभिधानैश्च भगलिङ्गप्रगीतकैः। भगलिङ्गक्रियाशब्दैः क्रीडयेयुरलं जनाः। परैर्नाक्षिप्यते यस्तु यः परं नाक्षिपत्यपि। क्रुद्धा भगवती तस्य शापं दद्यात्सुदारुणम्॥ कालिकापुराण q. by दु. भ. त. pp. 21–22, by ति. त. p. 75 (except last one verse and a half), व. क्रि. कौ. pp. 377–378 (except the first half), कृ. र. p. 362 (does not mention source), का. वि. p. 514, which remarks 'क्रीडाकौतुकमङ्गलैः'—इत्यस्यायमेवार्थः (शाबरोत्सवः). क्रीडाकौतुकमङ्गलैः occurs in कालिका 62.20 and 43. Vide कालिका 62.31 for शाबरोत्सवैः.

456. एवमुक्त्वा समुत्पत्य साऽऽरूढा तं महासुरम्। पादेनाक्रम्य कण्ठे च शूलेनैनमताडयत्। ... तया महासिना देव्या शिरश्छित्त्वा निपातितः॥ मार्क॰ 80. 38 and 40.

the right side and of Sarasvatī and Kārtikeya on the left[457]. Raghunandana does not make much of these additional deities, though he speaks of the prāṇapratiṣṭhā of Gaṇeśa and others. On p. 146 of 'Cave temples of India' by Fergusson and Burgess reference is made to a tableau at Mahavalli-puram of the strife between Mahiṣāsura and Devī (with eight arms), which the learned authors assign to the period 650–700 A. D. The image may be made of gold or silver, clay, metal, stone or there may only be a picture of Devī. For Durgāpūjā it is not absolutely necessary that there should be an image. Devī may be worshipped[458] in a *liṅga*, on an altar or in a book, in her pādukās (wooden or stone feet), in image, in a picture or a trident or sword or in water. Some of the purāṇas like Garuḍa and Bhaviṣya[459] state that on the 7th or 8th tithi nine wooden houses or only one with four corners may be constructed, that in the midst of it a platform or altar of four cubits in length and breadth should be made on which a throne of silk, woollen cloth and deer-skin should be prepared, whereon Durgā (image) made of gold, silver, clay or wood was to be established having four or ten arms, possessing a complexion like heated gold, three eyes and the moon as a head ornament.

There is no unanimity about the arms of Devī. The Varāhapurāṇa (95. 41) speaks of 20 arms of Devī and mentions the twenty weapons she carries (95. 42–43). In the Devībhāgavata V. 8. 44 she is said to have 18 arms. Hemādri (on vrata, vol. I. pp. 923–924) quotes verses in which Devī is said to have eight arms and ten arms respectively. Vidyāpati[460] quotes passages for

457 The कालीविलासतन्त्र (edited by Arthur Avalon, 1917) 19th पटल has 'वामे च कार्तिको देवो दक्षे गणपतिस्तथा।' verse 6. On p. 666 of दुर्गार्चनपद्धति (Jiv. II) रघुनन्दन merely says 'एवमन्येषां गणेशादीनाम्।'

458. लिङ्गस्थां पूजयेद्देवीं पुस्तकस्थां तथैव च। स्थण्डिलस्थां महामायां पादुकाप्रतिमासु च। चित्रे च त्रिशिखे खड्गे जलस्थां चापि पूजयेत्। कालिका 60. 31–22 q. by का. वि. p. 513, ति. त. p. 78, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 372. नि. सि. p. 174.

459. अत्र विशेषो निर्णयामृते भविष्ये। सप्तम्यां नवगेहानि दारुजानि नवानि च। एकं वा वित्तभावेन कारयेत्सुसमाहितः। दुर्गागृहं प्रकर्तव्यं चतुरस्रं सुशोभनम्। तन्मध्ये वेदिकां कुर्यात् चतुर्हस्तां समां शुभाम्। तस्यां सिंहासनं क्षौमं कम्बलाजिनसंयुतम्। तत्र दुर्गां प्रतिष्ठाप्य सर्वलक्षणसंयुताम्। भुजैश्चतुर्भी रुचिरैर्दशभिर्वा विभूषिताम्। तप्तहाटकवर्णाभां त्रिनेत्रां शशिशेखराम्। नि. सि. p. 173. अष्टम्यां नव गेहानि दारुजान्येकमेव वा। तस्मिन्देवी प्रकर्तव्या हैमी वा राजतापि वा। शूले खड्गे पुस्तके वा पटे वा मण्डले यजेत्। गरुडपुराण I. 133. 8–9; compare दु. भ. त. p. 5 'देवीपुराणे। अष्टम्यां ··· शुभानि च। एकं वा वित्तभावेन कारयेत्सुरसत्तम ॥'.

460. मत्स्यपुराणे। कात्यायन्याः प्रवक्ष्यामि मूर्तिं दशभुजां तथा। दु. भ. त. p. 4; ब्रह्मपुराणे। एवं चाष्टभुजा देवी मङ्गला सर्वमङ्गला। दु. भ. त. p. 7; नीलोत्पलदलश्यामा चतुर्बाहुसमन्विता। खट्वाङ्गं चन्द्रहासं च बिभ्रती दक्षिणे करे। वामे चर्म च पाशं च ऊर्ध्वाधोभावतः पुनः। ...एषा काली समाख्याता चामुण्डेति च कथ्यते। दु. भ. त. pp. 6–7.

both ten arms and eight arms. It appears that different numbers of arms were associated with different forms and names of Devī. For example, Vidyāpati in describing the form of Kālī or Cāmuṇḍā speaks of her as having four arms. In the Virāṭaparva (chap. 6) where Yudhiṣṭhira praises Durgā, she is described (in verse 8) as having four arms.

There are varying views about the word 'navarātra'. Some hold that navarātra means 'nine days and nights'; it signifies only the time for a vrata (i. e. it is a guṇavidhi), not the name of a rite (*karma*), while others contend that navarātra is the name of a rite or vrata, which may last for eight days (if there is *tithikṣaya*) or ten days (if there is vṛddhi of a tithi from the first tithi to the 9th). The first view is held by works like the Kālatattvavivecana (pp. 270–272), while the 2nd is held by the Nirṇayasindhu[461] (p. 165), the Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi (p. 61) and others. As the discussion is scholastic and hardly of any practical importance it is passed over here.

The principal matters in Navarātra or Durgāpūja, though it may be spread over three days (from 7th tithi) or nine days (from 1st to 9th), are four as laid down by the Liṅgapurāṇa viz. *snapana*[462] (bathing the image), pūjā, the offering of a victim (bali) and homa. For want of space snāpana has not been dwelt upon in the above. The Durgārcanapaddhati (p. 674), the Vratarāja (p. 340) and other digests state at length how the image of Durgā may be bathed with scented water, with milk, curds, ghee, *pañcagavya* of a *kapilā* cow, sugarcane juice and what rewards are reaped by particular kinds of baths. One example is given here for a sample.[463] The man who even for

461. वृद्धौ समाप्तिरष्टम्यां ह्रासेऽमामतिपाक्षिशि । प्रारम्भो नवचण्ड्यास्तु नवरात्रमतोऽर्थवत् ॥ देवीपुराण q. by नि. सि. p. 165, का. त. वि. p. 272.

462. ततश्च वार्षिकशरत्कालीनदुर्गापूजा एकवचनान्तनिर्देशात्संस्तत्कल्पोक्त-नानाविधसाध्याप्येकैव प्रतीयते। शारदीया महापूजा चतुःकर्ममयी शुभा। तां तिथित्रयमासाद्य कुर्याद्भक्त्या विधानतः। इति लिङ्गपुराणीये चतुःकर्ममयीत्यनेन चतुरवयवकत्वेनाभिधानात् स्नपनपूजनबलिदानहोमरूपा। ति. त. p. 65, का. त. वि. p. 270. तिथित्रयं refers to the alternative of दुर्गापूजा for three days from 7th. देवीं तु स्नापयेत्प्राज्ञः क्षीरसर्पिर्जलादिभिः। दु. भ. त. p. 18.

463. एकाहेपि च यो दुर्गां पञ्चगव्येन चण्डिकाम्। स्नापयेन्नृपशार्दूल स गच्छेद्विष्णुसन्निधौ॥ तत्र चण्डीगायत्र्या। सा च। नारायण्यै च विद्महे चण्डिकायै च धीमहि। तन्नश्चण्डी प्रचोदयात्। व्रतराज p. 340. The दुर्गार्चन॰ p. 674 mentions this 'जलमादाय इदं स्नानीयं जलम्। ओम्। नारायण्यै...चोदयात्। जयन्तीत्याद्युच्चार्य ह्रीं ओं दुर्गायै नमः - इति स्नापयेत्।'. This चण्डीगायत्री imitates the famous गायत्रीमन्त्र 'तत्सवितुः' &c. Ṛg. III. 62.10.

a day bathes Caṇḍikā with pañcagavya to the accompaniment of Caṇḍīgāyatrī goes near Viṣṇu. If the image is made of some material (like clay) that cannot bear a water bath, the bright sword placed near Devī's image may be bathed or a mirror, as stated by the Kālikāpurāṇa. The other three out of the four principal items in Durgāpūjā have been dealt with above. Out of the four, pūjā is the most important and a fast is only an *aṅga* (ancillary matter).

Then the question arises as to when pūjā is to be performed. Here there are varying views. The Samaya-mayūkha[464] (p. 14) quoting Devī-purāṇa appears to hold that the pūjā should be in the morning, while the Nirṇayasindhu (p. 165) holds that it should be at night. It appears from the Devī-purāṇa and Kālikā-purāṇa that pūjā in the morning, mid-day and at night is intended[465]. 'When the sun is in sign Virgo, the devotee should follow the method of *ayācita* or *nakta* or take food only once or subsist only on water beginning from the *nandikā* tithi of the bright half, should bathe in the morning, should rise superior to the opposites (of heat and cold, happiness and pain &c.) and should worship (Śiva and) Śivā three times a day.' The Kāla-tattvavivecana[466] resolves this conflict by saying that morning and midday *pūjās* are brief, the principal and elaborate pūjā is at night only. There is some confusion caused by the texts laying down the nakṣatras, tithis or both on which the different items in the Durgāpūjā were to be performed. The Kālaviveka quotes Vyāsa as follows: 'one should awaken Devī on Ārdrā-nakṣatra, make her enter (the devotee's house) on Mūla, and

464. शरत्काले महापूजा क्रियते या च वार्षिकी। सा कार्योदयगामिन्यां न तिथेस्तत्र युग्मता। देवीपुराण q. by स. म. p. 15, का. त. वि. p. 277 (from नन्दिकेश्वरपुराण it appears); तत्र पूजनं रात्रौ कार्यम्। आश्विने मासि मेघान्ते महिषासुरमर्दिनीम्। निशासु पूजयेद्भक्त्या सोपवासाह्निकः क्रमात्। इति देवीपुराणात्। नि. सि. p. 165. This verse is q. by का. त. वि. p. 279.

465. कन्यासंस्थे रवौ वत्स शुक्लामारभ्य नन्दिकाम्। अयाचिताशी नक्ताशी एकाशी त्वथ वापदः। (? वाम्बदः)। प्रातःस्नायी जितद्वन्द्वस्त्रिकालं शिवपूजकः। कालिका 62. 6 q. by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 365. दु. भ. त. 16, स. म. p. 16. (reads वाय्वदः), नि. सि. 164, (reads वाम्बदः), कृ. र. p. 359 (reads त्वथ गोमदः). The reading वाय्वदः adopted by दु. भ. त. would mean वायुभक्षः. These are quoted as from देवीपुराण by का. वि. 513 (reads एकाशी त्वाप्यनोदनः), by स. म., नि. सि. नन्दिका is here प्रतिपद् acc. to मैथिल writers, 6th acc. to गौड writers (says नि. सि. p. 164). Tithis first, sixth eleventh are called Nandā or Nandikā; vide p. 70 note 176 above.

466. यद्यपि च देवीपुराणे कालत्रये पूजनमुक्तं—त्रिकालं पूजयेद्देवीं जपस्तोत्रपरायणः—इति तथापि प्रातर्मध्याह्नयोः संक्षेपपूजनाङ्कं विस्तरपूजनं तु प्रधानभूतं रात्रावेवेति द्रष्टव्यम्। का. त. वि. p. 280.

having worshipped her on Uttarāṣāḍhā should take leave of her on Śravaṇa'.[467] Most digests refer only to the tithis. For example, we saw above (p. 159 note 411) that on the 7th tithi the bilva branch is to be brought to the house, on the 8th fast, pūjā and *jāgara* are to be observed, the *bali* is offered on 9th, and on the 10th *nīrājana* and discharging the Devī take place. Some texts combine the tithi and nakṣatra for the several parts of Durgāpūjā. For example, the Rājamārtaṇḍa verse (q. in n. 426 above) says 'one should, after propitiating with faith (Devī) by the head, flesh and blood of several kinds of animals, take leave of her on Śravaṇa-nakṣatra and 10th tithi'. The Devīpurāṇa provides[468] 'The bilva tree should be addressed with a mantra on 6th tithi joined to Jyeṣṭhā, (the sheaf of) plants should be brought into the house on the 7th joined to Mūla, fast, pūjā and *homa* take place on the 8th joined to Pūrvāṣāḍhā, on the 9th joined to Uttarāṣāḍhā one should worship Durgā with animal sacrifices and after prostrating oneself before her leave should be taken of her on 10th tithi joined to Śravaṇa'. It often happened that the tithi and nakṣatra provided for an item did not tally and some rules were evolved. The first rule is: if both tithi and nakṣatra as provided tallied then that led to very good results, as said in the Liṅgapurāṇa 'even if there be no Mūla-nakṣatra, one should enter the bilva branch in the house on the seventh; the same rule applies to other tithis, but if the nakṣatras exist on the tithis specified there is increase of the results or

467. आह व्यासः। आर्द्रायां बोधयेद्देवीं मूलेन तु प्रवेशयेत्। उत्तरेणार्चनं कृत्वा श्रवणेन विसर्जयेत्। का. वि. p. 511, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 375 (ascribes to नन्दिकेश्वरपुराण and reads पूर्वोत्तराभ्यां संपूज्य). The कालीविलासतन्त्र (30. 6) has 'आर्द्रायां बोधयेद्देवीं मूलेनैव प्रवेशयेत्। पूर्वोत्तराभ्यां सम्पूज्य श्रवणेन विसर्जयेत्॥'. The बोधन on आर्द्रा refers to the 9th tithi of the dark half preceding the navarātra, Mūla refers to the 7th tithi when the *bilva* twig was to be brought to the house; Uttarāṣāḍhā and Śravaṇa would correspond to the 9th and 10 tithis respectively.

468. ज्येष्ठानक्षत्रयुक्तायां षष्ठ्यां बिल्वाभिमन्त्रणम्। सप्तम्यां मूलयुक्तायां पत्रिकायाः प्रवेशनम्। पूर्वाषाढयुताष्टम्यां पूजाहोमाद्युपोषणम्। उत्तरेण नवम्यां तु बलिभिः पूजयेच्छिवाम्। श्रवणेन दशम्यां तु प्रणिपत्य विसर्जयेत्। देवीपुराण q. by का. त. वि. pp. 268 and 273, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 267 (first verse), स. म. p. 23 (first half); दु. भ. त. p. 22 quotes राजमार्तण्ड 'सप्तम्यां मूलयोगे प्रथमपदगते पत्रिका पूजनीया। अष्टम्यां रात्रियोगे कृतनियमविधौ पशुकर्म प्रविष्टम्। नानाजीवाभिघाते तिथिरपि नवमी रौद्रदृष्टिः प्रदिष्टा सा पत्री वैष्णवान्ते कृतविहितविधिः प्रेषयेत्तां दशम्याम्॥.' पत्री is, देवी. 'पत्रीविसर्जनं रात्रौ प्रवेशं वा करोति यः। तस्य राष्ट्रविनाशः स्याद्राजा च विकलो भवेत्॥ दु. भ. त. 24.

rewards.' The second rule was that *tithi* was superior[469] and therefore even if the nakṣatra did not exist on the tithi specified, one should follow the tithi laid down for the several items in Durgāpūjā. Devala and Lalla[470] laid this down.

One question on which there is difference of view is about the tithi on which Navarātra is to be begun when pratipad is mixed with amāvāsyā or dvitīyā. There are very lengthy discussions in the Nirṇayasindhu, Kālatattvavivecana, Puruṣārtha-cintāmaṇi and other works. Some quote passages from the Devī and other purāṇas condemning the beginning of navarātra on pratipad mixed with amāvāsyā. Devī is made[471] to say 'in my worship *pratipad* which is joined to amāvāsyā should not be accepted; pratipad existing only for a muhūrta (two ghaṭikās) at sunrise and then joined to the 2nd tithi should be accepted (for commencing Navarātra festival)'. On the other hand there[471a] are texts like the following: if one were to accept for the (beginning of the) worship of Caṇḍikā pratipad joined to part of 2nd *tithi* through ignorance or through another's advice, that leads to the death of that person's son. The Samayamayūkha says that both classes of texts are baseless or if they are authoritative they leave the matter undecided as they are opposed to each other. The decision has to be arrived at in a different manner. 'If pratipad is mixed with amāvāsyā but does not exist the next day, then it must be accepted for starting Navarātra as there is no other alternative. Therefore, even a pratipad mixed with amāvāsyā has to be accepted in such a case in spite of texts to the contrary. If pratipad starts with sunrise and spreads over the next day for less than three muhūrtas,

469. दु. भ. त. p. 23 says 'तत्र क्वचित्तिथिकल्पः क्वचिन्नक्षत्रकल्पः, सति सम्भवे योग एवादरणीयः फलाधिक्यार्थः। केवलतिथिनक्षत्रयोस्तु तिथिरादरणीया न नक्षत्रं तिथेः प्राधान्यात्। यदाह ज्योतिःशास्त्रे गर्गः। तिथिः शरीरं ... विनेन्दुना नैव च कर्मसिद्धिः। ... देवलोऽप्याह। तिथिनक्षत्रयोर्योगे द्वयोरेवानुपालनम्। योगाभावे तिथिर्ग्राह्या देव्याः पूजनकर्मणि॥ एवं प्रतिवर्षकर्तव्यत्वादार्द्रादिनक्षत्रालाभेपि पूजा कार्या नक्षत्रयोगस्तु फलातिशयाय। तथा च लिङ्गपुराणम्। मूलाभावेपि सप्तम्यां केवलायां प्रवेशयेत्। तथा तिथ्यन्तरेष्वेवमृक्षेषु तु फलोदयः॥ ति. त. p. 74, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 368, का. त. वि. p. 374.

470. लल्ल 'तिथिः शरीरं तिथिरेव कारणं तिथिः प्रमाणं तिथिरेव साधनम्' q. by नि. सि p. 163. Vide n. 469 above.

471. देवीपुराणे डामरतन्त्रे च देवीवचः। अमायुक्ता न कर्तव्या प्रतिपत्पूजने मम। मुहूर्तमात्रा कर्तव्या द्वितीयादिगुणान्विता। नि. सि. p. 162, पु. चि. p. 62, द्वै. नि. सि. सं. p. 2.

471a द्वितीया शेषसंयुक्ता प्रतिपच्चण्डिकार्चने। मोहादथोपदेशाद्वा कृतं पुत्रविनाशकम्। q. by स. म. p. 15.

then the full pratipad has to be accepted for beginning navarātra. If at first there is amāvāsyā for one muhūrta, then pratipad follows and then spreads over the next day up to less than three muhūrtas, then this latter, that is, pratipad mixed with dvitīyā has to be accepted as the beginning. For want of space all possible alternatives are not dealt with here.

One important matter was not stressed above. On the first day of Navarātra one has to establish a *kalaśa* or *ghaṭa*. A full kalaśa has been a symbol of holiness and prosperity from early Vedic times (compare Ṛg. III. 32.15 'āpūrṇo asya kalaśaḥ'). This is a rite which is performed in the Deccan, Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra even though the elaborate Durgāpūjā of Bengal finds no place there. The procedure given in Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī p. 3. Nirṇayasindhu (p. 767), Vratarāja (pp. 62–66), Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi (pp. 66–67) and other works is elaborate. Ghaṭasthāpana is spoken of in Durgārcanapaddhati (p. 663) and has to be performed by day and not at night. One should make[472] an altar with holy clay and sow *yava* and wheat grains thereon with Ṛg. X. 97. 22, and establish a jar there of gold, silver, copper or clay with Ṛg. IX. 17. 4, fill the jar with water with Ṛg. X. 75. 5 (imam me Gaṅge &c.), and cast in the jar sandalwood paste, *sarvauṣadhi*,[473] dūrvā grass, leaves of five trees (mango &c.), clay from seven places, fruit, five jewels and gold with appropriate mantras, surround it with a piece of cloth with Ṛg. III. 8. 4, place a pūrṇa-pātra (a cup filled with rice grains) on the jar and worship Varuṇa thereon, contemplate on Durgā (as described in note 418) and invoke Durgā to come and be present in the jar along with all groups of gods and offer the upacāras from *pādya* onwards, fold his hands, offer a prayer and boiled rice with *māṣa* pulse or a kūṣmāṇḍa &c. In the Deccan the main items in the Navarātra are the establishment of ghaṭa, offering a garland of flowers on every tithi up to the 9th, a strict

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472. भविष्यपुराणे। कलशांस्तु समादाय हेमगर्भसमन्वितान्। यवशालिशरावैस्तु वस्त्रालङ्कारभूषितान्। आजिघ्रेति च मन्त्रेण कलशांस्तान्निवेशयेत्। विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। चतुरः कलशान्यस्तु दद्याद्देवगृहे नरः। चतुःसमुद्रवलयां स तु भुंक्ते वसुन्धराम्। दु. भ. त. p. 3. 'आजिघ्र कलशं' is a मन्त्र in वाज. सं. VIII. 42, तै. सं. VII. 1. 6.6.

473. अपरार्क pp. 64–65, on या. I. 277 gives two lists of सर्वौषधिs. मुरा मांसी वचा कुष्ठं शैलेयं रजनीद्वयम्। सतीचम्पकमुस्तं च सर्वौषधिगणः स्मृतः॥ तथा च वासिष्ठः। वालुका शङ्खपुष्पी च कुष्ठं चैव वचा तथा। नागकेसरचूर्णं च सर्वौषधिगणो भवेत्॥. It explains some of these. हे. on व्रत vol. I p. 49 gives a somewhat different list 'कुष्ठं मांसी हरिद्रे द्वे मुरा शैलेयचन्दनम्। वचा चम्पकमुस्ते च सर्वौषध्यो दश स्मृताः॥

code of conduct (such as not shaving oneself) to be observed by the performer. If on the pratipad day on which the jar is to be established there is citrā-nakṣatra [474] and the astrological conjunction called Vaidhṛti, it is to be done at the end of these, but if these two exist the whole of the day, then the rite should be performed in the latter part of these two. The S. M. held that these texts were baseless. According to Ghosh (p. 76), in Bengal nine jars are established in a figure (*sarvatobhadra*) filled with coloured powders at prescribed places and these are decorated with nine differently coloured flags. But in some parts of India only one ghaṭa is established.

Hemādri (on Vrata, vol. I. p. 906) quotes Devīpurāṇa for honouring horses.[475] The Durgāpūjā was meant for all. Kings and such men as kept horses were advised to honour horses in Navarātra from the 2nd tithi in conjunction with Svāti-nakṣatra up to 9th tithi. The Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī devotes several pages to this nīrājana of horses from Śālihotra, Bhoja, Varāhamihira and other authorities (pp. 56–63 and 67–69). Kings were advised to perform Lohābhisārika rite about horses from Āśvin-śukla first to Mahānavamī (H. V. I. 910–916, N. S. 178, R. N. P. 414–416). For Lohābhihārika or Nīrājana rite, vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. p. 230 notes 309–311 and p. 910 note 1773. Although the Kṛtyakalpataru (on vrata) does not speak of Durgotsava on the lines stated above, the Naiyatakālika section of that work (pp. 408–410) quotes a long passage from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa [476] which states that Mahiṣa was killed by Caṇḍikā and therefore she should be worshipped on *navami*, all varṇas should worship her, kings should fast on it and gifts should be made; the Devī is pleased by the offering of the

474. त्वाष्ट्रवैधृतियुक्ता चेत् प्रतिपच्चण्डिकार्चने । तयोरन्ते प्रकर्तव्यं कलशारोपणं गृह ॥ स्मृति q. by है. नि. सि सं. p. 3. त्वष्टृ is the देवता of चित्रानक्षत्र. आश्विनस्य सिते पक्षे योगे वैधृतिचित्रयोः । पूर्वमर्धं परित्यज्य कर्तव्या चोत्तरे क्रिया ॥ स्मृति. q *ibid* p. 4.

475. अत्र चाश्वस्य पूजनमुक्तं देवीपुराणे । अश्वयुक्शुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथियोगे शुभे दिने । पूर्वं-मुच्चैःश्रवा नाम प्रथमं श्रियमावहत् ॥ तस्मात्सोऽश्वो नरैस्तत्र पूज्योसौ श्रद्धया सह । पूजनीयाश्च तुरगा नवमीं यावदेव हि ॥ हे. (व्रत) I p. 906, नि. सि. p. 169; दु. भ. त. p. 29 quotes ब्रह्मपुराण 'अश्वयुक्शुक्लपक्षे तु स्वातियोगे सुशोभने । पूर्वमुच्चैःश्रवा नाम प्रथमं सूर्यमावहत् ॥ तस्मात्साश्वैर्नरैस्तत्र पूज्योसौ श्रद्धया सदा ॥'.

476. भविष्यपुराणे । सुमन्तुरुवाच । नवम्यां श्रीसमायुक्ता देवैः सर्वैः सुपूजिता । जघान महिषं दुष्टमवध्यं देवतादिभिः । लब्धाभिषेकं वरदा शुक्ले चाश्वयुजस्य तत् । यस्मात्सा तत्र संपूज्या नवम्यां चण्डिका बुधैः ॥ नैयतकालिक-कल्प० pp. 408–409. The whole of the passage in the कृत्यकल्प० (नैय०) also occurs in कृ. र. pp. 356–357.

devotee's own blood and flesh and of he-buffaloes, goats and rams. It specifies the periods for which gratification is felt by the Devī by the offering of various *balis* and avers that all *dasyus* and various mleccha tribes, the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Kinnaras, Barbaras and Śakas worship her.

The Kṛtyakalpataru on Vrata does contain a vrata called Durgāṣṭamīvrata derived from the Devīpurāṇa (pp. 225–233), but it has nothing to do with the exploits of Durgā.

Hemādri also (on vrata, vol. I. pp. 856–862) contains the same vrata with a few variations. That vrata is entirely different from the Durgotsava described in the Kālikāpurāṇa. In the first place there is no reference in it to the killing of Mahiṣāsura. In the next place, that vrata is described as beginning from the 8th of Śrāvaṇa-śukla and going on for one year in each succeeding month on the 8th of the bright half. Feeding virgins and brāhmaṇas is mentioned in it also, but in each month the food offered to Devī and to the virgins is generally different.

About the antiquity of the worship of Durgā, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 738–739. A few matters that were not and that could not be mentioned there are noted here. Ambikā is said to be the sister of Śiva in Tai.[477] S., but in the times of the Tai. Ār. X. 18 Śiva is said to be the husband of Ambikā or Umā. In the Vanaparva chap. 6 (where there is a long laud of Durgā[478] by Yudhiṣṭhira), she is described as the daughter of Yaśodā and Nanda and as the sister of Vāsudeva, is addressed as Kālī, Mahākālī and Durgā, in verses 10–11 the weapons carried by her in her hands are mentioned and in verse 15 she is said to have destroyed Mahiṣāsura. When Arjuna (in Bhīṣma 23) offers a Durgāstotra at the bidding of Kṛṣṇa, he gives her several names, among which are Kumārī, Kālī, Kapālī, Kapilā, Bhadrakālī, Mahākālī, Caṇḍī, Kātyāyanī, Kauśikī, Umā. But as the dates of these passages in the Mahābhārata are far from certain no chronological conclusion can be stated. Literary works and

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477. आखुस्ते रुद्र पशुस्तं जुषस्वैष ते रुद्र भागः सह स्वस्राम्बिकया तं जुषस्व । तै. सं. I. 8, 6. 1, (सायण explains भगिनीवद्धितकारिण्या); vide तै. ब्रा. I. 6. 10. 4 शरद्वा अस्याम्बिका स्वसा तया वा एष हिनास्ति. तै. आ. X. 18 is 'नमो हिरण्यबाहवे हिरण्यपतयेऽम्बिकापतय उमापतये नमो नमः ।'

478. दुर्गात्तारयसे दुर्गे तत् त्वं दुर्गा स्मृता जनैः । विराट 6, 20. Pāṇini (IV. 1. 49) mentions Bhavānī the wife of Bhava (i. e. Rudra). Why अम्बिका is called कौशिकी is stated in मार्कण्डेय chap. 82. 43 'शरीरकोशाद्यत्तस्याः पार्वत्या निःसृताम्बिका कौशिकीति समस्तेषु ततो लोकेषु गीयते ॥'

coins supply some firm data about the antiquity of the Durgā cult. In the Raghuvaṁśa chap. II a lion is said to have been appointed a guard to protect a *devadārū* (pine) tree planted by Pārvatī. Pārvatī is called Gaurī in Raghu. II. 26 and in Kumārasambhava. VII. 95 and Bhavānī in Kumārao (VII. 84), Caṇḍī in Meghadūta (I. 33). Similarly, in the Kumārasambhava the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva is mentioned.[479] The mātṛs are referred to in the same work (VII. 30, 38) and also Kālī with skulls as ornaments (ibid. VII. 39). In the Mālatī-mādhava (Act V) the offering of human victims to Cāmuṇḍā in the city of Padmāvatī is mentioned. In the Mṛcchakaṭika VI. 27 the legend of the killing of Śumbha and Niśumbha by Durgā occurs. If we hold that Kālidāsa flourished between 350–450 A. D., the above evidence makes it quite probable that the worship of Durgā may go back some centuries before 300 A. D. The evidence of coins lends support to this conclusion. A *siṁhavāhinī* goddess is seen on the reverse of the coins of Candragupta I of the Gupta[480] dynasty (about 305–325 A. D.). On a coin of the late Kuṣāṇa king Kaneshko the reverse shows the figure of a goddess with a lunar crescent seated full face on a lion crouching left and the godddess appears to have a noose and sceptre.[481] The lion as vehicle and the noose indicate that the goddess should be Durgā and not Lakṣmī. This would take us to the first or 2nd century A. D.

Why two Navarātras were recognized (in Caitra and Āśvina) is a matter of conjecture. It is possible that these two pūjās arose from the fact that spring crops and autumn crops became ready at these two times. The worship of Durgā was very much influenced by Śākta doctrines and practices. Ghosh in his work on 'Durgāpūjā' (p. XVI ff.) tries to establish that the Vedic idea of Dawn (Uṣas) spreading over the sky was changed by the Purāṇas and Tantras into the terrific goddess Durgā. I am not prepared to accept this explanation at all, as the links between the Vedic goddess Dawn and the terrible goddess of the Kālikā-purāṇa are altogether wanting and as there is a gap of many centuries between the disappearance of Uṣas from the ancient pantheon and popular worship and the emergence of Durgā. There may be some astrological connec-

479. तया तु तस्यार्धशरीरभाजा पश्चात्कृताः स्निग्धजनाशिषोपि । कुमारसम्भव VII. 28.

480. Vide 'Gupta gold coins of the Bayana Hoard' by Dr. A. S. Altekar pp. XLIV–V and Allan's catalogue of Gupta coins LXXXIII.

481. Vide J. A. S. B. for 1933 (Numismatic Supplement) pp. 7–8.

tion between Durgā (Virgo) riding a lion (Leo). But this also cannot be clearly made out.

In the Indian Historical Quarterly vol. 21 (pp. 227–231) Mr. N. G. Banerjee refers to the Durgotsava-paddhati of Udayasiṁha which begins with the Mahānavamī and a saṅkalpa for victory and ends with the description of horses marching on *daśamī* to victory and avers that this work indicates that Durgāpūjā was originally a military rite and was later on transformed into a religious festival. He relies upon the description in the Raghuvaṁśa (IV. 24–25) how the advent of Sarad (autumn) season impelled Raghu to march on an invasion and to perform the *śānti* rite for horses called Aśvanīrājana and also on the Bṛhatsaṁhitā. chap. 44 (Kern's ed.) where occurs an elaborate description of the nīrājana of horses, elephants and fighters on the 8th, 12th, or 15th of the bright half of Āśvina or Kārtika. There are serious objections against accepting this theory. It is not unknown that unconnected celebrations may be joined together on the same tithi or tithis. For example, in many parts of North India the Rāmalīlā festival for ten days is associated with Navarātra days. But Navarātra and Rāmalīlā are independent of each other and in some parts even of North India, only one or the other is popular and celebrated and not both. There is nothing improbable in there being two occasions for nīrājana, one in Durgotsava and another on the occasion of a king's march on an invasion. Besides, a work of the 15th century can hardly be relied upon as evidence for explaining the origin of a festival that was in vogue for about a thousand years at least before that work. Moreover, if it was the usage to celebrate the marching on an invasion in Āśvina with nīrājana (lustration), that rite might have been borrowed from that in Durgotsava by analogy instead of the utsava having adopted the military usage. The Kālikā-purāṇa which describes at length Durgotsava also speaks of the nīrājana in Āśvina-śukla on the 8th and the worship of a noble handsome horse for seven days with sandalwood paste, flowers &c. and requires the observation of the horse's movements for drawing prognostications (chap. 88. 15–75). There is nothing to show that the details of Durgotsava described in the Kālikā and other purāṇas did not exist in the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries A. D. when Kālidāsa and Varāhamihira flourished and mentioned the lustration of horses. The theory of Mr. N. G. Banerjee appears to be unwarranted by the evidence so far available and cannot be accepted.

CHAPTER X

Vijayādaśamī and Divāli

The 10th tithi of Āśvina-śukla is called Vijayā-daśamī. It is elaborately described in Hemādri (on vrata, vol. I. pp. 970–973), Nirṇayasindhu (pp. 69–70), Puruṣārtha-cintāmaṇi (pp. 145–148), Vratarāja (pp. 359–361) and Kālatattva-vivecana (pp. 309–312), Dharmasindhu (p. 96). As Daśamī (10th tithi) is not mentioned in the *Yugmavākya* the Kālanirṇaya relies on a verse that in the bright half that tithi which exists at sunrise should be accepted for performance of rites and in the dark half the one that exists at sunset.[482] Hemādri proposed (on vrata vol. I. p. 973) two simple rules (when 10th is *viddhā*) that that tithi on which Śravaṇa-nakṣatra exists should be accepted and in all other cases 10th mixed with 9th be accepted. But the other digests introduce many other considerations and complicated rules follow. A few of them are given below. If the 10th tithi is mixed up with 9th and 11th, the day on which it is mixed with 9th should be accepted provided there is no Śravaṇa-nakṣatra on the next. The Skanda says: Aparājitā-devī should be worshipped by men on the 10th towards the north-east and in the afternoon, when the 10th is mixed with 9th. Aparājitā should be worshipped on that day for welfare and victory. Another verse[482a] is 'A person should offer worship on the 10th tithi in Āśvina bright half and should not perform the worship of Aparājitā on Ekādaśī.' It must be remembered that the proper time for Vijayā-daśamī rites is aparāhṇa (afternoon) and *pradoṣa*[482b] is gauṇakāla (secondary time). If 10th extends over aparāhṇa on two days, the first (i. e. 10th mixed with 9th) should be accepted. If the 10th exists at pradoṣa time (but not at aparāhṇa) on two days, then the later (viz. 10th mixed with 11th) should be accepted; Śravaṇa is not decisive just as Rohiṇī in

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482. तथा च मार्कण्डेयः । शुक्लपक्षे तिथिर्ग्राह्या यस्यामभ्युदितो रविः । कृष्णपक्षे तिथिर्ग्राह्या यस्यामस्तमितो रविः । इति । ...तत्पूर्वोत्तरविद्धयोर्दशम्योः पक्षभेदेन व्यवस्था द्रष्टव्या । का. नि. pp. 231–233.

482 a. आश्विने शुक्लपक्षे तु दशम्यां पूजयेन्नरः । एकादश्यां न कुर्वीत पूजनं चापराजितम् ॥ हे. (on व्रत vol. I p. 973) quoting पुराणसमुच्चय, नि. सि. p. 189.

482 b. सूर्यास्तोत्तरं त्रिमुहूर्तं प्रदोषः । धर्मसिन्धु p. 9.

Janmāṣṭamī is not. If on both days the tenth tithi does not exist at the time of aparāhṇa then the first (10th mixed with 9th) is to be accepted; but in this case if on the 2nd day Śravaṇa-nakṣatra exists at the time of aparāhṇa then the latter (10th mixed with 11th) is to be accepted. These are the conclusions of N. S. The P. C. (p. 148) disputes the last proposition. Hemādri and following him Nirṇayasindhu (p. 189) quote Kaśyapa[483] to the following effect: 'if daśamī exists for some time at sunrise and if there is then ekādaśī for the rest of that day and there is Śravaṇa-nakṣatra at aparāhṇa on that day, that tithi is called Vijayā; since Rāma started on his invasion (against Rāvaṇa) on Śravaṇa-nakṣatra, men should celebrate the crossing of the limits of their village on that day and nakṣatra'. The Nirṇayasindhu and other works quote a verse[484] 'That time (on 10th tithi in Āśvina) which is slightly later than evening twilight and when the stars have just begun to appear is to be known as Vijaya and tends to the success of all undertakings.' Bhṛgu says 'the[485] 11th muhūrta (on a day of 15 muhūrtas) is called Vijaya; all desirous of victory should march out at that time.' These verses explain why this tithi is called Vijayā-daśamī. These two verses show that the time called Vijaya is of two kinds.

The Vijayādaśamī is one of the three most auspicious days in the year (the other two being Caitra-śukla first tithi and Kārtika-śukla 1st). Therefore in India children begin to learn the alphabet on this day (i. e. perform Sarasvatīpūjana), people start new undertakings on this day, even when the moon and the like are not astrologically favourable[486] and if the

483. तदुक्तं कश्यपेन । उदये दशमी किंचित्सम्पूर्णैकादशी यदि । श्रवणर्क्षं यदा काले सा तिथिर्विजयाभिधा । श्रवणर्क्षे तु पूर्णायां काकुत्स्थः प्रस्थितो यतः । उल्लङ्घयेयुः सीमानं तद्दिनर्क्षे ततो नराः ॥ हे. (on व्रत) vol. I p 973, नि. सि. p. 189. The 5th, 10th and 15th tithis are called पूर्णा; vide note 176 above.

484. रत्नकोशे च नारदः । ईषत्सन्ध्यामतिक्रान्तः किंचिदुद्भिन्नतारकः । विजयो नाम कालोऽयं सर्वकार्यार्थसिद्धये । नि. सि. p. 189, स. म. p. 69; चिन्तामणावपि । आश्विनस्य सिते पक्षे दशम्यां तारकोदये । स कालो विजयो ज्ञेयः सर्वकार्यार्थसिद्धये ॥ स. म. p. 69.

485. एकादशो मुहूर्तोऽपि विजयः परिकीर्तितः । तस्मिन् सर्वैर्विधातव्या यात्रा विजयकाङ्क्षिभिः ॥ भृगु q. by स. म. p. 69. The 11th मुहूर्त would ordinarily be 21st and 22nd घटिकाs from sunrise.

486. अन्यान्यपि कर्माणि मासनिरपेक्षाण्यत्र चन्द्राद्यानुकूल्याभावेऽप्यनुष्ठेयानि । मासविशेषविहितानि तु चूडाकर्म-विष्ण्वादिदेवताप्रतिष्ठादीनि न कुर्यात् । धर्मसिन्धु p. 96-97; इषमासि सिता दशमी विजया शुभकर्मसु सिद्धिकरी कथिता । श्रवणर्क्षयुता सुतरां शुभदा नृपतेस्तु गमे जयसन्धिकरी ॥ मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि ॥ XI. 74.

king marches against his foes on this tithi when there is Śravaṇa-nakṣatra it is very auspicious and brings to him victory and peace.

On this day the principal acts are the worship of Aparājitā, the worship of Śamī, Sīmollaṅghana (crossing the boundary of one's village), returning home and having a lamp waved before oneself by the women in the house, wearing new clothes and ornaments and in the case of a king, nīrājana of the horses, elephants, soldiers and marching out.

Dasarā or Vijayādaśamī is a great day for people of all castes, but it is specially a day for the kṣatriyas, the nobles and kings.

The procedure of the worship of Aparājitā (invincible) Devī is briefly as follows (from Dharmasindhu p. 96). In the afternoon one should go to the north-east of one's village, smear the earth (with cowdung) on a pure spot, should draw with sandalwood paste or the like a figure with eight segments, should make a *saṅkalpa* as in the note and should invoke Aparājitā in the midst of that figure with the words 'salutations to Aparājitā' and also invoke Jayā and Vijayā to the right and left of Aparājitā respectively with the words 'salutation to Kriyāśakti' and 'salutation to Umā' respectively. He should then offer worship with sixteen upacāras to Aparājitā, Jayā and Vijayā with the mantras 'Aparājitāyai namaḥ, Jayāyai namaḥ, Vijayāyai namaḥ' and offer the prayer 'O Devī! accepting this pūjā which I have offered to you according to my ability, for my protection may you go to your own place'. In the case of the king he should pray for victory in the words 'May Aparājitā wearing a striking necklace and resplendent golden girdle and fond of doing good bestow victory on me' and then he should take leave of her in the words 'O Devī! &c.'. Then all people should go out of the village to Śamī (Mimosa Suma) tree growing in the north-east, offer worship to it. People may perform the crossing of the boundary of the village before or after the worship of Śamī. Some provide that the images of Rāma and Sītā should be worshipped on Vijayādaśamī, since Rāma conquered Laṅkā on this day (A. K. folio 218ᵃ).[487]

487. 'मम सकुटुम्बस्य क्षेमसिद्ध्यर्थमपराजितापूजनं करिष्ये-इति सङ्कल्प्य' धर्मसिन्धु p. 96. In the case of a king the सङ्कल्प should be 'मम सकुटुम्बस्य यात्रायां विजयसिद्ध्यर्थमपरा°'. The पु. चि. (pp. 145–147) gives a more elaborate procedure for the king. The word सीमोल्लङ्घन has assumed the form शिलंगण in Marathi.

In the case of the king the procedure described by Hemādri (on vrata vol. I. pp. 970–71) is as follows: the king coming out of his palace should be preceded by his *purohita* and after performing the rites on starting for a journey should march towards the east; after reaching the end of the capital he should perform Vāstupūjā (worship of a site) and worship the guardians of the quarters and the devatās (in temples) he may meet on the road. He should then offer worship to Śamī tree with Paurāṇika mantra [488] 'I take refuge with the blessed and auspicious Śamī tree, that removes all inauspicious things and evil acts and the effects of bad dreams'; then he (the king) should take first towards the east and towards other directions the Viṣṇu steps. After making an effigy of his enemy or merely bringing him before his mind he (the king) should pierce him in the heart with an arrow [489] with a golden shaft. The purohita recites verses about the victory of the king in the quarters; the king should honour worthy brāhmaṇas, the astrologer and purohita and should arrange sports of elephants, horses and foot-soldiers. He should then enter his palace to the accompaniment of auspicious shouts like 'Jaya' and lights should be waved before him by courtezans. The king who performs every year this auspicious ceremony secures long life, health, prosperity and victory; he suffers from no ailments physical or mental nor defeat and obtains unblemished wealth and victory in the world. If a king [490] starts on an invasion without celebrating Vijayādaśamī he would secure no victory for a year in his kingdom. The Tithi-tattva quotes Rājamārtaṇḍa [491] to the effect that if for any reason the king cannot march out in person on Vijayādaśamī he should send out his umbrella or favourite weapon for a victorious march. The Nirṇayasindhu, Dharmasindhu and other

488. अमङ्गलानां शमनीं शमनीं दुष्कृतस्य च । दुःस्वप्ननाशिनीं धन्यां प्रपद्येहं शमीं शुभाम् । हे. (on व्रत) vol. I p. 971, नि. सि. p. 190. The धर्मसिन्धु (p. 96), पु. चि. p. 145 read दुःस्वप्नशमनीम्. For the Viṣṇu steps, vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 1083 and note 2425.

489. Compare बृहत्संहिता 44·21 'शान्तिं राष्ट्रविवृद्ध्यै कृत्वा भूयोऽभिचारिकैर्मन्त्रैः । मृण्मयमरिं विभिन्द्याच्छूलेनोरःस्थले विप्रः ॥'.

490. दशमीं यः समुल्लङ्घ्य प्रस्थानं कुरुते नृपः। तस्य संवत्सरं राज्ये न क्वापि विजयो भवेत् । इति । स्कन्द q. by हे. (on व्रत) vol. I, p. 973, ति. त. p. 103.

491. अशक्तौ खड्गादियात्रामाह राजमार्तण्डः। कार्यवशात् स्वयमगमे भूभर्तुः केचिदाहुराचार्याः। छत्रायुधाद्यमिदं वैजयिकं निर्गमे कुर्यात् । ति. त. p. 103.

late medieval works add some verses about Śamī and other details.[492] 'Śamī destroys sin, Śamī has reddish thorns, it held (concealed) the arrows of Arjuna and it appealed lovingly to Rāma. O Śamī worshipped by Rāma! May you remove obstacles on the march that I am to undertake according to my convenience and ease'. If a Śamī tree is not available, then the aśmantaka tree[493] should be worshipped with a mantra (given in note below). Taking up a little wet clay from the root of the Śamī tree together with *akṣatas* one should bring it to one's house to the accompaniment of songs and loud instrumental music; then the person should wear new apparel and ornaments along with his relatives and lights should be waved before him as an auspicious rite by chaste young women.[494]

In modern times on Vijayādaśamī there is śamīpūjā in many parts of India. But śamī is a rare tree. In Mahārāṣṭra and Konkaṇa, twigs of a tree called Āpṭā are brought from the forest and arranged in the form of a bush near a temple and in the afternoon the people of a town or village engage in a sort of mock scramble for taking away twigs of Āpṭā and distribute the leaves among their neighbours, friends and relatives saying 'take this gold'. In Saurāṣṭra and in several other places there is no such distribution of leaves. The Dharmasindhu notes that common people (in Mahārāṣṭra) cut off twigs of *śamī* and take them to their houses but that this has no śāstra basis.[495] In some places a he-buffalo or a goat was formerly sacrificed on this day. In the former princely States of India such as Baroda and Mysore

492. तथा भविष्ये । शमी शमयते पापं शमी लोहितकण्टका । धारिण्यर्जुनबाणानां रामस्य प्रियवादिनी । करिष्यमाणयात्रायां यथाकालं सुखं मया । तत्र निर्विघ्नकर्त्री त्वं भव श्रीरामपूजिते । इति । नि. सि. p. 190, पु. चि. p. 147, ध सि. p. 96. In विराटपर्व chap. 5 it is stated that when the Pāṇḍavas resolved to remain *incognito* for a year in the capital of Virāṭa they concealed their arms (such as the famous Gāṇḍīva bow and swords) on a big, śamī tree growing on a hill near a cemetery. 'अथान्वशासत्नकुलं कुन्तीपुत्रो युधिष्ठिरः । आरुह्येमां शमीं वीर धनूंष्येतानि निक्षिप ॥' विराट 5. 28. It is also supposed that Rāma started on his invasion of Laṅkā on the tenth tithi when there was Śravaṇa nakṣatra.

493. अश्मन्तक महावृक्ष महादोषनिवारण । इष्टानां दर्शनं देहि शत्रूणां च विनाशनम् । इति प्रार्थयेत् । धर्मसिन्धु p. 96, पु. चि. p. 147.

494. गृहीत्वा साक्षतामार्द्रां शमीमूलगतां मृदम् । गीतवादित्रनिर्घोषैरानयेत्स्वगृहं प्रति । ततो भूषणवस्त्रादि धारयेत्स्वजनैः सह । नीराज्यमानः पुण्याभिर्युवतीभिः सुमङ्गलम् । नि. सि. p. 190, पु. चि. 147, धर्मसिन्धु 96.

495. प्राकृताः शमीशाखाश्छित्वानयन्ति तन्निर्मूलम् । धर्मसिन्धु 46.

durbars were held on Vijayādaśamī (or Dasarā, as it is called) and grand processions with richly caparisoned elephants and prancing horses were taken out on the streets of the capital. The kings in ancient and medieval times performed the Nīrājana ceremony of horses and elephants, soldiers and the king himself. Kālidāsa mentions that when *śarad* came Raghu performed the śānti rite called vājinīrājana (Raghuvaṁśa IV. 24–25). In his Bṛhatsaṁhitā (chap. 44. ed. by Kern) Varāha describes at length lustration rites for horses, elephants and men The Nirṇayasindhu sets out the mantras at the time of nīrājana of the army 'O goddess, ruling over gods! may my army divided into four sections (elephants, chariots, horsemen and foot-soldiers) attain to the position of having no enemy left in this world and may victory come to me everywhere through your favour.' The Tithitattva provides that the king after performing nīrājana for vigour to his army should see the fine *khañjana* bird in the vicinity of water or cowpens and address it with the mantra[496] 'O khañjarīṭabird! you have come to the earth, you have a blue and auspicious neck and you bestow all desires; salutation to you!' The Tithitattva then (p. 103) descants upon the conclusions about the future to be drawn from the several places where the khañjarīṭa (wagtail) is seen and from the directions in which it is seen. The Bṛhatsaṁhitā has a chapter (45) on the auguries to be drawn from the sight of the khañjana bird, almost the whole of which is quoted by the Kṛtyaratnākara (pp. 366–373) and a few verses of which are quoted by Varṣakriyākaumudī pp. 450–51. In Manu V. 14 and Yāj. I. 174 among the birds whose flesh is forbidden for eating is khañjarīṭa (probably because it was such a valuable bird for prognostications).

In some parts of Northern India Rāmalīlā celebrations go on for ten days and culminate on the 10th of Āśvina in the burning of a tall hollow paper and wickerwork structure concealing crackers representing Rāvaṇa and his hosts.

There are several other local customs and usages such as worship of weapons of war and implements of one's trade or avocation associated with Dasarā or Vijayādaśamī which are passed over here for reasons of space.

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496. कृत्वा नीराजनं राजा बलवृद्ध्यै यथाबलम्। शोभनं खञ्जनं पश्येज्जलगोगोष्ठसंनिधौ। नीलग्रीव शुभग्रीव सर्वकामफलप्रद। पृथिव्यामवतीर्णोऽसि खञ्जरीट नमोस्तु ते। ति. त. p. 103, नि. सि. 190 (first verse), व. क्रि. कौ. p. 450 (quotes from संवत्सरप्रदीप the verse कृत्वा etc.).

There are many conjectures about the origin of the Dasarā festival. Some, relying on the usages of some parts of India to offer to gods ears of new corn, of hanging on the doors of the house the ears of green or unripe paddy and of putting in the turban young sprouts of wheat and the like, hold that it is more or less an agricultural festival. Others hold that as, about *Dasarā* monsoon rains stop, swollen rivers abate and crops are near being garnered, it is the most suitable time for marching on an expedition and that therefore the origin is due to military exigencies. I incline to the latter view. In ancient countries other than India, there was a fixed season when kings went to battle. For example, we read in II Samuel chap. 11. 1 'And it came to pass, after the year was expired, at the time when kings go forth to battle, that, David sent Joab.' The cult of Śamī is very ancient. Two logs of wood (*araṇis*) from an Aśvattha tree growing inside a Śamī were employed in producing fire by attrition for Vedic sacrifices. Fire symbolizes vigour and valour and logs of Śamī are helpful in producing fire and śamī wood is very hard. In the Atharvaveda (VII. 11. 1) we have the words 'the Aśvattha tree rides Śamī'. The Tai. Br. I. 2. 1. 16 refers to Agni being produced from Aśvattha that is 'Śamīgarbha' and Tai. Br. I. 2. 1. 7 connects Śamī with śānti (the removal of adverse signs). In the Tai. Ā. (VI. 9. 2.) we read 'O Śamī! remove from us (destroy) sins and enmities' (śamī śamayāsmad-aghā dveṣāṁsi). It had some affinity with Navarātra also, as the latter celebrates the military exploit of Devī against Mahiṣāsura, and was therefore celebrated immediately after Navarātra. The word 'Dasarā' is derived from 'daśa' meaning 10 and 'ahan' (a day).

Divāḷi: This festival of lights, illuminations and fireworks is the most joyful of all festivals and is most widely observed throughout India. Observances, however, differ in detail and number from age to age and from province to province. It is not a single festival in honour of a single god or goddess as the Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī or the Navarātra is. It is spread over four or five days and contains several independent items. The days of Dīpāvalī properly so called are three. It is called Dīpāvalī (row of lamps) in many works, but also Dīpālikā (in colophon to chap. 140 of Bhaviṣyottara). When emphasis is laid only on one item in this festival of several days it is also designated Sukharātrī in Rājamārtaṇḍa (verses 1346-1348, vide ABORI vol. 36

p. 329) and in Kālaviveka (pp. 232, 403-4), Yakṣarātri[497] in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, Sukhasuptikā (in Vrataprakāśa, folio 204 and Hemādri on Vrata vol. II. pp. 348–349). In a scholarly paper contributed to the Journal of the Ganganath Jha Institute (vol. III. pp. 205-216) Prof. P. K. Gode traces the antiquity of this festival. The Bhaviṣyottara contains a charming verse with a *double entendre*[498] 'May this auspicious day of lights remove your sins like Rāmāyaṇa in which the thunder of clouds is stopped (or in which Meghanāda i. e. Indrajit, son of Rāvaṇa, is described as killed), in which the tips of wicks are burning (or in which Rāvaṇa became infuriated) and in which young women find delight (or with which Rāma is pleased). Some works like the N. S. and Kālatattvavivecana (p. 315) hold that the three days viz. 14th, amāvāsyā and Kārtika first, constitute the Kaumudī festival.[499]

Taken all in all Dīpāvalī spreads over about five days. The whole festival comprises five principal items spread over five days, viz. worship of wealth, the celebration of Viṣṇu's victory over Narakāsura, worship of Lakṣmī, victory of Viṣṇu over Bali and dice-play and the exchange of brotherly and sisterly affection. There are illuminations and the discharge of crackers on almost all the five days from the 13th of the dark half of Āśvina. This last is called in Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra 'Dhanteras'. Before and on this day houses are painted and decorated, the courtyards of houses are cleaned, and metal vessels are polished and illuminations begin. The Padmapurāṇa VI. 124. 4 refers to illuminations on the 13th of the dark half of Kārtika (by the pūrṇimānta reckoning). Skanda quoted by Nirṇayāmṛta provides for lighting lamps at the advent of night on Kārtika dark

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497. यक्षरात्रि along with कौमुदीजागर and others is included among sports (क्रीडाः) that are to be engaged in by several people. The commentary जयमङ्गला on वात्स्यायन (I. 4.42) calls it सुखरात्रि and explains 'तत्र प्रायशो लोकस्य द्यूतक्रीडा'. The कृत्यतत्त्व (p. 451) and का. त. वि. (p. 319) quote a verse; अमावास्या यदा रात्रौ दिवाभागे चतुर्दशी। पूजनीया तदा लक्ष्मीर्विज्ञेया सुखरात्रिका॥ इति वचनात्. Here लक्ष्मीपूजन on अमावास्या is called सुखरात्रिका.

498 उपशमितमेघनादं प्रज्वलितदशाननं रमितरामम्। रामायणमिव सुभगं दीपादिनं हरतु वो दुरितम्॥ भविष्योत्तर 140. 71. The first half contains three phrases applicable both to दीपदिन and रामायण. उपशमिताः मेघानां नादाः यस्मिन् (with दीपदिन), उपशमितः मेघनादः यस्मिन् (with रामायण); प्रज्वलितानि दशानां दीपवर्तीनां आननानि अग्राणि यस्मिन् (with दीपदिन), प्रज्वलितः दशाननः रावणः यस्मिन् (with रामायण); रमिताः रामाः युवतयः यस्मिन् (with दीपदिन); रमितः रामः येन (with रामायण).

499 इषासितचतुर्दश्यामिन्दुक्षयतिथावपि। ऊर्जादौ स्वातिसंयुक्ते तदा दीपावली भवेत्। कुर्यात्संलग्नमेतच्च दीपोत्सवदिनत्रयम्। नारदसंहिता q. by नि. सि. p. 197, का. त. वि. p. 315, व्रतराज p. 563.

13th outside the house in honour of Yama in order to avoid accidental death.[500]

The Bhaviṣyottara contains a lengthy description of the four days of the Divāḷī festival from the 14th. I shall take that chapter as basis and add, where necessary, other passages from other texts.

On the 14th of the dark half of Āśvina[501] (or of Kārtika in the pūrṇimānta reckoning) persons afraid of Hell should take an oil bath at the time of daybreak, should whirl over their heads the twigs of Apāmārga tree together with clods of ploughed land and the thorns (of the twigs). The mantra to be repeated is noted below.[502] Then the purāṇa provides for tarpaṇa (satiation with *añjalis* of water &c. mixed with sesame) to Yama and mentions seven names of Yama.[503] Then the purāṇa provides that a lamp should be lit for Naraka (*i.* e. for the avoidance of Naraka) and that in the evening illumination with charming lamps should be provided in the temples of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and others, in *maṭhas* (monasteries), in rooms for implements, on *caityas* (mounds on which sacred trees grow), in assembly halls, on rivers, and ramparts, in parks, wells, principal roads and in the women's apartments, in shrines of siddhas, Arhats (Jaina saints), Buddha, Cāmuṇḍā, Bhairava, in isolated stables for horses and elephants (verses 15–17). Other texts provide that on this day

500. कार्तिकस्यासिते पक्षे त्रयोदश्यां निशामुखे। यमदीपं बहिर्दद्यादपमृत्युर्विनश्यति। मन्त्रस्तु-मृत्युना पाशदण्डाभ्यां कालेन श्यामया सह। त्रयोदश्यां दीपदानात्सूर्यजः प्रीयतां ममेति। स्कन्द q. in नि. सि. p. 196 from निर्णयामृत. These verses occur in पद्म VI. 124. 4–5 with some variations. का. त वि. p. 323 quotes these two,

501. कार्तिके कृष्णपक्षे च चतुर्दश्यां दिनोदये। अवश्यमेव कर्तव्यं स्नानं नरकभीरुभिः॥ भविष्योत्तर 140.7; नि. सि. (p. 196) reads चतुर्दश्यामिनोदये and explains 'इनः चन्द्रः'. पद्म VI. 124.6. reads विधूदये for दिनोदये. व. क्रि. कौ. p. 459 quotes it from लिङ्गपुराण.

502. हर पापमपामार्ग भ्राम्यमाणः पुनः पुनः। आपदं किल्बिषं चापि ममापहर सर्वशः। अपामार्ग नमस्तेस्तु शरीरं मम शोधय। भविष्योत्तर 140.9. अपामार्ग (literally, that washes away or removes) is a plant called Achyranthis Aspera (in Marathi आघाडा) used in incantations, medicine etc. It is frequently mentioned in अथर्ववेद IV. 17,6–8, IV. 18. 7–8, VII. 65. 1–2; vide also वाज. सं. 35. 11 अपाघमप किल्बिषमप-कृत्यामपो रपः। अपामार्ग त्वमस्मदप दुष्वप्न्यं सुव॥

503. The names are differently quoted by मद. पा. 296 from वृद्धमनु as यमाय धर्मराजाय मृत्यवे चान्तकाय च। वैवस्वताय कालाय सर्वभूतक्षयाय च। औदुम्बराय दध्नाय नीलाय परमेष्ठिने। वृकोदराय चित्राय चित्रगुप्ताय वै नमः॥', These are quoted by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 459, नि. सि. p. 199. These are पद्म VI. 124. 13–14. It may be noted that these are 14 names of यम corresponding to the tithi being 14th. The verse यमाय ··· क्षयाय च is भविष्यो. 140. 10. The verses mentioning 14 names of यम are quoted by हे. (on व्रत vol. II p. 352).

in the midst of the bath one should whirl over one's body twigs and leaves of apāmārga or of gourd or of prapunnāṭa (called Ṭākḷā in Marathi) for the removal of hell and that one should light a lamp with four wicks in memory of Narakāsura. It was believed[504] that Lakṣmī came to dwell in oil and the Ganges came to all waters on the 14th in Dīpāvalī and he who would take an oil bath on this morning would not see the world of Yama. In modern times, people in the Deccan after their bath on 14th crush under their foot a bitter fruit called Kārīṭ, which probably represents Narakāsura. The oil bath was to be taken about the time of aruṇodaya, but if for some reason it could not be done then it may be taken even after sunrise.[505] The Dharmasindhu says that even *yatis* (ascetics) should undergo the oil bath on this day. It appears probable that originally the 14th was called Narakacaturdaśī because Yama was to be propitiated for fear of Hell. Later on the legend about the killing by Kṛṣṇa of Narakāsura, king of Prāgjyotiṣa city (Kāmarūpa), said to have been born of the Earth when it came in contact with the Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu, was pressed into service. People now-adays remember only Narakāsura on this day and hardly any one performs Yamatarpaṇa.[506] The depredations of Narakāsura are narrated in the Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 29 and in the Bhāgavata X. (uttarārdha) chap. 59. He deprived Aditi, the mother of gods, of her ear ornaments, Varuṇa of his umbrella, Mandara of a peak called Maṇiparvata and kidnapped 16100 girls of gods, siddhas and kings and imprisoned them in his palace.[507] Kṛṣṇa killed him and if Purāṇa descriptions are to be treated as historical Kṛṣṇa's actions were prompted by great pity

504. तैले लक्ष्मीर्जले गङ्गा दीपावल्याश्चतुर्दशीम्। प्रातःस्नानं तु यः कुर्याद्यमलोकं न पश्यति॥ पद्म VI. 124. q. by नि. सि. p. 127, by पु. चि. pp. 242–243 (from ब्रह्मपुराण); तैले ··· दीपावलितिथौ वसेत्। अलक्ष्मीपरिहारार्थमभ्यङ्गस्नानमाचरेत्॥ नारद-संहिता q. by का. त. वि. p. 315.

505. अरुणोदयकालस्यैव मुख्यत्वप्रतिपादनात्। केनचिन्निमित्तेनारुणोदयकालेऽतिक्रान्ते सूर्योदयोत्तरमप्यभ्यङ्गः कर्तव्यः। पु. चि. p. 241; vide धर्मसिन्धु p. 104 for the same.

506. The यमतर्पण is to be in the form 'यमाय नमः यमं तर्पयामि' and then turning to the south one offers three *añjal is* of water mixed with sesame with the sacred cord in the *savya* or *apasavya* form according as the person's father is living or is dead.

507. कन्याश्च कृष्णो जग्राह नरकस्य परिग्रहान्।...एकस्मिन्नेव गोविन्दः काले तासां महामुने। जग्राह विधिवत्पाणीन् पृथग्गेहेषु धर्मतः। षोडशस्त्रीसहस्राणि शतमेकं ततोऽधिकम्। तावन्ति चक्रे रूपाणि भगवान् मधुसूदनः॥ विष्णुपुराण V. 29. 15–18. The भागवत X. 59. 33 states that the women were 16000.

and he raised the status of these unfortunate women by marrying them all.

The Tithitattva notes that there is a usage of eating fourteen kinds of vegetables on this day in order to correspond with the 14th tithi, enumerates them from Nirṇayāmṛta and recommends that this should be followed.[508]

Several works such as the Varṣakriyā-kaumudī and the Dharmasindhu prescribe that[509] on the evenings of the 14th of the dark half and amāvāsyā of Āśvina men with firebrands in their hands should show the way to their pitṛs (deceased ancestors) with the mantra 'May those men in my family who were cremated and those who had no cremation performed for them and those that were burnt only by resplendent fire (without religious rites?), reach the highest state (or goal); may those (pitṛs) who, leaving the world of Yama, came for the *Mahālaya śrāddhas* (in the dark half of Bhādrapada or Āśvina acc. to pūrṇimānta reckoning) find their way by the brilliant light (of the firebrands) and reach (their own worlds).

The medieval texts prescribe on 14th of Āśvina[510] dark half the performance of the following acts, viz. oil bath, tarpaṇa of Yama, lighting lamp for Naraka, illuminations at night, holding firebrands, worship of Śiva, worship of Mahārātri, taking food at night only. Out of these only three (viz. oil bath, lighting a lamp for Naraka and night illumination) are now-adays generally performed and the rest are omitted. After the bath people put on new clothes and ornaments and take a repast of sweets and the like and in the noon there is a sumptous feast. There is a good deal of discussion in the Nirṇayasindhu (p. 197), P. C. (p. 241), Dharmasindhu (p. 104) about the time when oil bath is to be taken, if the 14th is mixed up with the 13th and amāvāsyā. That is passed over here.

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508. अत्राचाराच्चतुर्दशशाकभक्षणं च कर्तव्यम् । अत्र निर्णयामृतधृतम्। ओलं केमुक-वास्तूकं ··· कृष्णे च भूते तिथौ ॥ तिथितत्त्व p. 124 and कृत्यतत्त्व pp. 450–451.

509. तुलासंस्थे सहस्रांशौ प्रदोषे भूतदर्शयोः। उल्काहस्ता नराः कुर्युः पितॄणां मार्गदर्शनम्॥ उल्कादानमन्त्रौ। अग्निदग्धाश्च ये जीवा येऽप्यदग्धाः कुले मम। उज्ज्वलज्योतिषा दग्धास्ते यान्तु परमां गतिम्॥ यमलोकं परित्यज्य आगता ये महालये। उज्ज्वलज्योतिषा वर्त्म प्रपश्यन्तो व्रजन्तु ते॥ व. क्रि. कौ. p. 470–471, ध. सि. 104–105, पु. चि. p. 253, स. म. p. 117 (first verse only); भूत means 14th tithi here.

510. चतुर्दश्यामभ्यङ्गस्नानयमतर्पणदीपदान-प्रदोषदीपदानोल्कादान-शिवपूजा-महारात्रि-पूजा-नक्तभोजनानि विहितानि। पु. चि. p. 243.

Narakacaturdaśī is also called Bhūtacaturdaśī in Kṛtyatattva (p. 450).

On all the three days, viz. 14th of dark half of Āśvina, amāvāsyā, and the first of Kārtika-śukla an oil bath in the morning is prescribed for him who desires wealth and prosperity.

Āśvina amāvāsyā is a very important day. One should take an oil bath in the morning[511] and perform the worship of Lakṣmī for the removal of *alakṣmī* (bad luck, penury). Some texts add that the barks of five trees[512] should be boiled in water for the bath and the person should have lights waved before him by women. The Bhaviṣyottara (in chap. 140, verses 14–29) describes the celebrations on amāvāsyā at some length. Briefly it comes to this. In the morning one should take (an oil) bath, worship gods and pitṛs and perform the pārvaṇa śrāddha with curds, milk, ghee and feed brāhmaṇas with various edibles. Then in the afternoon the king should proclaim in his capital 'today is the sovereignty of Bali; O people! enjoy yourselves'. People also in their houses should make merry with dance and music, should offer tāmbūla to each other and anoint their bodies with saffron powder, dress themselves in silken robes and wear gold and jewels, young women move about in groups wearing brilliant clothes, the houses should be full of rows of lamps, handsome maidens should cast rice grains about and the waving of lamps (nīrājana) should be resorted to which confers victory. Towards midnight the king should move about in the capital on foot to see the fun and charm of the festival and then return to his palace. When midnight is past and people's eyes are heavy with approaching sleep, the women in the city should create great noise by beating winnowing baskets and drums and should drive out *alakṣmī* (ill luck) from the courtyards of their houses. Hemādri (on vrata vol. II. pp. 348–349) quotes from Bhaviṣya certain additional items: 'no one except children or ailing persons should take a meal by day, one should worship Lakṣmī in the evening and should illuminate with treelike rows of lights shrines of gods, squares where four roads meet, cemeteries, rivers, mountains, houses, bottoms of trees, cowpens, caves. They should decorate shops where merchandise is bought and sold with white cloth and flowers, then feed

511. इषे भूते च दर्शे च कार्तिकप्रथमे दिने। मानवो मङ्गलस्नायी नैव लक्ष्म्या वियुज्यते। नारदसंहिता q. by पु. चि. p. 241; नि. सि. p. 199 has the first half.

512. The five trees are अश्वत्थ, उदुम्बर, प्लक्ष, आम्र, वट.

brāhmaṇas and hungry persons in places surrounded by lamps and take dinner dressed in white garments and decked with ornaments. The Nīlamata-purāṇa calls this amāvāsyā night 'Sukh-suptikā' and describes it (verses 505–510) in the same way as Hemādri's quotation does.[513] In Bengal Kālī is worshipped on this day, who it is said is both Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī. In modern times this is a day specially for merchants and traders. On this day they worship their books of account, invite friends, customers and other traders and give them tāmbūla and some sweets. Old accounts are closed and new ones opened. There is a popular legend that Brahmā gave to brāhmaṇas *rakṣābandhana* (Śrāvaṇa Full Moon day) as their festival, *Dasarā* to kṣatriyas, Divāḷī to traders and Holikā to Śūdras. The night of the worship of Lakṣmī[514] is called Sukharātri, since Lakṣmī gives up her sleep on the amāvāsyā when the sun is in Libra (or Balance) and it is provided in some works that at the dawn of Sukharātri when the house is illuminated by lamps one should honour one's relatives with words of complimentary queries and worship Lakṣmī, that removes the taint of ill luck, with auspicious flowers, sandal-wood paste, curds, yellow pigment and fruits. The Kṛtyatattva quotes a verse "when there is 14th tithi in a portion of the day and there is amāvāsyā on the night of that day Lakṣmī should be worshipped and (that night) should be known as Sukharātrikā" and then gives an elaborate procedure of the worship of Lakṣmī. Some works such as the Varṣakriyā-kaumudī, Kṛtyatattva (p. 452) and Dharmasindhu (p. 107)

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513. तथा पक्षे व्यतीते तु कर्तव्या सुखसुप्तिका। पञ्चदश्यां यथा विप्र तथा मे गदतः शृणु। तस्यां दिवा न भोक्तव्यं बालातुरजनं विना। सूर्ये त्वस्तमनुप्राप्ते पूजयित्वा करीषिणीम्। दीपवृक्षास्ततो देया देवतायतनेषु च।...दीपमालापरिक्षिप्ते प्रदेशे तदनन्तरम्। स्वलङ्कृतैश्च भोक्तव्यं द्विजेन्द्र नववाससा। सुहृद्भिर्ब्राह्मणैः सार्धं बन्धुभिश्चानुयायिभिः॥ नीलमतपुराण 505–510 page 42. करीषिणी appears to mean here image of लक्ष्मी made with dried cowdung cakes. Vide the मन्त्र used in the worship of लक्ष्मी viz. गन्धद्वारां दुराधर्षां नित्यपुष्टां करीषिणीम्। ईश्वरीं सर्वभूतानां तामिहोपह्वये श्रियम्॥ q. by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 476. The व. क्रि. कौ. p. 468 quotes a passage from the ब्रह्मपुराण which is similar to the one cited above from Bhaviṣya by Hemādri and explains कूटागार as the room where the ploughshare and other implements are kept.

514. Vide Gupte's 'Hindu holidays and ceremonies' pp. 35–36 and Underhill p. 63. आह माण्डव्यः। अमावास्यां तुलादित्ये लक्ष्मीर्निद्रां विमुञ्चति। तस्मिन् शुक्ले सदा विष्णुस्तुलायामथ वृश्चिके।...अथ देवोत्थापनपक्षपूर्वभूतैवामावास्या नियमेन लक्ष्मीप्रबोधकालः। सैव सुखरात्रिरित्युच्यते। अत्र विहितं ज्योतिःशास्त्रे। सुखरात्रेरुषःकाले प्रदीपोज्ज्वालितालये। शुभैः कुसुमैर्गन्धैर्दधिगोरोचनाफलैः। बन्धुर्बन्धूनबन्धूंश्च वाचा कुशलयार्चयेत्। पूजयेच्च तथा लक्ष्मीमलक्ष्मीमलनाशिनीम्। का. वि. pp. 403–404. The verse 'अमावास्यां' is q. by व. क्रि. कौ. p.468 and two halves from the two verses सुखरात्रेः &c. on p. 469 from भविष्य.

provides that on this Sukharātri not only Lakṣmī but also Kubera[515] is to be worshipped.

The first of Kārtika-śukla is regarded as one of the three most auspicious days of the year. The Dharmasindhu[516] remarks that though the three days from the 14th tithi are designated Dīpāvalī yet that day which has Svāti-nakṣatra is most commended. It may be stated that Balipratipadā is often conjoined to Svāti-nakṣatra. On this day also an oil bath is obligatory. The most important item on this tithi is the worship of Bali. The Bhaviṣyottara (140. 47–73) describes this worship of Bali as follows: The king should at night draw the figure of Bali having two arms on a circle made on the ground with five coloured powders; the image should have all ornaments and should have Vindhyāvali (Bali's queen) near him, should be surrounded by asuras like Kūṣmāṇḍa, Bāṇa, Mura and others, should wear a crown and ear ornaments; the king should himself offer worship in the midst of his palace together with his brothers and ministers with several kinds of lotuses and offer sandalwood paste, incense and *naivedya* of food including wine and meat and employ the following mantra[517] 'salutation to you, O king Bali, son of Virocana, enemy of gods and the future Indra, accept this worship.' Having thus worshipped he should keep awake at night by arranging for dramatic spectacles presented by actors based on stories about kṣatriyas. Ordinary people also should establish inside their houses on a couch the image of king Bali made with white rice grains and worship it with flowers and fruits. Whatever gifts,[518] large or small, are made

515. भविष्ये। सुखरात्र्यां प्रदोषे हि कुबेरं पूजयन्ति हि। व. क्रि. कौ. p. 469; 'सुख ... पूजयन्ति ये' इति ब्रह्मवचनात् कुबेरमपि पाद्यादिभिः पूजयेत्। कृत्यतत्त्व p. 452.

516. चतुर्दश्यादिदिनत्रयेपि दीपावलिसंज्ञके यत्र यत्राह्नि स्वातिनक्षत्रयोगस्तस्य तस्य प्राशस्त्यातिशयः। धर्मसिन्धु p. 106.

517. The मन्त्र is : बलिराज नमस्तुभ्यं विरोचनसुत प्रभो। भविष्येन्द्र सुराराते पूजेयं प्रतिगृह्यताम्। भविष्योत्तर 140.54, पद्म VI. 134.53. In the पद्म the मन्त्र is 'बलिराज... दैत्यदानववन्दित। इन्द्रशत्रोऽमराराते विष्णुसान्निध्यदो भव॥' as q. by कृत्यतत्त्व p. 453, नि. सि. 201. In the विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 126. 25 it is said that Bali would be Indra in the Sāvarṇi–manvantara (8th out of 14).

518. बलिमुद्दिश्य दीयन्ते दानानि कुरुनन्दन। यानि तान्यक्षयाण्याहुर्मयैवं संप्रदर्शितम्॥ महापुण्या तिथिरियं बलिराज्यप्रवर्धिनी। स्नानं दानं शतगुणं कार्तिकेऽस्यां तिथौ भवेत्। भविष्योत्तर 140.57 (first verse). The first is quoted by नि. सि. p. 201 and the 2nd by कृत्यतत्त्व p. 453, ति. त. p. 27. हे. on काल p. 616 quotes from ब्रह्मपुराण a similar verse 'महापुण्या ... राज्यप्रवर्तिनी। ब्रह्मणो हि प्रिया नित्यं बालेयी परिकीर्तिता'. भविष्य I. 18.21 has the verse महापुण्या तिथिरियं etc..

on this day become inexhaustible and bring delight to Viṣṇu. The Kṛtyatattva (p. 453) provides that three *añjalis* of flowers should be offered to Bali. The Bhaviṣyottara adds 'this tithi increases the dominion of Bali; baths and gifts made on this tithi in Kārtika yield a hundredfold reward.'

If the pratipad is mixed with amāvāsyā or dvitīyā, the worship of Bali, the proper time of which is night, should be performed on pratipad mixed with amāvāsyā, since Hemādri quotes from Padma 'Śivarātri and Bali's day should be observed on the day when the tithi is mixed with the preceding tithi' and on account of the *yugma-vākya*. Mādhava also is of the same [519] opinion.

Bali was the son of Virocana and grandson of Prahlāda, a great devotee of Viṣṇu. In the Vanaparva (28. 2) Bali asks his grandfather Prahlāda the question 'which is better, *kṣamā* (forbearance) or *tejas*' (vigorous action). In the Śāntiparva 225. 13 it is said that Bali felt jealous of brāhmaṇas. The story of Bali who had become very powerful and made gods lose their *tejas* is narrated in Brahmapurāṇa 73, Kūrma I. 17, Vāmana chap. 77 and 92, Matsya chap. 245–246 and Bhaviṣyottara 140. Bali began an Aśvamedha. Viṣṇu assumed the form of a dwarf brāhmaṇa student and begged for land that would be measured by his three steps. Though warned by Śukra that the dwarf was really Viṣṇu, Bali promised to give land equal to three steps. Then the dwarf grew larger and larger and covered heaven and earth in two steps. When Vāmana asked Bali where to plant the third step Bali told him to plant it on his back and thus Bali was thrust into the nether regions. Viṣṇu being [520] pleased with

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519. यथोक्तोपवासवद्बल्युत्सवोपि पूर्वविद्धायामेव कर्तव्यः। स चोत्सवो ब्रह्मपुराणे वामनपुराणे भविष्योत्तरपुराणे च प्रपञ्चितः। अत्र प्रातःकाले द्यूतादिकं ब्रह्मपुराणे दर्शितम्। तस्माद् द्यूतं प्रकर्तव्यं प्रभाते तत्र मानवैः। इति। यद्यपि प्रातरमावास्या वर्तते न तु प्रतिपत्, तथापि पूर्वोक्तसङ्कल्पन्यायेन प्रतिपदः साकल्यमाश्रित्य द्यूतादिकं प्रातरेव कार्यम्। का. नि. p. 126. The reference in the words पूर्वोक्त॰ is to p. 123 (का. नि.) where Mādhavācārya quotes a text that सङ्कल्प for a fast or vrata must be made in the morning though just at the time of सङ्कल्प the tithi may be amāvāsyā while the vrata is for pratipad, which follows some time after, and quotes देवल in support 'यां तिथिं समनुप्राप्य अस्तं याति दिवाकरः। तिथिः सा सकला ज्ञेया दानाध्ययनकर्मसु॥' इति। अत्र दानाध्ययनयोरुपवासादि-निखिलदैवोपलक्षणार्थत्वविवक्षया कर्मसु इति बहुवचनं निर्दिष्टम्।' का. नि. p. 123.

520. स तु प्रादात्स्वयं विष्णुः प्रीतः सम्मनसेप्सितम्। रसातलपतित्वं च भावि चेन्द्रपदं पुनः। ब्रह्मपुराण 73.54–55; सुतलं नाम पातालं त्वमासाद्य मनोरमम्। बलासुर ममादेशं यथावत्परिपालयन्॥ मत्स्य 246. 75.

Bali's adherence to his plighted word conferred on Bali the overlordship of *pātāla* and the position of the future Indra. This story is an ancient one. The Mahābhāṣya[521] on Pāṇini III. I. 26 states that when a person recites the story of Bali's imprisonment (in *pātāla* by Viṣṇu) or represents it on the stage people use such phraseology as 'Balim bandhayati' (he imprisons Bali), though Bali was imprisoned a long time ago. This makes it certain that the story was embodied in dramas and poems more than two thousand years ago.

The Balipratipadā appears to be called Vīrapratipadā[522] in the Vāmana-purāṇa. It is also called Dyūtapratipad (Kṛtyatattva p. 452). The purāṇas[523] say that on that day Śiva was defeated in dice-play by Pārvatī, that Śaṅkara became sad, while Gaurī remained happy. Therefore, on this day in the morning men should resort to gambling. Whoever succeeded on this day in gambling would find that the whole year thereafter was beneficial to him but if he suffered defeat in gambling that day he would lose his wealth that year. In Ellora cave No. 21 Śaṅkara and Pārvatī are shown as playing with dice; vide plate 38 in 'Ellora' by Balasaheb Pant-Pratinidhi of Aundh. In many parts of India people engage on this day in gambling and fortunes are often lost or made on this day. Even in a comparatively small country like Nepal gambling stakes soared up to three million rupees in 1955 on the Balipratipad day.

521. On वार्तिक 6 of पा. III. 1. 26 the महाभाष्य says 'कंसवधमाचष्टे कंसं घातयति बलिबन्धमाचष्टे बलिं बन्धयति'; then on वार्तिक 15, the महाभाष्य says 'इह तु कथं वर्तमानकालता'. Vide note 330 for this sentence. 'अत्रापि युक्ता। कथम्। ये तावदेते शोभनिका नामैते प्रत्यक्षं कंसं घातयन्ति प्रत्यक्षं च बलिं बन्धयन्तीति।'. शोभनिकाः means actors in a dramatic representation.

522. वामनपुराणे बलिं प्रति त्रिविक्रम उवाच। वीरप्रतिपदा नाम तव भावी महोत्सवः। तत्र त्वां नरशार्दूल तत्तो हृष्टाः स्वलङ्कृताः। पुष्पधूपप्रदानेन अर्चयिष्यन्ति तत्त्वतः। q. by हे. on काल p. 617, कृ. र. p. 412, का. त. वि. p. 321 (with slight variations), ति. त. p. 27. The printed वामन (chap. 92. 56–57) reads 'दीपप्रदाननामासौ तव भावी महोत्सवः। ··· पुष्पदीपप्रदानेन' etc. It is likely that the true reading is वीर प्रतिपदं प्राप्य as in का. त. वि. p. 321 (वीर being addressed to बलि).

523. ब्रह्मपुराणे। कार्तिके शुक्लपक्षे तु प्रथमेहनि सत्यवान्। जितश्च शङ्करस्तत्र जयं लेभे च पार्वती। ततोऽहं शङ्करो दुःखी गौरी नित्यसुखोषिता। तस्माद् द्यूतं प्रकर्तव्यं प्रभाते तत्र मानवैः। तस्मिन् द्यूते जयो यस्य तस्य संवत्सरः शुभः। पराजयो विरुद्धश्च लाभनाशकरो भवेत्। q. by हे. (on काल p. 616), कृ. र. p. 411–12, नि. सि. p. 202 (from हेमाद्रि), ति. त. p. 27: vide स्कन्द I. 1. 34 for dice play between शिव and पार्वती.

On this day also there should be illuminations. It is said 'by lighting[524] lamps during (the day of) Bali's domination Lakṣmī becomes stable; this is called Dīpāvalī because there is waving of lights in this festival. Having reached (the day of) Bali's domination how will lamps be burning in the houses of those who do not observe the festival of the rows of lamps?'

The Dharmasindhu furnishes[525] a long list of the observances on this *pratipad* day according to the several purāṇas and digests, viz. worship of Bali, illuminations, holiday for and worship of cows and bulls, worship of Govardhana, the tying of Mārgapālī (lit. protectress of the road), wearing new clothes, dice-play, waving of lights before men by women (whose husbands are alive), and tying up an auspicious garland. In modern times only three out of these, viz. worship of Bali, illuminations and gambling are observed and the rest are hardly observed anywhere. Therefore only brief references will be made to the rest. Cows, calves and bulls are to be worshipped with two mantras (quoted in note) and decorated and cows are not to be milked and bulls are not to be made to carry burdens this day. This is to be done in the morning of Kārtika pratipad. If it be mixed up with [526] the 2nd it should not be done on that day as that would lead to the death of one's sons, wife and loss of wealth, but this should be observed when pratipad is mixed with amāvāsyā. Devala prescribes this and remarks that by the worship of cows three prosper, viz. people, cows and the king. As regards Govardhana-pūjā, those who are in the vicinity of Govar-

524. बलिराज्ये दीपदानात्सदा लक्ष्मीः स्थिरा भवेत्। दीपैर्नीराजनादत्र सैषा दीपावली स्मृता। बलिराज्यं समासाद्य यैर्न दीपावली कृता। तेषां गृहे कथं दीपा प्रज्वलिष्यन्ति केशव॥ धर्मसिन्धु p. 106, पु. चि. pp. 243–244. बलिराज्य extends over three days from the 14th. पुरा वामनरूपेण प्रार्थयित्वा धरामिमाम्। ददावतिथिरिन्द्राय बलिं पातालवासिनम्। कृत्वा दैत्यपतेर्दत्तमहोरात्रत्रयं नृप। q. by का. त. वि. p. 315. The printed भविष्योत्तर (140. 1–2) reads 'इन्द्राय दत्तवान् राज्यं ... दैत्यपतेर्वासमहोरात्रं पुनर्नृप॥'.

525. अस्यां प्रतिपदि बलिपूजा दीपोत्सवो गोक्रीडनं गोवर्धनपूजा मार्गपालीबन्धनं वष्टिकाकर्षणं नववस्त्रादिधारणाद्युत्सवो द्यूतं नारीकर्तृकं नीराजनं मङ्गलमालिका चेत्येवमादीनि कृत्यानि। धर्मसिन्धु p. 106. लक्ष्मीर्या लोकपालानां धेनुरूपेण संस्थिता। घृतं वहति यज्ञार्थे मम पापं व्यपोहतु॥ अग्रतः सन्तु मे गावो गावो मे सन्तु पृष्ठतः। गावो मे हृदये सन्तु गवां मध्ये वसाम्यहम्॥ पद्म VI. 124. 31–33. q. by धर्मसिन्धु p. 107, नि. सि. p. 202. For praise of cows and gomatī-vidyā, vide H. of Dh. IV. p. 108 and Agnipurāṇa 292. 14–20, and Viṣṇudharmottara II chap. 42.

526. प्रतिपद्दर्शसंयोगे क्रीडनं तु गवां मतम्। परविद्धेषु यः कुर्यात्पुत्रदारधनक्षयः। या कुहूः प्रतिपन्मिश्रा तत्र गाः पूजयेन्नृप। पूजने त्रीणि वर्धन्ते प्रजा गावो महीपतिः॥ इति देवलवचनात्। का. त. वि. 321, नि. सि. p. 20 (taking 2nd verse from निर्णयामृत).

dhana (a hill near Mathurā) should go to it and worship in the morning, while others not near it should prepare a Govardhana with cowdung or with heaps of cooked food or draw it in a picture and worship it along with Gopāla (Kṛṣṇa) and offer all the 16 upacāras to Govardhana and Gopāla (Kṛṣṇa) with mantras which pointedly refer to Kṛṣṇa's giving protection to the settlement of cowherds (Gokula) against the heavy downpour of rain to the discomfiture of Indra. The saṅkalpa is given in the note.[527] The naivedya is to be on a grand scale. Therefore, the Smṛtikaustubha (p. 174) states that Govardhana-pūjā[528] is called Annakūṭa (heap or hill of food) in Padma-purāṇa. Vide Var. 164 for Govardhana and Annakūṭaparikrama. The Dharmasindhu provides that a *homa* should be performed with the two verses 'ā gāvo agman' (Ṛg. VI. 28. 1) and 'praite vadantu' (Ṛg. X. 94. 1). Mukerji (pp. 150–152) describes how Govardhana-pūjā is carried on in some out-of-the way rural tracts in United Provinces, though it has become altogether defunct elsewhere. Vide I. A. vol. 60 pp. 187–190 and vol. 61 pp. 1 ff and pp. 231 ff for description of the Gāyadāṇṛ festival observed in Bihar, Orissa and some other parts on Kārtika first of bright half in the afternoon in which cows gaily stamped with circular stains of red and blue on their skin and horns glistening with oil and red ochre chased a puny pig with their pointed horns and killed it.

In the afternoon of the pratipad (Kārtika-śukla) the tying of Mārgapālī takes place.[529] A rope of kuśas or kāśas (Saccharum spontaneum) should be made according to the usage of one's family and tied to a tall pole and a tree in the east; one should bow to it and offer a prayer to it with the mantra (quoted in the note 529) and all including the king and brāhmaṇas accompanied by cows, elephants and the like should pass by the

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527. श्रीकृष्णप्रीत्यर्थं गोवर्धनपूजनगोपालपूजनात्मकं महोत्सवं करिष्ये—इति सङ्कल्प्य। धर्मसिन्धु p. 107.

528. For Govardhana, vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 691 and 754. The story of Kṛṣṇa having lifted up on his little finger Govardhana for seven days to protect cowherds and their cattle against the heavy rains sent down by Indra is narrated in Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 11. 15–25, Varāha 164.

529. The भविष्योत्तर 140. 46–47 are–मार्गपालीं प्रबध्नीयात्तुङ्गस्तम्भेषु पादपे। कुशकाशमयीं दिव्यां सम्भवे बहुभिर्वृताम्...मार्गपालीतलेनेत्थं हयागावो गजा वृषाः। राजानो राजपुत्राश्च ब्राह्मणाः शूद्रजातयः। मार्गपालीं समुल्लङ्घ्य नीरुजः स्यात् सुखी सदा।. The same occur in पद्म VI. 124. 44–45. मार्गपालि नमस्तेऽस्तु सर्वलोकसुखप्रदे। विधेयैः पुत्रदाराद्यैः पुनरेहि व्रतस्य मे। q. by नि. सि. p. 202, धर्मसिन्धु p. 108. The first half is पद्म VI. 124. 44.

way underneath the rope. In the same way a strong rope of kāśas or the like should be made and a tug of war should ensue, the rope being frequently pulled on one side by the princes and on the other by persons of lower castse. The pulling of the rope should be done in front of a temple or the palace or where four roads meet and an equal number of strong men should be selected for each side. A line should be drawn behind each side. If the persons of lower castes succeed in drawing the other side towards them then it should be held that the king will be victorious thereafter for one year.[530] The Nīrājana ceremony by women should be performed in the morning (if the pratipad is mixed with dvitīyā) and the Maṅgalamālikā (a series of auspicious rites or auspicious garlands) should be performed in the evening on the 2nd tithi (if pratipad exists only for a short time and is followed by dvitīyā).[531]

As shown above, the three days from Āśvina-kṛṣṇa 14th are spoken of as days of *Kaumudīmahotsava*.[532] The Bhaviṣyottara and Padma derive the word Kaumudī from 'ku' (earth) and the root 'mud' to be delighted, the meaning being 'in which people find delight on the earth among themselves' and then another etymology is suggested, viz. kumudas (white water lilies) are offered to Bali in this festival.

In the Vedic period and for some centuries thereafter certain rites were performed in the month of Āśvina or in Śarad such as the Āśvayujī and Āgrayaṇa or Navasasyeṣṭi. The first is one of the seven pākayajñas mentioned by Gautama-dharmasūtra (VIII. 19). The first was performed on the Full Moon day of Āśvina. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 827 for a description of Āśvayujī and pp. 827–29 for Āgrayaṇa. But it is not possible to trace the Divāḷī festival to these rites. How the Divāḷī rites first arose cannot be stated with any approach to

530. कुशकाशमयीं कुर्याद्वष्टिकां सुदृढां नवाम्। तामेकतो राजपुत्रा हीनवर्णास्तथान्यतः। गृहीत्वा कर्षयेयुस्तां यथासारं मुहुर्मुहुः। जयेऽत्र हीनजातीनां जयो राज्ञस्तु वत्सरम्। आदित्यपुराण q. by नि. सि. p. 202; vide व्रतराज p. 74 which furnishes more details.

531. कार्तिके शुक्लपक्षे तु विधानद्वितयं हि तत्। नारीनीराजनं प्रातः सायं मङ्गलमालिका॥ अथ चेत्प्रतिपत्स्वल्पा नारीनीराजनं भवेत्। द्वितीयायां तदा कुर्यात् सायं मङ्गलमालिकाम्। ब्रह्मपुराण q. by हे. (on काल p. 615), नि. सि. p. 202, का. त. वि. p. 322. (first verse).

532. कुशब्देन मही ज्ञेया मुदी हर्षे ततः परम्। धातुज्ञैर्नैगमज्ञैश्च तेनैषा कौमुदी स्मृता॥ कौ मोदन्ते जना यस्यां नानाभावैः परस्पराः। हृष्टास्तुष्टाः सुखायत्तास्तेनैषा कौमुदी स्मृता। कुमुदानि बलेर्यस्माद्दीयन्तेऽस्यां युधिष्ठिर। अर्थार्थे पार्थ भूमौ च तेनैषा कौमुदी स्मृता॥ भविष्योत्तर 140. 61–64. पद्म VI. 124. 61–64.

plausibility. In the Anuśāsana parva it is said that the donor of lamps shines in the heavens like a row of lights (dīpapradaḥ svarga-loke dīpamāleva rājate, 98.51). Some writers regard these as a reference to the Divālī. But it is not so clear as to place the matter beyond doubt. In I. A. vol. 32 pp. 237–239 Mr. B. A. Gupte contributed a paper on 'Divaḷi folklore'. He refers to the several legends and characteristics connected with the Divāḷī, viz. the killing of Narakāsura, depriving Bali of his empire, the crowning of Rāma and Vikrama in these days of Divāḷī and illuminations and says that the origin must be sought in the movement of the earth round the sun, the change of season, the end of the rice crop and the manuring of soil for the second crop. The connection he traces is rather remote and somewhat fantastic and I am afraid that his theory of origins will appeal to very few in these days.

On the 2nd of the bright half of Kārtika occurs a very fine festival called Bhrātṛdvitīyā or Yamadvitīyā. The Bhaviṣya states:[533] 'on the 2nd tithi of Kārtika bright half Yama was treated by Yamunā to a dinner in her house; therefore this tithi became declared in the world as Yamadvitīyā; wise men should not take mid-day meal in their own houses but they should take food from the hands of the sister through affection, as doing so increases one's welfare or prosperity. Gifts should be made to sisters; all sisters should be honoured with golden ornaments, clothes, reception and meals; but if there be no sister, one should honour a woman whom he regards as sister (uncle's or aunt's daughter or a friend's sister).' The digests add further details. One should[534] do worship to Yama and Yamunā and to Citragupta, and brothers and sisters should offer *arghya* (water in token of respectful reception) to Yama. The procedure is briefly this. In the morning the sister should invite the brother, make him

533. कार्तिके शुक्लपक्षस्य द्वितीयायां युधिष्ठिर। यमो यमुनया पूर्वं भोजितः स्वगृहे स्वयम्। ... ततो यमद्वितीयेयं प्रोक्ता लोके युधिष्ठिर। अस्यां निजगृहे पार्थ न भोक्तव्यमतो बुधैः। स्नेहेन भगिनीहस्ताद्भोक्तव्यं पुष्टिवर्धनम्। दानानि च प्रदेयानि भगिनीभ्यो विधानतः। स्वर्णालङ्कारवस्त्राद्यैः पूजासत्कारभोजनैः। सर्वा भगिन्यः सम्पूज्या अभावे प्रतिपन्नगाः। भविष्योत्तर 14. 18–23. Almost the same verses occur in पद्म VI. 124. 88–93 and in स्कन्द acc. to पु. चि. p. 82.

534. यमं च यमुनां चैव चित्रगुप्तं च पूजयेत्। अर्घ्यश्चात्र प्रदातव्यो यमाय सहजद्वयैः॥ q. by हे. (on व्रत vol. I. pp. 384–385), का. वि. p. 405, कृ. र. 413, व. क्रि. कौ. pp. 477–478, ति. त. p. 29, नि. सि. p. 203, कृत्यतत्त्व p. 453. All these contain almost the same verses with some variations. ति. त. p. 29 quotes some of these from महाभारत.

take at mid-day a bath with scented water and unguents rubbed on his body; she along with the brother should worship Yama and Yamunā with arghya and offer handfuls of flowers. The arghya mantra is[535] 'Come, come, O Yama, son of the Sun; you that carry in your hand a noose; accept this worship offered on Bhrātṛdvitīyā and also arghya; salutation to you!' Then two more mantras may be addressed.[536] 'O Dharmarāja, salutation to you, the elder brother of Yamunā; O son of the Sun, protect me along with your servants; salutation to you. Salutation to you, O Yamunā, sister of Yama and honoured by people; always confer on me favours, O daughter of the Sun, salutation to you!' After this she serves food to her brother with the verse 'Brother! I was born after you; partake of this pure food for pleasing Yama, particularly Yamunā'. If the sister be older than the brother she should say 'I was born before you'. Then after the brother finishes his meal she should deck him with sandalwood paste and then herself partake of the food. Some works like the Vratarāja (pp. 78–91) present a far more elaborate procedure, which is passed over here but two matters provided for by it may be mentioned. The first is that a person before going to his sister's house should mutter ten names of Yama (quoted in note[537]). The second is that the sister is to worship images of Yama and of eight mythological personages (Mārkaṇḍeya, Bali and others) supposed to be immortal for the increase of her brother's life.[538] In modern times hardly any religious ceremony is performed except that residents of places near or on the banks of the Yamunā river (Jumna) bathe in the Jumna and there is a *mela* on the river on this day. The only thing generally done is the brother's visiting his sister, dining at her house, light being waved before him and his making some presents to the sister.

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535. अर्घ्यमन्त्रस्तु । एह्येहि मार्तण्डज पाशहस्त यमान्तकालोकधरामरेश । भ्रातृद्वितीयाकृतदेवपूजां गृहाण चार्घ्यं भगवन्नमस्ते ॥ कृत्यतत्त्व p. 453, नि. सि. 203.

536. धर्मराज नमस्तेऽस्तु नमस्ते यमुनाग्रज । पाहि मां किङ्करैः सार्धं सूर्यपुत्र नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ यमस्वसुर्नमस्तेऽस्तु यमुने लोकपूजिते । वरदा भव मे नित्यं सूर्यपुत्रि नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ q. by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 478, कृत्यतत्त्व 453.

537. यमो निहन्ता पितृधर्मराजो वैवस्वतो दण्डधरश्च कालः । भूताधिपो दत्तकृतानुसारी कृतान्त एतद्दशनामभिर्जपेत् । व्रतराज pp. 79–80.

538. भ्रातुरायुष्यवृद्ध्यर्थं भगिनीभिर्यमस्य वै । पूजनीयाः प्रयत्नेन प्रतिमाश्च विधानतः । मार्कण्डेयो बलिर्व्यासो हनूमांश्च बिभीषणः । कृपो द्रौणिः परशुराम एतेऽष्टौ चिरजीविनः । मार्कण्डेय महाभाग सप्तकल्पान्तजीवन । चिरंजीवी यथा त्वं हि तथा मे भ्रातरं कुरु ॥ व्रतराज p. 81.

This festival of Bhrātṛdvitīyā is really an independent one, but it was probably tacked on to the three festive days of Divāḷī in order to lengthen out the days of fun and joy. Sisters, when after their marriage they leave their brother's home, may not meet for years and further the sister may have become rich and the brother a poor man or *vice versa.* Our ancient writers evinced a keen appreciation of the bonds of disinterested affection between brothers and sisters and set apart a day in the year for their meeting to enable them to go over their sweet memories of childhood and to re-live for a day at least their early life which had gone forever. A religious tinge was added to the festival by recalling the two mythical personalities of Yama and Yamī, that figure in the famous Yama–Yamī hymn (Ṛg. X. 10). I should like to digress a little and strongly protest against the conclusion drawn by certain Western Sanskrit scholars that the hymn is an indication of the prevalence of the usage of the marriage of a brother and a sister among ancient Aryans. The hymn is a purely imaginative effort 'which bodies forth the forms of things unknown', as in the case of Ṛg. X. 119 where the poet imagines what Indra must have felt when treated to huge portions of Soma beverage. In Ṛg. X. 10.10[539] the sage makes it clear that in *future* ages something like what was delineated in his fantasy might occur (namely, sisters might do unsisterly acts). Macdonell in his 'Vedic Mythology' (pp. 172–173) indulges in some facile assumptions. Yama may be an Indo–Iranian divinity, but Yamī does not occur in the Avesta at all, as he himself admits, but only in later Parsi writings. Therefore, what is stated in these later writings should not be foisted upon the sages of the Ṛgveda. He supposes that the sage in Ṛg. X. 10 indulges in propaganda for exonerating Yama from incest. Propaganda is well-known to Western countries in the 19th and 20th centuries A. D. The Ṛgveda nowhere states that the human race was produced from Yama and Yamī. There is no warrant for saying that Yamī is Indo-Iranian and consequently the myth of the human race being born from a brother and sister is not Indo-Iranian. Pargiter in AIHT (p. 70) follows the ball set rolling by Macdonell and others and boldly asserts that, when the Vāyu (in 93. 12) says that Nahuṣa had six sons born of pitṛkanyā, Virajā, the word pitṛkanyā means 'sister' and Nahuṣa married his 'sister or half sister'

539. आ घा ता गच्छानुत्तरा युगानि यत्र जामयः कृणवन्नजामि। ऋ. X. 10. 10. 'Those later ages might come when sisters might do what is not sister–like.'

and that union between brother and sister was not unknown as Ṛgveda X. 10 about Yama and Yamī shows. One suspects the motives of a writer like Pargiter who held high judicial office in India, when he does not explain why 'pitṛkanyā' was used and not 'svasṛ', when he pays no heed to the fact that in many places in Vāyu (72. 5, 73. 1–2, 26, 36, 40, 45, 77. 74) Menā, Acchodā, Pīvarī, Gauḥ, Yaśodā, Virajā herself, Narmadā and Gandhakālī are spoken of as 'pitṛṇām mānasī kanyā', that Vāyu (72), Matsya (13. 2–9) and other Purāṇas speak of seven groups of pītṛs and set out how from the mind-born daughters of pitṛs several scions were born. Virajā (described as pitṛkanyā in Vāyu 93. 12 which Pargiter naively renders as father's daughter i. e. sister) is spoken of in the same Purāṇa (Vāyu 73. 45) as the 'mind-born daughter' of these (i. e. of Pitṛs) in the plural and not as 'of the father'. Writers like Pargiter sometimes create more riddles by their so-called research than they can be said to have solved.

The Padma asserts that those who please their married sisters with presents of clothes and the like are not subject to any quarrel for a year, nor to danger from enemies. Both Bhaviṣyottara and Padma state 'He who eats a meal prepared by his sister's hand on the day on which king Yama was served in this world a meal by Yamunā through affection secures wealth and the best of foods'.

In Vedic times and in early smṛtis like those of Manu (II. 11) and Yāj. (I. 53) it was difficult for a brotherless maiden to get married (vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 435). But from this it is a far cry to say that the Bhrātṛdvitīyā owes its origin to this idea or practice.

CHAPTER XI

Makarasaṅkrānti and Mahāśivarātri

Makara-Saṅkrānti. This is a very important religious observance and festival. About 70 years ago (in the author's boyhood) it occurred on the 12th or 13th January according to the several Indian almanacs then current, but now it falls, owing to the precession of the equinoxes, on the 13th or the 14th of January in the month of Pauṣa. Saṅkrānti means 'the (apparent) passage of the sun from one rāśi (sign of the Zodiac) to the next following' and hence the rāśi in which the Sun enters is designated as the Saṅkrānti of that name.[540] When the Sun leaves the rāśi called Dhanus and enters the Makara-rāśi that is called Makarasaṅkrānti. The rāśis are twelve and the Saṅkrānti names with their western equivalents are given in the note.[541] There are only twelve saṅkrāntis even if there be an intercalary month in some year. Everyone of the twelve saṅkrāntis was regarded as a holy day. The Matsya-purāṇa (chap. 98) deals with the completion of Saṅkrānti-vrata. Briefly, it provides that on the day previous a person, whether male or female, should take food only once in the noon and on the Saṅkrānti day should brush his teeth and then take a bath with water mixed with sesame.[542] The person should offer to a self-restrained brāhmaṇa householder three vessels containing edibles together with a cow intending them to be for Yama, Rudra and Dharma and repeat four verses one of which is as follows: "As I do not make any difference between Śiva, Viṣṇu, the Sun and Brahmā, may Śaṅkara (Śiva) who pervades

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540. रवेः संक्रमणं राशौ संक्रान्तिरिति कथ्यते। स्नानदानतपःश्राद्धहोमादिषु महाफला॥ नागरखण्ड q. by हे. on काल p. 410; मेषादिषु द्वादशराशिषु क्रमेण सञ्चरतः सूर्यस्य पूर्वस्माद्राशेरुत्तरराशौ संक्रमणं प्रवेशः संक्रान्तिः। अतस्तद्राशिनामपुरःसरं सा संक्रान्तिर्व्यपदिश्यते। का. नि. p. 331.

541. मेष (Aries, Ram), वृषभ (Taurus, Bull), मिथुन (Gemini, Twins), कर्कट (Cancer, Crab), सिंह (Leo, Lion), कन्या (Virgo, Virgin), तुला (Libra, Balance), वृश्चिक (Scorpio, Scorpion), धनुः (Sagittarius, Archer), मकर (Capricornus, Goat), कुम्भ (Aquarius, water-carrier), मीन (Pisces, Fishes). More details will be given in the next section.

542. The whole of chap. 98 of मत्स्य is quoted in कृत्यकल्पतरु (on व्रत pp. 432–435).

the Universe be always a bestower of welfare on me!'.[543] The person should make, if able, further gifts of ornaments, a bedstead and golden jars (two) to the brāhmaṇa; but, if poor, should offer only fruits to the brāhmaṇa. Then he should take his meal but without oil and should feed others according to his ability. Women also should perform this vrata. Great merit was attached to a bath in the Gaṅges on a saṅkrānti, on an eclipse and on New and Full moon, as such a man reached the world of Brahmā.[544] A bath with ordinary water (not heated) was obligatory (*nitya*) on every saṅkrānti, since the Devīpurāṇa declared:[545] "the man who would not take a bath on the holy day of Saṅkrānti would be for seven lives diseased and poor; whatever offerings are made to gods and pitṛs by men on saṅkrānti are returned to them by the Sun again in several future lives".

It may be stated that in ancient texts the entrance of the Sun alone in a rāśi is not regarded as holy time, but the entrance of all planets in a nakṣatra or rāśi was deemed to be a holy time.[546] Hemādri (on Kāla p. 437) and the Kālanirṇaya (p. 345) quote three verses[547] specifying the holy times (*puṇya-kāla*) of the passage of the Sun and planets as follows: in the case of the Sun the puṇya-kāla is 16 ghaṭikās before and after the moment of the Saṅkrānti; for the moon it is one ghaṭī and thirteen *palas* on both sides, for Mars four ghaṭikās and one pala, for Mercury three ghaṭikās and 14 palas, for Jupiter[548] four

543. यथा भेदं न पश्यामि शिवविष्ण्वर्कपद्मजान्। तथा ममास्तु विश्वात्मा शङ्करः शङ्करः सदा॥ मत्स्य 98. 17. The 2nd word शङ्कर means शं कल्याणं करोति.

544. संक्रान्त्यां पक्षयोरन्ते ग्रहणे चन्द्रसूर्ययोः। गङ्गास्नातो नरः कामाद् ब्रह्मणः सदनं व्रजेत्॥ भविष्य q. by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 514.

545. रविसंक्रमणे पुण्ये न स्नायाद्यस्तु मानवः। सप्तजन्मन्यसौ रोगी निर्धनश्चोपजायते। संक्रान्तौ यानि दत्तानि हव्यकव्यानि मानवैः। तानि नित्यं ददात्यर्कः पुनर्जन्मानि जन्मनि॥ देवीपुराण q. by का. वि. p. 380, का. नि. p. 333 (ascribes to शातातप), व. क्रि. कौ. (pp. 214, 212) quotes the first verse from राजमार्तण्ड. Both verses occur in रा. मा. folio 81 b verses 1406–7; vide Annals of BORI, vol. XXXVI., p. 336.

546. न केवलमादित्यस्यैव संक्रमायने पुण्यकालः किं तु सर्वेषामपि ग्रहाणां नक्षत्रराशिसंक्रमे पुण्यकालो भवति। का. नि. p. 345.

547. हे. on काल p. 437 quotes the verses from जैमिनि, while का. नि. quotes from simply ज्योतिःशास्त्र.

548. There is a unique grant on Jupiter's entrance into Vṛṣabha (Taurus) in the Lucknow Museum plate of Kīrtipāla in Vikrama year 1167 (11th February 1111 A. D.) in E. I. VII. p. 93. There are many grants

(*Continued on next page*)

ghaṭikās and 37 palas, for Venus four ghaṭikās and one pala, for Saturn 82 ghaṭikās and 7 palas.

Though the planets also have saṅkrāntis, later writers hold that the word *saṅkrānti* by itself means only Ravi-saṅkrānti, as stated by the Smṛti-kaustubha p. 531.[549]

The twelve Saṅkrāntis in the year are grouped into four classes, viz. there are two *ayana* saṅkrāntis (that is Makara-saṅkrānti from which *udagayana* starts and Karkaṭa-saṅkrānti from which Dakṣiṇāyana starts), two Viṣuva saṅkrāntis (that is, Meṣa and Tulā saṅkrāntis when the day and night are equal in length), the four saṅkrāntis called Ṣaḍaśīti or Ṣaḍasīti-mukha (i. e. Mithuna, Kanyā, Dhanus and Mīna) and Viṣṇupadī or Viṣṇupada (that is, Vṛṣabha, Siṁha, Vṛścika and Kumbha)[550]

Saṅkrānti gradually came to be deified and the Devīpurāṇa identified it with Durgā herself. The Devīpurāṇa says 'Devī is

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(*Continued from last page*)

made on the Sun's saṅkrāntis. For example, vide E. I. vol. VII. p. 85 (Kahla plate of Kalacuri Soḍhadeva, grant being made on 24th December 1077 A. D.), E. I. XII p. 142 (Nilgunda plates of western Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI in 1087 A. D.), both on उत्तरायणसंक्रान्ति; E. I. XIV. p. 324 (grant of village in honour of Buddha on Viṣuva saṅkrānti to a brāhmaṇa by Mahīpāla I king of Bengal).

549. सर्वग्रहाणां राश्यन्तरसङ्क्रमणवाचिनोपि सङ्क्रान्तिशब्दस्य-सङ्क्रान्तेः पुण्यकालस्तु षोडशोभयतः कलाः-इत्यादि शास्त्रे रविसंक्रमणमात्रपरत्वम्। स्मृतिकौ. p. 531. 'संक्रान्ते...कलाः' is a verse of जाबाल (q. by कृ. र. p. 614, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 95, from ब्रह्मवैवर्त).

550. पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका III. 23-24 (p. 9) defines these 'मेषतुलादौ विषुवत् षडशीतिमुखं तुलादिभागेषु। षडशीतिमुखेषु रवेः पितृदिवसा येऽवशेषाः स्युः॥ षडशीतिमुखं कन्याचतुर्दशेऽष्टादशे च मिथुनस्य। मीनस्य द्वाविंशे षड्विंशे कार्मुकस्यांशे॥'. तुला आदिर्यस्याः सा तुलादिः कन्या। द्वादशैव भवन्त्येषां द्विज नामानि मे शृणु। एकं विष्णुपदं नाम षडशीतिमुखं तथा॥ विषुवं च तृतीयं च अन्ये द्वे दक्षिणोत्तरे। कुम्भालिगोहरिषु विष्णुपदं वदन्ति स्त्रीचापमीनमिथुने षडशीतिवक्त्रम्। अर्कस्य सौम्यमयनं शशिधाम्नि याम्यमृक्षे झषे विषुवति त्वजतौलिनोः स्यात्॥ ब्रह्मवैवर्त q. by हे. on काल p. 407. Some words require explanation. अलि = वृश्चिक, गो = वृषभ, हरि = सिंह, स्त्री = कन्या, चाप = धनुः, शशिधाम्नि = शशिगृहे = कर्कटके, सौम्यमयनं = उत्तरायणं, याम्य = दक्षिणायन (यम is the lord of the south), झष = मकर, अज = मेष, तौली (one holding a balance) = तुला. Similar verses are quoted by हे. (on काल p. 408) from वसिष्ठ, which are quoted as from वृद्धवसिष्ठ by का. नि. p. 332. Some of these verses of वसिष्ठ are the same in अग्निपुराण as quoted by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 204. The राजमार्तण्ड (Annals BORI, vol. XXXVI, p. 338 verse 275) defines षडशीति and विष्णुपदी. For mention of Ṣaḍaśītimukha-saṅkrānti in an epigraphic record, vide Canarese Ins. of Devagiri Yādava king Mahādeva in śake 1185 (= Sunday 27th May 1263 A. D.) in I. A. vol. 25 p. 346.

all-pervading on account of the division into very small and large parts in the form of year, *ayana*, season, month, fortnight, day and the like. Devī bestows rewards in accordance with the divisions into meritorious and sinful (actions).[551] Even one act done at that time (of Saṅkrānti) yields results multiplied crores of times. From dharma (righteous acts) increase life, kingdom, progeny, happiness and the like, from *adharma* (unrighteous conduct) spring diseases, sorrows and the like; whatever is donated and whatever japa is performed near (i. e. at the time of) Viṣuva (Meṣa and Tulā) saṅkrāntis and at the *ayana* (Makara and Karkaṭa saṅkrāntis) becomes inexhaustible; the same holds good about Viṣṇupada and Ṣaḍaśīti-mukha '.

The exact moment of time when the sun leaves one rāśi and enters the next following rāśi is impossible of being marked by the eyes of flesh (ordinary human eyes). Therefore thirty ghaṭikās before and after the moment of Saṅkrānti are said to be the time.[552]

In order to convey how infinitesimally small is the time of the Sun's entrance into a rāśi after leaving another the Devīpurāṇa has[553] the following: " thirtieth part of the time taken by the throb of the eye of a man sitting happily at ease is called 'tatpara'; one hundredth part of 'tatpara' is called 'truṭi'; one hundredth part of 'truṭi' is the (duration of) time of the sun's

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551. समायनऋतुमासपक्षाहादिक्रमेण तु। स्थूलसूक्ष्मविभागेन देवी सर्वगता विभो। ... पुण्यपापविभागेन फलं देवी प्रयच्छति। एकधापि कृतं तस्मिन्कोटिकोटिगुणं भवेत्। धर्माद्विवर्धते ह्यायू राज्यं पुत्रसुखादयः। अधर्माद् व्याधिशोकादि विषुवायनसंनिधौ। विषुवेषु च यज्जप्तं दत्तं भवति चाक्षयम्। एवं विष्णुपदे चैव षडशीतिमुखेषु च॥ देवीपुराण q. by हे. (on काल pp. 418–419), कृ. र. pp. 614-615. कृत्यकल्प० (नैयत०) quotes all verses from पुण्यपापविभागेन on p. 361 and the first verse on p. 362.

552. तदाह देवलः। संक्रान्तिसमयः सूक्ष्मो दुर्ज्ञेयः पिशितेक्षणैः। तद्योगाद्प्यधश्चोर्ध्वं त्रिंशन्नाड्यः पवित्रिताः॥ इति। देशाव्यवधानादत्यन्तसंश्लिष्टयोः पूर्वोत्तरराश्योर्मध्ये सूर्यः पूर्वराशिं परित्यज्य यावता काललेशेनोत्तरराशिं प्रविशति स लेशो योगदृष्टिं विना मांसदृष्ट्या दुर्लक्ष्यः। अतोऽनुष्ठाने मुख्यसंक्रान्तिकालासंभवात् संक्रान्तिसम्बन्धिनौ पूर्वोत्तरकालौ ग्रहीतव्यौ। का. नि. p. 333; हे. (on काल p. 417) attributes this verse to वसिष्ठ and explains त्रिंशन्नाड्यः in two ways 'अधश्च त्रिंशन्नाड्यः ऊर्ध्वं च त्रिंशन्नाड्यः पुण्यकालः। यद्वा त्रिंशन्नाड्यः पूर्वं पञ्चदश पश्चात्पञ्चदशेति ज्ञेयम्।'.

553. स्वस्थे नरे सुखासीने यावत्स्पन्दति लोचनम्। तस्य त्रिंशत्तमो भागस्तत्परः परिकीर्तितः। तत्पराच्छतशो भागस्त्रुटिरित्यभिधीयते। त्रुटेः सहस्रभागो यः स कालो रविसङ्क्रमे॥ देवीपुराण q. by कृत्यकल्प० (नैयत०) p. 365, हे. (on काल) p. 416, का. वि. p. 382, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 205. व्रतकालविवेक (I. H. Q. vol. 17 No 4 Supplement p. 23) quotes त्रुटेः ... सङ्क्रमे and remarks: इत्युक्तसंक्रान्तिकालस्यातिसूक्ष्मत्वेन कर्मानर्हतया सङ्क्रान्तिपदस्य लक्षणया तत्परत्वात्।

passage (from one rāśi into another). As it is not possible to perform on such an infinitesimally small point of time the rites prescribed for performance on saṅkrānti, one has to accept periods of time near this moment as the proper time. The first rule is that the nearer[554] the ghaṭikās are to the time of actual entrance the holier they are. Therefore it is laid down that in saṅkrāntis the puṇyatama-kāla (holiest time) is sevenfold[555] viz. three, four, five, seven, eight, nine or twelve ghaṭikās; during those periods real merit is accumulated. If one cannot perform the prescribed rites within these limits thirty ghaṭikās are permitted as the highest limit in the texts for the *puṇyakāla* (holy time) for all saṅkrāntis except Ṣaḍaśīti (in which the maximum puṇyakāla is 60 ghaṭikās) and Viṣṇupadī (where it is 16 ghaṭikās before and after).[556]

Each of these twelve saṅkrāntis in the year is seven-fold (i. e. has seven different names) according as it occurs on a particular week day or in conjunction with certain classes of nakṣatras. The seven names[557] are: Mandā, Mandākinī, Dhvāṅkṣī, Ghorā, Mahodarī, Rākṣasī, and Miśritā. A saṅkrānti (such as Meṣa or Karka or Makara) is called Ghorā if it occurs on Sunday, Dhvāṅkṣī on Monday, Mahodarī on Tuesday, Mandākinī on Wednesday, Mandā on Thursday, Miśritā on Friday and Rākṣasī on Saturday. Again, a saṅkrānti (like Meṣa or Karka and so on) is called respectively Mandā, Mandākinī, Dhvāṅkṣī Ghorā, Mahodarī, Rākṣasī, Miśritā according as it commences respectively on nakṣatras called dhruva, mṛdu, kṣipra, ugra,

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554. या या सन्निहिता नाड्यस्तास्ताः पुण्यतमाः स्मृताः। शातातप q. by हे. on काल p. 420. का. नि. p. 334 (ascribes to देवल), ति. त. p. 144 (ascribes to देवल); स. म. p. 137 (शातातप).

555. त्रिचतुःपञ्चसप्ताष्टनवद्वादश एव च क्रमेण घटिका ह्येतास्तत्पुण्यं पारमार्थिकम्॥ देवीपुराण q. by हे. on काल p. 409, कृ. र. p. 613, का. नि. p. 341 (reads द्विचतुः°), व. क्रि. कौ. p. 208; तत्पुण्यं means तस्मिन् पुण्यं and पारमार्थिक means 'undoubtedly' or मुख्यं फलं as कृत्यकल्प° explains in नैयतकाल p. 360.

556. केनापि निमित्तेन संनिहितघटिकास्वनुष्ठानासम्भवे त्रिंशद्घटिकाः परमावधित्वेनाभ्यनुज्ञायन्ते। षडशीतिषु ततोपि दीर्घमवधिमाह वृद्धवसिष्ठः। षडशीत्यामतीतायां षष्टिरुक्तास्तु नाडिकाः। इति। विष्णुपद्यां प्रशस्तकालं स एवाह। पुण्यायां विष्णुपद्यां च प्राक् पश्चादपि षोडश। इति। का. नि. p. 334.

557. सप्तधा सा तु बोद्धव्या एकैकैव यथा शृणु। मन्दा मन्दाकिनी ध्वाङ्क्षी घोरा चैव महोदरी। राक्षसी मिश्रिता प्रोक्ता संक्रान्तिः सप्तधा नृप। सूर्ये घोरा विधौ ध्वांक्षी भौमवारे महोदरी। बुधे मन्दाकिनी नाम मन्दा सुरपुरोहिते। मिश्रिता शुक्रवारे स्याद्राक्षसी च शनैश्चरे। देवीपुराण q. by हे. (on काल) p. 408–409, का. नि. pp. 340–341 (only the first $1\frac{1}{2}$ verses), स. म. p. 137; कृत्यकल्प° (नैयत°) p. 360 quotes the first $1\frac{1}{2}$ verses.

cara, krūra, miśrita. Vide note below[558] for the nakṣatras falling under these 7 groups. It is further provided that the ghaṭikās from two (or three) to twelve said to be the holiest times (in note 555 above) are to be taken as respectively referring to the seven kinds of saṅkrānti i. e. two or three ghaṭikās is the holiest time in Mandā saṅkrānti, four ghaṭikās in Mandākinī saṅkrānti and so on. It is laid down that Mandā saṅkrānti is beneficial to brāhmaṇas, Mandākinī to kṣatriyas, Dhvāṅkṣī to vaiśyas, Ghorā to śūdras, Mahodarī to thieves, Rākṣasī brings success to vendors of liquor and Miśritā increases the (profit of the) avocations of Cāṇḍālas, Pukkasas, of those whose business is of a terrible nature and of all craftsmen (vide Hemādri on Kāla pp. 409–410 and Varṣakriyā-kaumudī p. 210 quoting Devīpurāṇa).

There is some conflict on the question of the general rule about the extent of *puṇyakāla* on a saṅkrānti. Śātātapa,[559] Jābāla and Marīci prescribe the sixteen ghaṭikās before and after the moment of Saṅkrānti as the puṇyakāla for the performance of the religious acts prescribed on Saṅkrānti. On the other hand, the Devīpurāṇa[560] and Vasiṣṭha lay down fifteen ghaṭikās each before and after saṅkrānti as the puṇyakāla. This conflict is removed in various ways. One is to hold that the Devīpurāṇa is not restrictive but what it means is only this that lesser limits are meant to indicate that greater merit results by

558. The 27 or 28 नक्षत्रs are arranged in 7 groups as follows:— ध्रुव (or स्थिर)–उत्तराफल्गुनी, उत्तराषाढा, उत्तराभाद्रपदा, रोहिणी; मृदु–अनुराधा, चित्रा, रेवती, मृगशीर्ष; क्षिप्र (or लघु)–हस्त, अश्विनी, पुष्य, अभिजित्; उग्र–पूर्वाफल्गुनी, पूर्वाषाढा, पूर्वाभाद्रपदा, भरणी, मघा; चर–पुनर्वसु, श्रवण, धनिष्ठा, स्वाती, शतभिषक्; क्रूर (or तीक्ष्ण)–मूल, ज्येष्ठा, आर्द्रा, आश्लेषा; मिश्रित (or मृदुतीक्ष्ण or साधारण)–कृत्तिका, विशाखा. Vide बृहत्संहिता 98. 6–11 (Kern's ed.) for these lists and कृत्यकल्प (नैयत०) p. 361, हे. on काल p. 409, का. नि. p. 341–342, स. म. p. 137; बृहत्संहिता 98.9 and कृत्यकल्प० (नैयत०) do not mention अभिजित् among लघु group.

559. शातातपः। अर्वाक् षोडश विज्ञेया नाड्यः पश्चाच्च षोडश। कालः पुण्योऽर्कसंक्रान्ते विद्वद्भिः परिकीर्तितः॥ जाबालः। संक्रान्तौ पुण्यकालस्तु षोडशोभयतः कलाः। मरीचिः। नाड्यः षोडश पूर्वेण संक्रान्तेरपरेण याः। राहोर्दर्शनमात्रेण पुण्यकालः प्रकीर्तितः॥ कृत्यकल्प० (नैयत०) pp. 361–362, 365, हे. (on काल p. 417), का. वि. p. 382 (ascribes the last verse to वैवस्वत), व. क्रि. कौ p. 207 (omits the last verse).

560. अतीतानागतो भोगो नाड्यः पञ्चदश स्मृताः। देवीपुराण q. by कृत्यकल्प० (नैयत०) p. 360, हे. (on काल) p. 418, स. म. p. 137. भोग is explained by हे. as 'संक्रान्तौ निमित्ते विहितस्य स्नानदानादेर्निषिद्धस्य वाध्ययनादेः पालनं भोगः' observance of bath and gifts prescribed for being done on the occasion of Saṅkrānti and not engaging in Vedic study which is forbidden; कृत्यकल्प० explains भोगः as व्याप्तिः.

their observance. Another explanation was to hold that the limit of 16 ghaṭikās applied to saṅkrāntis called Viṣṇupadī.

A saṅkrānti may take place by day or at night. If Saṅkrānti occurs by day that whole day is puṇyakāla. If Saṅkrānti occurs by night, lengthy and complicated discussions occur in Hemādri, Mādhava and others. One rule evolved is that in ten saṅkrāntis excluding Makara and Karkaṭa saṅkrāntis the puṇyakāla is by day when those saṅkrāntis occur by night.

Several exceptions are engrafted on tbe general rule about 15 or 16 ghaṭikās before and after a saṅkrānti being the puṇyakāla. Therefore, several works like the Tithitattva (pp. 144–145) and Dharmasindhu (pp. 2–3) give brief final conclusions on this topic. I summarize[560a] the conclusions of the latter work. On the Sun's passage in Meṣa and Tulā the puṇyakāla is fifteen ghaṭikās before and after S (some say ten ghaṭikās); in Vṛṣabha, Siṁha, Vṛścika, Kumbha S, P is sixteen gh. before S; in Mithuna S, Kanyā, Dhanus and Mīna S, P is 16 gh. after S; in Karkaṭa S, P is thirty gh. after S; in Makara S, P is forty gh. after S. If Saṅkrānti occurs by day when a period of two ghaṭikās or less only remains before the close of the day then in the case of Mithuna, Kanyā, Dhanus, Mīna and also Makara saṅkrāntis P is before S for the gh. specified above against each; if S occurs in the morning at a period of two gh. or less from sunrise then in Vṛṣabha, Siṁha, Vṛścika, Kumbha and also Karkaṭa S, P is after S for the period specified above. If S occurs at night but before midnight, P is latter half of the day-time before the S; if S occurs at midnight or later than midnight but in the night, P is on two days viz. the latter half of the daytime before S and the first half of the day after S; this applies to all S except Makara and Karkaṭa. When Uttarāyaṇa begins in Makara in the night P is the day after S and if S begins in Karkaṭa at night P is the day prior; if Makara S occurs at evening twilight (i. e. during three ghaṭikās after sunset) then P is on the previous day; if Karka S occurs in morning twilight (i. e. during three gh. before sunrise) then P is on the day following the S.

This discussion about the puṇyakāla is necessary because a bath is to be taken and gifts are to be made during that time in order to secure the full merit thereof. The general rule is that a

560 a. In this summary S. stands for Saṅkrānti or Śaṅkrāntis, gh. for ghaṭikās, P. for puṇyakāla.

bath is not to be taken and a gift is not to be made at night. Parāśara[561] says 'a bath by day purified by the rays of the Sun is commended; bathing at night is not commended except on seeing an eclipse'. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra says the same. But several exceptions were recognized. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa[562] provides 'one should not take a bath at night and particularly should not make a gift at night, but a bath and a gift may be made at night on proper occasions. A gift at night is commended in an eclipse, marriage, saṅkrānti, pilgrimage, on death, on the birth of a child and at (before sitting down for) hearing *itihāsa* (Mahābhārata)'. Gobhila[563] provides 'people may bathe and make gifts at night in eclipses, saṅkrāntis, marriage, in distress (or death) and on the birth of a child and in vratas undertaken for a desired object'. A bath is therefore obligatory on every saṅkrānti and particularly in Makara-saṅkrānti. There are special recommendations about gifts in Hemādri on Kāla (pp. 414–419) which are taken by him from Viśvāmitra and which are borrowed by Nirṇayasindhu (pp. 4–5), Samaya-mayūkha (pp. 143–144) and others and which are as follows: gift of ram on Meṣa, of cows on Vṛṣabha, of clothes, food and drinks on Mithuna, of ghṛtadhenu[564] on Karkaṭa, of a conveyance with some gold on Siṁha, of clothes and cows on Kanyā, of different kinds of grains and seeds on Tulā, on Vṛścika of clothes and houses, on Dhanus of clothes and conveyances, on Makara

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561. दिवाकरकरैः पूतं दिवा स्नानं प्रशस्यते। अप्रशस्तं निशि स्नानं राहोरन्यत्र दर्शनात्॥ पराशर XII. 20 q. by स्मृतिच. I. p. 120 which remarks; राहुदर्शनं ग्रहण-संक्रान्त्यादेरपि प्रदर्शनार्थम्। न रात्रौ राहुदर्शनवर्जम्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 64. 6.

562. रात्रौ स्नानं न कुर्वीत दानं चैव विशेषतः। नैमित्तिकं च कुर्वीत स्नानं दानं च रात्रिषु॥ ग्रहणोद्वाहसंक्रान्तियात्रार्तिप्रसवेषु च। श्रवणे चेतिहासस्य रात्रौ दानं प्रशस्यते॥ भविष्यत्पुराण q. by हे. on काल p. 433, का. नि. p. 339, which adds one more verse 'यज्ञे विवाहे यात्रायां तथा पुस्तकवाचने। दानान्येतानि शस्तानि रात्रौ देवालये तथा॥'.

563. गोभिलः। राहुदर्शनसंक्रान्तिविवाहात्ययवृद्धिषु। स्नानदानादिकं कुर्युर्निशि काम्यव्रतेषु च॥ हे. on काल p. 433, नि. सि. p. 7; this is ascribed to देवल in स्मृतिच. I. p. 120, कृ. र. pp. 616, 625, व. क्रि. कौ. pp. 93, 210; it is strange that का. नि. (p. 339) ascribes it to याज्ञवल्क्य, but it is not found in the printed याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति; probably का. नि. had in view a very similar verse of योगयाज्ञवल्क्य 'ग्रहणोद्वाहसंक्रान्तियात्रार्तिप्रसवेषु च। स्नानं नैमित्तिकं ज्ञेयं रात्रावपि तदिष्यते॥' q. by स्मृतिच. I. p. 120.

564. For 'ghṛtadhenu', vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 880. As regards gift on Siṁha there are various readings; N. S. reads 'gift of chatra' (umbrella), while S. M. reads 'gift of pātra' (vessel). For 'tiladhenu' vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 880.

of wood and fire, on Kumbha of cows, water and grass, on Mīna of fresh flowers. Special gifts are required to be made on Makarasaṅkrānti. The Skanda[565] says 'He who donates *tila-dhenu* on Uttarāyaṇa (i. e. Makarasaṅkrānti) secures all objects and obtains the highest happiness.' The Viṣṇudharmottara provides 'the gift of garments on Uttarāyaṇa yields great reward (merit). A man becomes free from diseases by donating sesame and a draught bull'. The Śivarahasya declares that Śiva after he performed the Gosava sacrifice created sesame on Makara-saṅkrānti for the gratification of all men and provides 'men should bathe in water in which sesame are mixed and one should rub one's body with sesame; *tarpaṇa* of gods and pitṛs should be made with water in which sesame have been put; sesame should be given to brāhmaṇas on Uttarāyaṇa saṅkrānti; one should eat sesame and perform *homa* with them; those who perform homa with sesame and honour brāhmaṇas shine in the heaven (as stars) like those who donate a thousand cows; auspicious lamps fed with oil of sesame should be lighted in Śiva temples and a brāhmaṇa should worship God (Śiva) with grains of rice and sesame'. The Kālikā-purāṇa (q. by Hemādri on Kāla p. 413 and Kṛtyakalpao, Naiyata, pp. 366–67) provides: 'one should place on the top of (the liṅga emblem of) God (Śiva) the five jewels viz. gold, diamond, sapphire, ruby and pearl; but if a man has none of these he may place in Uttarāyaṇa on the top of the liṅga gold one[566] *karṣa* or half karṣa in weight; he should worship with plenty of ghee prepared from cow's milk and should donate ghee and a blanket after washing and pressing it; he should give condiments and a dinner to brāhmaṇas and ascetics and honour them with dakṣiṇā'.

565. स्कान्दे। धेनुं तिलमयीं राजन् दद्याद्यश्चोत्तरायणे। सर्वान् कामानवाप्नोति विन्दते परमं सुखम्॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। उत्तरे त्वयने विप्रा वस्त्रदानं महाफलम्। तिलपूर्वमनड्वाहं दत्त्वा रोगैः प्रमुच्यते। शिवरहस्ये। पुरा मकरसंक्रान्तौ शङ्करो गोसवे कृते। तिलानुत्पादयामास तृप्तये सर्वदेहिनाम्। तस्मात्तस्यां तिलैः स्नानं कार्यं चोद्वर्तनं बुधैः। देवतानां पितॄणां च सोदकैस्तर्पणं तिलैः। तिला देयाश्च विप्रेभ्यः सर्वदैवोत्तरायणे। तिलांश्च भक्षयेत्पुण्यान् होतव्याश्च तथा तिलाः। तस्यां तिथौ तिलैर्हुत्वा येऽर्चयन्ति द्विजोत्तमान्। त्रिदिवे ते विराजन्ते गोसहस्रप्रदायिनः। तिल-तैलेन दीपाश्च देयाः शिवगृहे शुभाः। सतिलैस्तण्डुलैर्देवं पूजयेद्विधिवद् द्विजः। हे. on काल pp. 415–416 q. by नि. सि. p. 218. गोसहस्र was one of the 16 Mahādānas. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 869 and 874. With त्रिदिवे ते विराजन्ते, compare ऋ. X. 107. 2 'उच्चा दिवि दक्षिणावन्तो अस्थुर्ये अश्वदा सह ते सूर्येण।'.

566. Karṣa is a weight of gold or silver equal to 16 māṣas = 80 raktikās i. e. about 176 grains.

A person should also observe a fast for three days or one day in honour of Makara-saṅkrānti[567]. 'A man who fasts for three days and after a bath offers worship to the Sun on *ayana* (i. e. start of Sun's apparent passage to the north or south), on Viṣuva day and on the eclipse of the sun or the moon secures the fulfilment of all his desires'. Āpastamba says 'A man who after a bath fasts the whole day on *ayana*, Viṣuva and an eclipse of the sun or moon becomes free from all sins. But a householder that has a son living was not to observe a fast on a Sunday, on saṅkrānti and on the Sun's and Moon's eclipse'.

The great merit collected by gifts on saṅkrāntis is set forth by the Rājamārtaṇḍa[568] in two verses 'The reward (of gifts) on ayana-saṅkrānti is a crore of times (as much as of the same gift on an ordinary day) and on Viṣṇupadī a hundred thousand times; it is declared to be 86000 times on Ṣaḍaśītī. Gift on the eclipse of the moon is a hundredfold (in merit) and a thousandfold on sun's eclipse, one hundred thousand times on Viṣuva days, and of endless duration on the Full Moon days of Āṣāḍha, Kārtika, Māgha and Vaiśākha. The Bhaviṣya highly praises a bath in the Ganges on *ayana* and *Viṣuva* saṅkrāntis. 'He who bathes in the waters of the Ganges on ayana and Viṣuva secures the fruit of bathing in the Ganges for half a year'. Vide Vi. Dh. III. 319. 38–45 about the gifts to be made on the several saṅkrāntis and the rewards of such gifts (q. by Dāna-sāgara pp. 646–647) and C. I. I. vol. IV. Nos. 28, 23, 22 for grants on Meṣa, Karka and Tulā saṅkrāntis.

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567. वृद्धवसिष्ठः। अयने विषुवे चैव त्रिरात्रोपोषितः पुमान्। स्नात्वा योऽर्चयते भानुं सर्वकामफलं लभेत्। आपस्तम्बः। अयने विषुवे चैव ग्रहणे चन्द्रसूर्ययोः। अहोरात्रोषितः स्नातः सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते। एतच्च पुत्रवद्गृहस्थव्यतिरिक्तविषयम्। आदित्येऽहनि संक्रान्तौ ग्रहणे चन्द्रसूर्ययोः। उपवासो न कर्तव्यो गृहिणा पुत्रिणा तथा॥ इति पुत्रिणो गृहस्थस्य तत्रोपवासनिषेधात्। हे. on काल p. 412; व. क्रि. कौ. p. 91 quotes here a verse of शातातप very similar to the one of आपस्तम्ब.

568. संक्रान्तौ दानमाह राजमार्तण्डे। अयने कोटिगुणितं लक्षं विष्णुपदीफलम्। षडशीतिसहस्राणि षडशीत्यामुदाहृतम्। शतमिन्दुक्षये दानं सहस्रं तु दिनक्षये। विषुवे शतसाहस्रमाकामावैष्वनन्तकम्॥ व. क्रि. कौ. p. 214. Vide ABORI vol. XXXVI p. 388 verses 277-278; the last verse is quoted in का. वि. p. 382. आकामावैषु is somewhat startling. आ is आषाढ, का = कार्तिक, मा = माघ and वै = वैशाख and they are meant to convey the full moon days in these months. वृद्धवसिष्ठ quoted by का. नि. p. 344 is similar: अयने कोटिपुण्यं च सहस्रं विषुवे फलम्। षडशीत्यां सहस्रं तु फलं विष्णुपदेषु च॥. का. वि. p. 381 quotes a similar verse: अयने विषुवे चैव यः स्नायाज्जाह्नवीजले। गङ्गास्नानस्य वर्षार्धकृतस्य फलमाप्नुयात्॥ भविष्य q. by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 214.

Some prescribe that śrāddha should be performed on Saṅkrānti. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra[569] provides : 'the passage of the sun (from one rāśi into another), the two Viṣuva days, and specially the *ayana* days, Vyatīpāta (yoga), the nakṣatra of one's birth and auspicious occasions (such as a marriage, birth of a son); Prajāpati declares that these are times for śrāddha that are kāmya (i. e. they fulfil the desires one may entertain and are optional); śrāddha performed on these days tends to produce inexhaustible gratification (to the pitṛs)'. Here again there was conflict. Śūlapāṇi held that the śrāddha on saṅkrānti included *piṇḍadāna* while the Nirṇayasindhu (p. 6) holds that the śrāddha should be of the *pārvaṇa* type but without *piṇḍas*. Just as some acts such as a bath, fast and gifts were specially commended, so certain acts were forbidden on the days of saṅkrāntis. The Viṣṇupurāṇa[570] provides : The 14th tithi, 8th tithi, amāvāsyā and pūrṇimā and the Sun's passage (from one rāśi to another), these are called *parvan*. The man who has sexual intercourse and partakes of oil and flesh on these parvan days goes to a hell called 'Viṇmūtra-bhojana' (where the food is excreta and urine). The Brahmapurāṇa[571] also says 'one should give up sexual intercourse, oil and meat on the 8th tithi, the last tithis of the two fortnights, on the day of the sun's saṅkrānti and on the penultimate day (14th tithi) in each *pakṣa* (half of a month)'.

Hemādri (on Vrata, vol. II. pp. 727–743) mentions fifteen saṅkrānti vratas such as the Sujanmāvāpti-vrata from Viṣṇudharmottara, Devīpurāṇa and Skandapurāṇa, which would be mentioned in the list of vratas added later on.

In modern times Makarasaṅkrānti is more a social festival than a religious one. No fast is observed and hardly anyone performs śrāddha, though many people bathe in the sea or in *tīrthas* like the Ganges at Prayāga and elsewhere. Sesame are very much in evidence, particularly in the Deccan and people

569. आदित्यसंक्रमणं विषुवद्द्वयं विशेषेणायनद्वयं व्यतीपातो जन्मर्क्षमभ्युदयश्च। एतांस्तु श्राद्धकालान् वै काम्यानाह प्रजापतिः। श्राद्धमेतेषु यद्दत्तं तदानन्त्याय कल्पते॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 77. 1–2.

570. चतुर्दश्यष्टमी चैव अमावास्याथ पूर्णिमा। पर्वाण्येतानि राजेन्द्र रविसंक्रान्तिरेव च। स्त्रीतैलमांससम्भोगी सर्वेष्वेतेषु वै पुमान्। विण्मूत्रभोजनं नाम प्रयाति नरकं मृतः। विष्णुपुराण III. 11, 118–119 q. by कृ. र. p. 547, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 216.

571. अष्टम्यां पक्षयोरन्ते रविसंक्रान्तिवासरे। पक्षोपान्ते स्त्रियं तैलं मांसं च परिवर्जयेत्॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by व. क्रि. कौ. p. 216.

greet each other by giving articles from simpls sesame and jaggery to artistic sugared preparations of sesame coloured with saffron and go about saying 'take these sesame and jaggery and speak sweet words' (in Marathi).

The importance of *tilas* (sesame) is brought out in the following: A person[572] who uses sesame in six ways does not sink (is not unsuccessful or unlucky) i. e. who rubs his body with sesame, who bathes with sesame, who is pure and always offers water mixed with sesame (to his deceased ancestors), and who offers sesame into fire, who makes a gift of sesame and who eats sesame.

Gifts are made in these days on Makarasaṅkrānti, but mostly by women. They honour priests by donating vessels (of clay, copper or brass) containing several things such as betelnuts and coins and also invite their women friends and distribute among them earthen vessels containing red powder, pieces of turmeric, betelnut and also separately several other things such as sugarcane stalks. In south India there is a festival called Pongal[573] which corresponds with the Makarasaṅkrānti observed in Northern and Western India, Pongal being the first day of the Tamil year. This South Indian festival lasts for three days.

According to the modern astronomical calculations, the winter solstice occurs on 21st December and on that day commences the Sun's apparent march towards the north. But in India people who follow the almanacs based on the ancient methods and data think that the Sun's march towards the north takes place on the 14th of January. They are thus about twenty three days behind the correct Makarasaṅkrānti owing to the precesion of the equinoxes. This fact was recognized even in the medieval Dharmaśāstra works. For example, Hemādri[574]

572. तिलोद्वर्ती तिलस्नायी शुचिर्नित्यं तिलोदकी। होता दाता च भोक्ता च षट्तिली नावसीदति॥ शातातप q. by का. वि. p. 344, कृ. र. p. 540 (without name), व. क्रि. कौ. p. 560 (reads तिलपायी तिलप्रदः। तिलहोता तिलभोक्ता).

573. The word 'Pongal' is derived from a Tamil word meaning 'Is it boiling or is it being cooked ? '

574. अयनांशकतुल्येन कालेनैव स्फुटं भवेत्। मृगकर्कादिगे सूर्ये याम्योदगयने सति। तदा संक्रान्तिकालाः स्युरुक्ता विषुवदादयः॥ अयमर्थः। ... यावद्भिरंशैरयनच्युतिर्भवति तावता सूर्यस्य भोग्यकालेन भाविना विष्णुपदादिकानां च्युतिर्भवति ततश्च द्वादशभिरंशैरयनच्युतिर्भवति। तत्र भाविन्याः संक्रान्तेर्द्वादशभिर्दिनैरर्वाक् पुण्यकालो भवति तस्मिन् संक्रान्तिनिमित्तं दानादि

(*Continued on next page*)

says that twelve days before the (popular) day of a saṅkrānti, the real puṇyakāla occurs and therefore gifts and the like prescribed on the occasion of saṅkrānti should also be performed on the day twelve days prior to the popular saṅkrānti day.

The origin of the observances of Makarasaṅkrānti cannot be very ancient. The Sun's apparent northward march for six months has been mentioned in Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣad texts at least a thousand years before Christ. For example, the Śatapatha[575] Br. states 'That half moon which increases represents the gods and that which decreases represents the fathers. The day represents the gods and the night represents the fathers. And further, the forenoon represents the gods and the afternoon the fathers. ...Now when he (the sun) moves northwards then he is among the gods, then he guards the gods; and when he moves southwards then he is among the fathers, then he guards the fathers.' The Chāndogya-Upaniṣad[576] contains a reference to the Sun's passage to the north during six months in the words 'from light to day, from day to the bright half of the month, from the bright half of the month to the six months during which the sun goes towards the north, from the months to the year, from the year to the Sun &c.' But here the word *udag-ayana* is not expressly employed. The word 'ayana' occurs in the Ṛgveda III 33. 7 (āyannāpo ayanam-icchamānāḥ) 'the waters seeking a passage went rushing.' Here 'ayana' has the etymological sense of 'passage' or 'place.' But in the gṛhyasūtras the word 'udagayana' in the sense of the sun's northward passage occurs. The

(*Continued from last page*)

कर्तव्यमिति। हे. on काल pp. 436–437. From नि. सि. p. 5 it appears that Aparārka also said in his comment on Yāj. I. 217 after quoting Viṣṇudharmasūtra 77. 1–2 that the difference between the real Makarasaṅkrānti day and popular Makarasaṅkrānti day was twelve days. But those words as quoted by N. S. from Aparārka are not found in the printed Aparārka at p. 426 (Ānandāśrama ed.).

575. य एवापूर्यतेऽर्धमासः स देवा योऽपक्षीयते स पितरोऽहरेव देवा रात्रिः पितरः पुनरह्नः पूर्वाह्णो देवा अपराह्णः पितरः। ... स यत्रोदगावर्तते देवेषु तर्हि भवति देवांस्तर्ह्यभि गोपायति। यत्र दक्षिणावर्तते पितृषु तर्हि भवति ...। स यत्रोदगावर्तते तर्ह्यग्नी आदधीत। शतपथ II. 1. 3. 1, 3 and 4. The कौषीतकि-ब्राह्मण 19. 3 also has a striking passage 'स षण्मासानुदङ्ङित्वा तिष्ठते दक्षिणावर्त्स्यन्नुपेमे वसन्ति वैषुवतीयेनाह्ना यक्ष्यमाणाः'.

576. अर्चिषोऽहरह्न आपूर्यमाणपक्षमापूर्यमाणपक्षाद्यान्षडुदङ्ङेति मासांस्तान् मासेभ्यः संवत्सरं संवत्सरादादित्यं ...। छा. उ. IV. 15. 5 and V. 10. 1–2.

Āśvalāyana-gṛhya[577] prescribes the auspicious times for certain domestic rites as follows: 'in the northward passage of the sun, in the bright half of a month and on an auspicious nakṣatra, *caula* (child's tonsure), *upanayana*, *godāna* and marriage may be celebrated; according to some teachers a marriage may be celebrated at all times (not necessarily in northward passage of the sun &c.)'. But here no rāśi name appears. In Jaimini VI. 8. 23 it is provided that rites for gods are to be performed in the northward passage of the Sun, some day in the bright half of the month and on an auspicious day. As a matter of fact, none of the ancient Śrauta, Gṛhya or Dharmasūtras mentions any rāśis or prescribes any auspicious or inauspicious times concerned with rāśis but only times in relation to nakṣatras. Some people try to interpret the words '*susthe indau*' (when the moon is well placed i. e. auspicious) in Yāj. I. 80 as referring to rāśis, but they forget or ignore the fact that the earliest extant commentator of Yājñavalkya, Viśvarūpa, explains those words as referring to nakṣatras and not to rāśis. The subject about the introduction of rāśis will be briefly discussed in the next section on Kāla and Muhūrta. As udagayana had already been regarded for many centuries as an auspicious period, naturally Makarasaṅkrānti from which the northward passage of the Sun starts became a very sacred day, when the rāśi system was introduced. Why so much importance was attached to sesame on this Makarasaṅkrānti day it is difficult to say. Probably in view of the cold prevailing at the time of the beginning of uttarāyaṇa an oily substance like sesame easily available and of great food value was selected. In any case the observances and festival of Makarasaṅkrānti do not appear to be much older than the beginning of the Christian era.

In modern pañcāṅgas, Makarasaṅkrānti, being deemed to be a deity, several curious matters are added, viz. saṅkrānti rides on some *vāhana* (principal vehicle or draught animal such as an elephant) and an upavāhana (as ancillary vehicle), she wears a garment either dark, white or red or of some other colour, she is supposed to carry a weapon (such as a bow or javelin),

577. उदगयने आपूर्यमाणपक्षे कल्याणे नक्षत्रे चौलकर्मोपनयनगोदानविवाहाः । सार्वकालमेके विवाहम् । आश्व. गृ. I. 4. 1-2. The कौषीतकिगृह्य I. 5. is almost the same 'उदगयन आपूर्यमाणपक्षे पुण्याहे कुमार्यै पाणिं गृह्णीयाद्या लक्षणसम्पन्ना स्यात् ।'. उदगयनपूर्वपक्षाहःपुण्याहेषु दैवानि स्मृतिरूपान्यार्थदर्शनात् । जै. VI. 8. 23. The आप. गृ. I. 1. 2 is almost the same 'उदगयनपूर्वपक्षाहःपुण्याहेषु कार्याणि'.

she applies a *tilaka* of some substance (like *lac*, gorocanā), she is either young, middle-aged or old, her posture (sitting, standing &c.) is mentioned, the flower she holds, the food she eats, the ornament she wears–these are mentioned, her two names (out of the seven mentioned above on p. 215 note 557 based on the week day and the nakṣatra on which saṅkrānti takes place) are specified, she is supposed to come from one direction (east or the like), to proceed to another (such as the west &c.) and to cast a glance at a third direction; then her bodily form is described such as drooping lips, long nose, with nine arms (or the like). And the prognostications are as follows: whatever things Saṅkrānti accepts, their prices rise or they are destroyed and whatever she glances at is ruined; happy are the people in the direction from which she comes and unhappy are those in the direction she goes.

Mahāśivarātri: The 14th tithi of the dark half of a month is called Śivarātri, but the 14th of the dark half in Māgha (or in Phālguna according to the pūrṇimānta reckoning) is the Śivarātri *par excellence* and is often designated Mahāśivarātri.

The Garuḍapurāṇa I. 124, Skanda I. 1. 33, Padma VI. 240, Agni 193 contain the Māhātmya of the Śivarātri on the 14th of the dark half of Māgha. Though some details differ, in all these the main outlines are the same.

All these praise Śivarātri-vrata highly. When after[578] observing a fast on that day, Śiva is worshipped with *bilva* leaves and *jāgara* for the whole night is observed, Śiva saves the man from hell and bestows enjoyment of happiness and mokṣa and the man becomes like Śiva himself. Gifts, sacrifices, austerities, pilgrimages and observances of vratas are not equal to even one ten-millionth part of Śivarātri.

The story that illustrates this extremely exaggerated praise of Śivarātri in the Garuḍapurāṇa seems to be the older of the three and therefore it is briefly set out here. There was a king of *niṣādas* named Sundarasenaka on Mount Abu, who went out

578. माघफाल्गुनयोर्मध्ये कृष्णा या तु चतुर्दशी। तस्यां जागरणाद्रुद्रः पूजितो भुक्तिमुक्तिदः॥ उपोषितैः पूजितः सन्नरकात्तारयेत्तथा। गरुड I. 124. 2–3; माघफा ... चतुर्दशी। शिवरात्रीति विज्ञेया सर्वपापापहारिणी। कृतोपवासा ये तस्यां शिवमर्चन्ति जाग्रतः। बिल्वपत्रैश्चतुर्यामं ते यान्ति शिवतुल्यताम्॥ ... माघफा ... चतुर्दशी। शिवरात्रिरिति ख्याता सर्वयज्ञोत्तमोत्तमा॥ दानयज्ञतपस्तीर्थव्रतकर्माणि यानि च। शिवरात्रिव्रतस्यापि कोट्यंशेन समानि न॥ पद्म VI. 124. 3–4 and 28–29.

to a forest for hunting with his dog. He bagged no animal and being oppressed by hunger and thirst he remained awake the whole night on the bank of a tank in a thicket of trees. Underneath a bilva tree there was a Śivaliṅga and in an effort to keep his body at ease he threw down leaves of the bilva tree which fell on the top of the liṅga without his knowing it. In order to put down dust he (took water from the tank and) splashed it so that it fell on the liṅga and one of his arrows fell down from his hands on the liṅga through inadvertence which he took from the liṅga by falling on his knees before the liṅga. In this way he unconsciously bathed the liṅga, touched it, worshipped it (with bilva leaves) and kept awake the whole night. In the morning he came back to his house and partook of food given by his wife. When he died in course of time he was seized by the myrmidons of Yama, when Śiva's attendants fought with them and liberated him and he became a sinless attendant of Śiva together with his dog. In this way he collected merit without knowing it; if a person does with[579] full knowledge (what the niṣāda did without knowing) the merit is inexhaustible. The Agnipurāṇa expressly mentions the hunter Sundarasenaka[580]. The whole chapter of Garuḍa is quoted in the Varṣakriyā-kaumudī pp. 512–513. The story in the Skanda is more elaborate. There it is a wicked *Kirāta* named Caṇḍa who killed fish by catching them in his nets and killed also many animals and birds. He had a wife who matched him in his cruelty. Thus passed many years. One day he ascended a bilva tree taking water in a quiver desirous of killing a wild boar and passed the whole night without sleep keeping a watch and cast down many bilva leaves which fell on a liṅga at the bottom of the bilva tree. He also rinsed his mouth with water from the quiver, that fell on the liṅga. In this way he worshipped Śiva in all ways, viz. he bathed (*snapana*) the liṅga with water, he worshipped liṅga with numberless bilva leaves and he kept awake the whole night and was without food that day. He alighted from the tree and began, after reaching the tank, to catch fish. Because he did not return home that night, his wife went without food and water and passed that night in anxiety. In the morning she came to that forest with some food for her husband and seeing her husband on the other side of a river, she placed the food on the river bank and began to

579. एवमज्ञानतः पुण्यं ज्ञानात्पुण्यमथाक्षयम्। गरुड I. 124. 11.

580. लुब्धकः प्राप्तवान्पुण्यं पापी सुन्दरसेनकः॥ अग्निपु. 193. 6.

cross the river. They both bathed in the river, but before the kirāta could reach the food a dog came there and ate all the food. When the wife wanted to kill the dog the kirāta whose heart was softened persuaded his wife to desist from killing the dog. By that time it was noon (on amāvāsyā) and Śiva's attendants came there to take both the husband and wife as he had worshipped (though unknowingly) the linga and as both had fasted on 14th. The kirāta and his wife reached Śivaloka. The Padmapurāṇa (VI. 240. 32 ff) weaves, as the Skanda does, its story round a niṣāda.

There is a conflict of views about what the chief thing is in Śivarātri is. The Tithitattva holds that a fast is the principal thing in Śivarātri and relies on the words of Śankara. 'On that tithi (Śivarātri) I am not so pleased with bath (of the linga) nor with clothes (offered to the linga) nor with incense nor by worship nor with the offering of flowers as I am pleased by a fast'.[581] On the other hand, Hemādri and Mādhava hold that Śivarātri means fast, worship and *jāgaraṇa*[582] and all the three are apprehended as principal and quote passages from the Skandapurāṇa and Nāgarakhaṇḍa in support.[583] 'That man who observes a fast on Śivarātri for twelve years and who keeps awake (in dance and music) before me the whole night would reach heaven. That man, who worships Śiva and performs jāgara on the 14th, would not thereafter taste milk at mother's breast (i. e. would not be born again); the niṣāda, unknowingly worshipping a self-existent linga, observing a fast and jāgara, became free from sin and attained the position of the attendant of Śiva'.

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581. अस्यामुपवासः प्रधानम्। न स्नानेन न वस्त्रेण न धूपेन न चार्चया। तुष्यामि न तथा पुष्पैर्यथा तत्रोपवासतः॥ इति शङ्करोक्तेः। ति. त. p. 125.

582. उक्ताधिकारिणोऽनुष्ठेयं व्रतस्वरूपं त्रिविधम्, उपवासो जागरणं पूजा च। ... वैश्वानरविद्योपासनन्यायेन समुदाय एवात्रानुष्ठेयः। का. नि. pp. 290-291. Vide हे. on काल p. 302 'वस्तुतस्तु त्रयाणामेव प्राधान्यमित्ययमेव पक्षः' and पु. चि. p. 253. वैश्वानरविद्या occurs in छान्दोग्य IV. 11-23, which forms the basis of वेदान्तसूत्र I. 2. 24-32.

583. तथा च स्कन्दपुराणम्। एवं द्वादश वर्षाणि शिवरात्रिमुपोषकः। यो मां जागरयते रात्रिं मनुजः स्वर्गमारुहेत्। शिवं च पूजयित्वा यो जागर्ति च चतुर्दशीम्। मातुः पयोधररसं न पिबेत् स कदाचन॥ नागरखण्डे। स्वयम्भूलिङ्गमभ्यर्च्य सोपवासः सजागरः। अजानन्नपि निष्पापो निषादो गणतां गतः॥ हे. (on काल) pp. 309-310. The verse 'शिवं च ... कदाचन' is q. by का. नि. p. 289, स. म. p. 101.

In the Kālanirṇaya[584] there is a lengthy discussion on the question whether the word 'Śivarātri' is used in a conventional sense (viz. a particular tithi) or in an etymological sense (every night on which some observance relating to Śiva is performed), or a metaphorical sense (viz. a vrata, though the word expresses a tithi) or a *yogarūḍha* sense i. e. etymological *cum* conventional like the word *paṅkaja* (a lotus). The conclusion established is that the word Śivarātri is yogarūḍha like the word paṅkaja (lotus), which does spring from mud (so far the sense is etymological) but which is confined to only one thing viz. lotus (so far there is rūḍhi or convention) and does not apply to a frog.

Śivarātrivrata is both *nitya* (obligatory) and *kāmya* (optional). It is nitya because there are passages which lay down that sin follows if a man does not perform it[585]; 'the being that does not worship with devotion Rudra who is the lord of three worlds wanders through thousands of future lives.' Besides, there are verses which lay down that the vrata should be performed every[586] year: 'O great goddess! a man and a chaste woman should every year worship Mahādeva with devotion on Śivarātri'. This vrata is optional because the texts provide the rewards of performing this vrata. For example, vide p. 85 above and p. 86 above for the maxim of *saṁyoga-pṛthaktva.*

This vrata according to the Īśānasaṁhitā[587] can be performed by all human beings. 'The Śivarātrivrata destroys all

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584. तत्रेदं चिन्त्यते। किमयं शिवरात्रिशब्दो रूढः, किं वा यौगिकः, उत लाक्षणिकः, अथवा योगरूढ इति। किं तावत्प्राप्तम्। रूढ इति। कुतः। तिथिविशेषे शिवरात्रिशब्दस्य संज्ञारूपेण स्मरणात्। का. नि. p. 280; अथ सिद्धान्तं ब्रूमः। योगरूढ एवायं शिवरात्रिशब्दः। ... यथा पङ्कजशब्दे पङ्काज्जायते इति योगं स्वीकृत्य भेकादिष्वतिप्रसङ्गो रूढिस्वीकारेण निवार्यते तद्वदत्रापि योगरूढतायां न कोऽप्यतिप्रसङ्गः। का. नि. p. 287. शिवरात्रि is taken as a बहुव्रीहि 'शिवस्य रात्रिर्यस्मिन् व्रते' इति बहुव्रीहिसमासेन प्रवृत्तः शब्दो रूढ्या व्रतविशेषे नियम्यते। का. नि. p. 288.

585. न पूजयति भक्त्येशं रुद्रं त्रिभुवनेश्वरम्। जन्तुर्जन्मसहस्रेषु भ्रमते नात्र संशयः। स्कन्द q. by का. नि. p. 288.

586. वर्षे वर्षे महादेवि नरो नारी पतिव्रता। शिवरात्रौ महादेवं कामं भक्त्या प्रपूजयेत्॥ स्कन्द q. by का. नि. p. 288, ति. त. p. 125 (from पद्म).

587. नित्यकाम्यरूपस्यास्य व्रतस्य सर्वाधिकारिकत्वमीशानसंहितायामुक्तम्। शिवरात्रिव्रतं नाम सर्वपापप्रणाशनम्। आचण्डालमनुष्याणां भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदायकम्॥ का. नि. p. 290, नि. सि. p. 225, स. म. p. 101; शैवो वा वैष्णवो वापि यो वा स्यादन्यपूजकः। सर्वं पूजाफलं हन्ति शिवरात्रिबहिर्मुखः॥ from ईश्वरसंहिता q. by नृसिंहाचार्य; vide ति. त. p. 125, कृत्यतत्त्व p. 461.

sins and confers enjoyment of happiness and mokṣa (final liberation) on all human beings including cāṇḍālas'.

The Īśānasaṁhitā provides: a devotee of Viṣṇu or Śiva or of another god, if he gives up Śivarātri, destroys all the fruits of his worship (of the deity to whom he is devoted). Everyone[588] who performs this vrata has to observe certain restrictions, viz. non-injury, truthfulness, freedom from anger, celibacy, compassion, forbearance and he has to be calm in mind, devoid of fits of passion and has to perform austerities and he should be free from malice; knowledge of this vrata should be imparted to such a one provided he follows his preceptor; if one imparts it otherwise, one goes to hell.

The proper time for this vrata is night, since, as stated in the Skanda[589] 'goblins, the Śaktis and Śiva (who wields the trident) move about at night and therefore these are to be worshipped at that time on caturdaśī.' The Skanda[590] provides 'A fast should be observed on that caturdaśī of the dark half that is joined to niśītha (i. e. that exists at that time); that tithi is the best and leads to companionship with Śiva'. Hemādri quotes Nāgarakhaṇḍa[591] as follows: on the 14th of the dark half of Māgha I shall go in the Kaliyuga on the surface of the earth at night and not by day. I shall undoubtedly transfer myself to all liṅgas, whether movable or permanently fixed, for the removal of the sins committed in the (preceding) year; therefore the man who offers worship to me at night with these mantras will be free from sin'. In the Īśānasaṁhitā it is said 'The first God (Śiva) appeared in the form of Śivaliṅga, whose refulgence was equal to that of a crore of suns, on the 14th of Māgha dark half. The tithi to be accepted for the Śivarātri

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588. अहिंसा सत्यमक्रोधो ब्रह्मचर्यं दया क्षमा। शान्तात्मा क्रोधहीनश्च तपस्वी ह्यनसूयकः॥ तस्मै देयमिदं देवि गुरुपादानुगो यदि। अन्यथा यो ददातीदं स तदा नरकं व्रजेत्॥ का. नि. p. 290.

589. अत एव शिवरात्रिव्रतस्य रात्रिप्राधान्यमुक्तं स्कन्दपुराणे॥ निशि भ्रमन्ति भूतानि शक्तयः शूलभृद्यतः। अतस्तस्यां चतुर्दश्यां सत्यां तत्पूजनं भवेत्। हे. on काल p. 304, vide का. नि. 298.

590. निशीथसंयुता या तु कृष्णपक्षे चतुर्दशी। उपोष्या सा तिथिः श्रेष्ठा शिवसायुज्यकारिणी॥ स्कन्द I. 1. 33. 82. Vide note 302 for निशीथ and महानिशा.

591. माघमासस्य कृष्णायां चतुर्दश्यां सुरेश्वर। अहं यास्यामि भूपृष्ठे रात्रौ नैव दिवा कलौ॥ लिङ्गेषु च समस्तेषु चलेषु स्थावरेषु च। संक्रमिष्याम्यसन्दिग्धं वर्षपापविशुद्धये॥ तस्माद्रात्रौ हि मे पूजां यः करिष्यति मानवः। मन्त्रैरेतैः सुरश्रेष्ठ विपाप्मा स भविष्यति॥ नागरखण्ड q. by हे. (on काल p. 304).

vrata should be one that covers that time. A man should perform this vrata on that tithi when the 14th covers the time before and after midnight.'[592] Hemādri also quotes a verse like this 'The 14th tithi called Śivarātri that covers *pradoṣa* should be accepted (for vrata); one should observe a fast on that tithi since there has to be a jāgara (in that vrata) at night.'[593]

Owing to the above somewhat conflicting dicta there is a great deal of discussion on the proper day and time for the vrata in Hemādri on Kāla (pp. 298–308), Kālanirṇaya (pp. 297 ff), Tithitattva (pp. 125–126), Nirṇayasindhu (pp. 222–224), Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi (pp. 248–253) and other works. Some works like the Nirṇayāmṛta[594] put emphasis on the word *pradoṣa* (in note 593) above, while others emphasize the word *niśītha* and ardharātra. The conclusions drawn by Mādhava (the prince of nirṇayakāras) are stated here. If caturdaśī covers both pradoṣa and niśītha, then the vrata should be observed on that day. If caturdaśī spreads over two days (i. e. it is mixed with 13th and also with amāvāsyā) and 14th exists at the time of niśītha on both days, or if it does not so exist on any of the two days, then covering pradoṣa is the determining factor; where 14th covers pradoṣa on two days or does not cover pradoṣa on any of the two days, then existing at niśītha is the determining factor; if caturdaśī having extended over two days covers only one out of the two (pradoṣa and niśītha) on each day then conjunction with Jayā (i. e. 13th tithi) is the decisive factor.[595]

A brief description of how Śivarātrivrata was performed in ancient times may be gathered from Garuḍapurāṇa I. 124. 11–23. After honouring Śiva on the 13th tithi the man who is to undertake the vrata should resolve to observe certain restrictions. He should declare 'O God I shall keep awake the whole night on the

592. माघे कृष्णचतुर्दश्यामादिदेवो महानिशि। शिवलिङ्गतयोद्भूतः कोटिसूर्यसमप्रभः। तत्कालव्यापिनी ग्राह्या शिवरात्रिव्रते तिथिः। अर्धरात्रादधश्चोर्ध्वं युक्ता यत्र चतुर्दशी। व्याप्ता सा दृश्यते यस्यां तस्यां कुर्याद् व्रतं नरः। ईशानसंहिता q. by तिथितत्त्व p. 125, नि. सि. p. 322.

593. प्रदोषव्यापिनी ग्राह्या शिवरात्रिचतुर्दशी। रात्रौ जागरणं यस्मात् तस्मात्तां समुपोषयेत्॥ हे. on काल 307. Vide व. क्रि. कौ. p. 74 for explanation of this verse. For प्रदोष, vide note 261 above.

594. निर्णयामृते सर्वापि शिवरात्रिः प्रदोषव्यापिन्येव, अर्धरात्रवाक्यानि कैमुतिकन्यायेन प्रदोषस्तावकानीत्युक्तम्। नि. सि. p. 233.

595. दिनद्वये निशीथव्याप्तौ तदव्याप्तौ च प्रदोषव्याप्तिर्नियामिका। तथा दिनद्वयेपि प्रदोषव्याप्तौ तदव्याप्तौ च निशीथव्याप्तिर्नियामिका। एकैकस्मिन् दिने एकैकव्याप्तौ जयायोगो नियामकः। का. नि. p. 297.

14th tithi. I shall make according to my ability worship, gifts, austerities and *homa*. O Śambhu! on 14th I shall take no food and shall take food on the next day. Oh Lord! be thou my refuge for securing enjoyment of happiness and mokṣa.' The person observing the vrata should approach a teacher and should bathe (the liṅga) with *pañcagavya* and with pañcāmṛta. He should repeat the mantra 'Om namaḥ Śivāya.' He should worship Śiva with the upacāras beginning with sandalwood paste and he should offer into fire sesame, grains of rice and boiled rice mixed with ghee. After this homa he should offer *pūrṇāhuti* (an offering made with a full ladle) and listen to music and good stories (about Śiva). He should again offer offerings at midnight, in the 3rd quarter of the night and in the 4th quarter. Having inaudibly repeated the mūlamantra (*om namaḥ Śivāya*) he should pray to Śiva about daybreak to forgive his sins with the words 'O God! I have worshipped in this vrata without obstacles through your favour; O Lord of the worlds! O Śiva! pardon me. Whatever merit I have won this day and whatever has been offered by me to Śiva I have finished this vrata to-day through your favour; O bountiful one! be pleased with me, and go to your abode; there is no doubt that I have become pure by merely seeing you.' He should feed persons who are devoted to contemplating (on Śiva) and should give to them garments, umbrellas and the like; 'O Lord of Gods! lord of all things! that bestoweth favour on people; may my lord be gratified by what I have given with faith.' Having thus prayed for forgiveness, the person undertaking this vrata may carry it on for twelve years. After obtaining fame, wealth, sons and kingdom he may repair to the city of Śiva; he should perform jāgara (on 14th) in all the 12 months of the year; the man undertaking the vrata after feeding twelve brāhmaṇas and donating lamps may secure heaven.

The Tithitattva (p. 127) adds some details which are interesting. The liṅga is to be bathed with milk in the first watch of the night, with curds in the 2nd, with ghee in the 3rd and with honey in the 4th. The mantras in the four watches are respectively 'hrīm, Īśānāya namaḥ,' 'hrīm Aghorāya namaḥ,' 'hrīm Vāmadevāya namaḥ' and 'hrīm Sadyojātāya namaḥ.' The mantra at the time of offering arghya is also different in each of the four watches. It is further provided that there should be songs and dances in the first watch of the

night. The Varṣakriyākaumudī (p. 513) provides that in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th watches also the person undergoing vrata has to perform worship, arghya, japa and listening to stories (about Śiva), to offer hymns of praise and make prostrations and at day-break he should pray for forgiveness with arghya water. If Māgha-kṛṣṇa 14th falls on a Sunday or Tuesday, that is most commendable for this vrata.[596]

Later medieval digests such as the Tithitattva (pp. 126 ff), the Kālatattvavivecana (pp. 197–203), Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi (pp. 255–258), Dharmasindhu (p. 127) provide an elaborate description of the procedure of Śivarātri vrata. The K. T. V. remarks[597] that the procedure of Śivarātri-vrata is different in the several purāṇas. For comparison with the one in the Garuḍa quoted above a summary of it from the Dharmasindhu is given here. On the 13th tithi the performer should take only one meal in the noon, on the 14th after finishing his usual morning duties and rites, he should make a saṅkalpa in the morning with a mantra 'I shall perform this Śivarātrivrata that yields great rewards; O Lord of the world! may it be without obstacles through your favour. On the 14th I shall be without food and shall take my meal on the next day for enjoyment of pleasures and *mokṣa,* O Lord! be you my refuge.' If the performer be a brāhmaṇa, he should recite the two *ṛk* verses[598] 'rātrīm prapadye' and cast water. In the evening (of 14th) he should take a bath with black sesame, should apply the *tripuṇḍra* mark[599] with ashes to his forehead and also hold a rosary of *rudrākṣa* (berry of Elaeocarpus Ganitrus), should go to a temple of Śiva at the beginning of night, should wash his feet, should take *ācamana* (should sip water) and should make a saṅkalpa 'I shall perform the pūjā of the first watch on Śivarātri'; if he intends to perform separate pūjās on all the four watches or if he wants to perform a pūjā only once he should say 'I shall perform the worship of Śiva on Śivarātri for securing the favour of Śiva.' Then he should repeat the sage (Vāmadeva)

596. माघकृष्णचतुर्दश्यां रविवारो भवेद्यदि। भौमो वापि भवेद्देवि कर्तव्यं व्रतमुत्तमम्। स्कन्द q. by पु. चि. pp. 252–253, का. नि. p. 299, स. म. p. 104.

597. शिवरात्रिव्रतानुष्ठानप्रकारश्च यद्यपि पुराणभेदेन नानाविधोस्ति तथापि शिवरहस्य-संवादी संक्षिप्तस्तावत्प्रदर्श्यते। का. त. वि. p. 167.

598. The मन्त्रs are verses 3 and 4 of the रात्रीसूक्त, which is a खिलसूक्त after ऋग्वेद X. 127, viz. रात्रीं प्रपद्ये जननीं॰ and संवेशिनीं संयमनीं॰.

599. *Tripuṇḍra*—is triple sectarian mark consisting of three lines on the forehead.

of the Śiva mantra of five letters (*Śivāya namaḥ*), the metre (Anuṣṭup), the Devatā (Sadāśiva) and it is to be employed for *nyāsa*, *pūjā* and *japa*. Then he should bow to the sage, metre and Sadāśiva and perform *nyāsa* on the several parts of the body from the heart with appropriate mystic letters and mantras (such as 'om namas-tat-puruṣāya namaḥ hṛdaye' to the last '*om yam astrāya phaṭ*); then he should worship the jar (*kalaśa*) and contemplate on Śiva as portrayed[600] in the verse quoted below. He should then establish a liṅga by performing the *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* and touch it and should invoke[601] Śiva with four mantras and pray Śiva to be present in the liṅga till the end of the pūjā. Then he should offer an *añjali* of flowers. If the liṅga is already permanently fixed or if the liṅga, though not fixed, has already been established with the necessary saṁskāras, he should omit the details from prāṇapratiṣṭhā to *āvāhana*. Then he should perform the remaining upacāras (out of 16) from *āsana* to the last. As regards snāna it is provided that the liṅga is to be bathed with pañcāmṛta (vide note 218), with the *mūlamantra* (Śivāya namaḥ) and the mantras 'āpyāyasva' (Ṛg. I. 91. 16 ff) and should wash it with pure water with the three verses 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Ṛg. X. 9. 1–3). Then he should perform *abhiṣeka* (bathing of the deity) with water made fragrant with sandalwood, saffron and camphor to the accompaniment of the Rudra mantras[602] recited once or repeated eleven times and of the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90). At the end of snāna (of the liṅga) the performer should give *ācamana* water (to the liṅga) and perform tarpaṇa with water mixed with akṣatas for Śiva with eight names (Bhava[603] &c.) and the wives of these eight. After flowers the performer should offer 1008 or 108

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600. ध्यायेन्नित्यं महेशं रजतगिरिनिभं चारुचन्द्रावतंसं रत्नाकल्पोज्ज्वलाङ्गं परशुमृगवराभीतिहस्तं प्रसन्नम् । पद्मासीनं समन्तात्स्तुतममरगणैर्व्याघ्रकृत्तिं वसानं विश्वाद्यं विश्ववन्द्यं निखिलभयहरं पञ्चवक्त्रं त्रिनेत्रम् ॥ q. by धर्मसिन्धु p. 127.

601. ओं भूः पुरुषं साम्बसदाशिवमावाहयामि, ओं भुवः पुरुषं ··· यामि, ओं स्वः पुरुषं ... यामि, ओं भूर्भुवःस्वः ... यामि । धर्मसिन्धु p. 127.

602. Rudra means the eleven *anuvākas* of the Tai. S. IV. 5. 1–11 beginning with 'namas-te Rudra Manyave'.

603. The eight names are Bhava, Śarva, Īśāna, Paśupati, Ugra, Rudra, Bhīma, Mahādeva. The form will be 'om Bhavam devam tarpayāmi' &c. And as to the wives, 'Bhavasya devasya patnīm tarpayāmi'. For eight names of Rudra almost identical with these, vide Śāṅkhyāyana Brāhmaṇa VI. 2–9.

bilva leaves with the thousand names of Śiva[604] or with mūlamantra. After *naivedya* he should offer ācamana and fruits with *mūlamantra*. After *tāmbūla* he should wave a lamp (before the liṅga) with the mūlamantra and Vedic mantras, offer *mantra-puṣpa* with the mantra 'om namaḥ Śivāya' and offer eight namaskāras to the eight names 'Bhava' &c. (quoted in note 603) and to their wives. Then he should offer twelve añjalis of flowers with the twelve names[605] (noted below), perform *pradakṣiṇā* and *namaskāras* with mūlamantra, repeat inaudibly the mūlamantra 108 times, should pray for forgiveness and should declare (before liṅga) 'May Sāmba Sadāśiva be pleased with this pūjā'.

If a man undertook a vrata to observe Śivarātri for 24 or 14 years or 12 years he has to perform the udyāpana thereof at the end of that period.[606] An elaborate procedure is prescribed in some works such as the Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi (pp. 258–259), Vratarāja pp. 586–587. It is passed over here.

As regards the pāraṇā on a single Śivarātri on Māghakṛṣṇa the texts, as noted by Nirṇayasindhu, are in conflict. Two of them from the Skanda may be set out here[607]. 'Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī, Skandaṣaṣṭhī and Śivarātri, when these are mixed with the preceding and following tithis, the one mixed with the preceding tithi should be accepted for the prescribed rite and the pāraṇā should be performed at the end of the tithi prescribed; fast on 14th and pāraṇā on the 14th itself — such an occurrence may be had only if one has lakhs of good deeds to one's credit'. The conclusions established by the Dharmasindhu p. 126 are;

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604. अनुशासन (17.31–153) gives the 1008 names of Śiva and शान्तिपर्व (285. 74 ff) mentions most of the 1008 names.

605. The 12 names are शिव, रुद्र, पशुपति, नीलकण्ठ, महेश्वर, हरिकेश, विरूपाक्ष, पिनाकिन्, त्रिपुरान्तक, शम्भु, शूलिन्, महादेव.

606. एवं द्वादश वर्षाणि शिवरात्रिमुपोषकः। यो मां जागरते रात्रिं मनुजः स्वर्गमारुहेत्॥ स्कन्द q. by हे. (on काल p. 309); एवमुक्तविधानेन व्रतं कुर्याद्विधानतः। चतुर्विंशतिवर्षाणि यद्वा द्वादशवत्सरम्। चतुर्विंशतिमे वर्षे कुर्यादुद्यापनं व्रती। अथवा द्वादशे वर्षे कुर्यादुद्यापनं बुधः। q. by पु. चि. p. 358; चतुर्दशाब्दं कर्तव्यं शिवरात्रिव्रतं शुभम्। एकभक्तं त्रयोदश्यां चतुर्दश्यामुपोषणम्। q. by व्रतराज p. 586.

607. अथ पारणानिर्णयः। शिवरात्रिपारणे तु विरुद्धवाक्यानि दृश्यन्ते। स्कान्दे। कृष्णाष्टमी स्कन्दषष्ठी शिवरात्रिश्चतुर्दशी। एताः पूर्वयुताः कार्यास्तिथ्यन्ते पारणं भवेत्। ··· तिथिमध्येपि पारणं स्कान्दे उक्तम्। उपोषणं चतुर्दश्यां चतुर्दश्यां तु पारणम्। कृतैः सुकृतलक्षैश्च लभ्यते तत्त्वा न वा। नि. सि. p 224, the first is q. by हे. (on काल p. 298), the 2nd is q. by धर्मसिन्धु p. 126.

'If caturdaśī tithi ends before three watches of the night end, then the pāraṇā should be at the end of the (14th) tithi: if caturdaśī (tithi) extends beyond the three watches of the night, then at daybreak the pāraṇā takes place in the midst of the 14th; these are the views of Mādhava and others; the opinion of the Nirṇayasindhu is that even when the caturdaśī tithi ends before the three watches of the night the pāraṇā must be observed in the midst of the caturdaśī and not at the end of caturdaśī.

In modern times very few, if at all, go through the procedure prescribed even in the Dharmasindhu. A fast is observed and Śiva is worshipped and people may listen to stories of Śiva's exploits. Common people in some parts drink a beverage called *bhāng* prepared by pouring water on crushed hemp leaves with the addition of almonds, rose leaves, opium seeds &c. It is supposed to be dear to Śaṅkara. In many temples of Śiva, water is made to drip on the liṅga incessantly.

Mr. Gupte (pp. 208–215) after detailing the story of a hunter and a doe, her mate buck and two young ones connects the Śivarātri observances with the constellation of Mṛgaśīrṣa together with Sirius (the Hunter), but he is at a loss to explain why the 14th of Māgha-kṛṣṇa should have been selected for a fast. Mr. Mukerji (pp. 33–37) contents himself by referring to the Śivarātrimāhātmya in Śāntiparva. The constellation of Mṛgaśīrṣa and the brightest star Sirius had attracted the minds of ancient Indians. The Ait. Br. (XIII. 9)[608] narrates how Prajāpati seeking his own daughter for intercourse sinned; how he assumed the form of an antelope and how the gods brought together their terrible forms, which became Rudra whom they asked to pierce the antelope. When Rudra pierced the antelope, the latter fled up into the sky. People call it Mṛga (Mṛgaśīrṣa) and Rudra became the hunter (Mṛgavyādha), the daughter became Rohiṇī and the arrow (with its three parts) became the three arrow-like stars.

In the Liṅgapurāṇa as quoted in the Vratarāja (pp. 573–586) there is the story of a hunter (niṣāda) who when bent on killing a doe, her mate and children unknowingly performed all the characteristic actions of Śivarātrivrata and

608. तमभ्यायत्याविध्यत्स विद्ध ऊर्ध्व उदप्रपतत् तमेतं मृग इत्याचक्षते य उ एव मृगव्याधः स उ एव स या रोहित्सा रोहिणी यो एवेषुस्त्रिकाण्डा सो एवेषुस्त्रिकाण्डा । ऐ. ब्रा. XIII. 9.

who and the family of the buck ultimately became transformed into the Mṛgaśīrṣa nakṣatra with the star of the hunter (Sirius) behind.[609]

For detailed treatment of Śivarātrivrata in the medieval digests, H. V. II. 71–122, V. R. R. 72–77, T. T. 124–133, SmK. 481–512, P. C. 248–281, G. K. 158–167 may be consulted.

There are other Śivarātrivratas as in H. V. II. 71–87 (which are different from the one described in Skanda I. 1. 33), or in H.V. II. 87–92, or in H. V. II. 114–122, or in H. V. II. 122–130 (from Bhav. U.). These are all passed over for want of space.

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609. एतच्छ्रुत्वा तु वचनं लुब्धकोथ मृगस्तथा। विमानानि समारुह्य नाक्षत्रं पदमागतः। हरिणीद्वयमन्वेनं पृष्ठतो मृगमेव च। ताराश्रितयसंयुक्तं मृगशीर्षं तदुच्यते। बालकद्वितयं चाग्रे तृतीया पृष्ठतो मृगी। पृष्ठतस्तत्र संमासो मृगशीर्षस्य संनिधौ। मृगराड् दृश्यतेऽद्यापि ऋक्षं व्योमगतमम्। लिङ्गपुराण q. by व्रतराज p. 585. I could not trace this passage in the Veṅkaṭeśvara press edition of the Liṅga-purāṇa.

CHAPTER XII

Holikā and Grahaṇa (eclipse)

Holikā. Holi or Holikā is a festival of unmixed gaiety and frolics throughout India, though all parts do not observe it in the same way. One element, viz. bonfire, is present almost everywhere except in Bengal. Swinging of Kṛṣṇa image on Phālguna Full Moon is done in Bengal, but it is not observed in several other parts of India. The number of days during which this festival is observed also varies from province to province. Another item which is common to many parts of India is the sprinkling of friends with coloured water from bamboo or metal syringes or with red powder and this merriment is indulged in even now by persons in high places. In the Koṅkan men dressed as women accompanied by several persons go about with songs (often obscene) and music and dance. The only religious element is the worship of Kṛṣṇa in Bengal and in some provinces where bonfires are made a priest is engaged to perform pūjā before the bonfire, people go round the fire throwing cocoanuts in the burning wood and grass, taking them out half-burnt and distributing the singed kernel among the people present as *prasāda.* In some parts people produce sounds by beating their mouths with the backs of their hands. It is not possible nor necessary to set out in this notice all the varying details of this festival throughout the whole of India.

This festival is very ancient. Originally the form of the word was Holākā and from references in the bhāṣya of Śabara on the Pūrvamīmāṁsā-sūtra (I. 3. 15–23)[610] it appears that it was in ancient times a usage very prevalent in the eastern parts of Bhārata. But Jaimini and Śabara appear to hold that

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610. अनुमानव्यवस्थानात्तत्संयुक्तं प्रमाणं स्यात्। अपि वा सर्वधर्मः स्यात्तन्न्यायत्वाद्विधानस्य। जै. I. 3.15–16; on these शबर puts forth the pūrvapakṣa and reply as follows: तस्माद् होलाकादयः प्राच्यैरेव कर्तव्याः आह्नीनैबुकादयो दाक्षिणात्यैरेव उद्वृषभयज्ञादय उदीच्यैरेव।...अपि वेति पक्षव्यावृत्तिः। एवंजातीयकः सर्वधर्मः स्यात्।. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 851–853 and note 1648. The जैमिनीयन्यायमालाविस्तर on this explains 'वसन्तोत्सवो होलाका.' This topic is called होलाकाधिकरण because the first example in Śabara's bhāṣya refers to the practice of Holākā.

Holākā should be observed by all Āryas. In the Kāṭhakagṛhya 73.1 there[611] is the *sūtra* 'Rākā Holāke' which is explained by the commentator Devapāla as follows 'Holā is a special rite performed for the *saubhāgya* of women and in that rite Rākā (Full Moon) is the deity'. Other commentators interpret it differently. Among the twenty *krīḍas* found in the whole of Bhārata and also restricted to certain provinces only and mentioned by Vātsyāyana in his Kāmasūtra[612] (I. 4. 42) is Holākā which is explained by the commentary Jayamaṅgalā as comprising the sprinkling of each other by people on Phālguna Full Moon with coloured water discharged from a horn or the like and throwing perfumed powder. Hemādri on Kāla (p. 106) quotes a verse from Bṛhadyama[613] in which Holikā-pūrṇimā is called 'Hutāśanī' (as in modern times). Hemādri further quotes a verse from Liṅgapurāṇa[614] "the Phālguna Full-moon day is said to be known as 'Phālgunikā', as full of boyish pranks and tending to the prosperity of people" and another verse from Varāhapurāṇa where it is qualified as 'paṭavāsavilāsinī' (i. e. containing pranks with powder). Hemādri (on vrata, II. 184–190) quotes a long passage from the Bhav. U. (chap. 132. 1–51) in which Yudhiṣṭhira is represented as asking Kṛṣṇa why in each village and town a festival is held on Phā. Full moon, why boys become boisterous in each house and kindle Holākā, what god is worshipped therein, who introduced the festival and what is done therein and why it is called 'Aḍāḍā.' Kṛṣṇa tells him a legend about king Raghu whom the citizens approached with the complaint that a certain rākṣasī (ogress)

611. राका होलाके। काठकगृह्य 73.1 on which देवपाल comments 'होला कर्मविशेषः सौभाग्याय स्त्रीणां प्रातरनुष्ठीयते। तत्र होलाके राका देवता। यास्ते राके सुमतय इत्यादि' (Dr. Caland's ed.)

612. यक्षरात्रिः कौमुदीजागरः, सुवसन्तकः ... मदनोत्सवः होलाका तास्ताश्च माहिमान्यो देश्याश्च क्रीडा जनेभ्यो विशिष्टमाचरेयुरिति सम्भूय क्रीडाः। कामसूत्र I. 4.42, on which जयमङ्गला comments 'होलाका फाल्गुनपौर्णिमायां शृङ्गकाद् मुक्तेन किंशुकादिकुसुम्भरागाम्भसा परस्परोक्षणं मिथः पटवासप्रक्षेपश्च '.

613. बृहद्यमः। श्रावणी दुर्गनवमी दूर्वा चैव हुताशनी। पूर्वविद्धा तु कर्तव्या शिवरात्रिर्बलेर्दिनम्॥ ... हुताशनी होलिका-पूर्णिमा। हे. on काल p. 106.

614. लिङ्गपुराणे। फाल्गुने पौर्णमासी च सदा बालविकासिनी। ज्ञेया फाल्गुनिका सा च ज्ञेया लोकविभूतये॥ वाराहपुराणे। फाल्गुने पौर्णिमास्यां तु पटवासविलासिनी। ज्ञेया सा फाल्गुनी लोके कार्या लोकसमृद्धये॥ हे. on काल p. 642; the first is q. by का. वि. p. 352 (explains बालवज्जनविलासिन्यामित्यर्थः).

called Ḍhoṇḍhā troubled boys by day and night. The king consulted his *purohita* who told him that she was a rākṣasī, daughter of Mālin, who got from Śiva a boon that she would not be liable to be killed by gods or men nor suffer from arms nor from cold, heat or rain. The priest further told the king that Śiva said that she would be in danger from boys going about crazily. The priest added that on Phālguna 15th season of cold vanishes and summer starts, that people may laugh and enjoy themselves, that boys with bits of wood in their hands may go out of houses in great glee, collect a heap of wood and grass, set it on fire with Rākṣoghna mantras, clap their hands, go round the fire thrice, laugh, sing and utter obscene words in the popular language and by that noise and loud peals of laughter on the part of boys and by the homa[615] the ogress would die. When the king got all this done, the rākṣasī expired and the day came to be called 'Aḍāḍā' and Holikā. Then it is further stated that on the next day which is the first tithi of the month of Caitra (on the pūrṇimānta reckoning) people should salute the ashes of the bonfire with the mantra quoted below,[616] then worship of Kāma should be made on a square in the house yard in the midst of which square a seat should be arranged and in front a jar covered with leaves containing akṣatas and smeared with white sandalwood paste should be placed. The image of Kāma should have sandalwood paste applied to it by a beautiful woman and thereafter the priest should make the performer partake of mango blossoms mixed with sandalwood paste. Then donations should be made to learned brāhmaṇas, bards &c. according to one's ability with the words 'May the God of Love be pleased with me.' The purāṇa winds up with the verse 'When the season of frost ends on the 15th of the bright half and the time of spring approaches in the morning, that man who partakes of mango blossoms with sandalwood paste lives in happiness.'

Instead of the gay and saturnalia-like practices prevalent in many parts of India about Holikā, Bengal celebrates it by the Dolayātrā. Śūlapāṇi composed thereon a short work called

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615. सर्वदुष्टहमो होमः सर्वरोगोपशान्तिदः । क्रियतेऽस्यां द्विजैः पार्थ तेन सा होलिका मता ॥ भविष्योत्तर 132.31 q. by हे. on व्रत at p. 187. This derives होलिका from होम.

616. वन्दितासि सुरेन्द्रेण ब्रह्मणा शङ्करेण च । अतस्त्वं पाहि नो देवि विभूते भूतिदा भव ॥ हे. on व्रत p. 188, पु. चि. p. 81.

Dolayātrā-viveka.[617] The festival should be carried on for five or three days. Before the Full moon of Phālguna, on the 14th at the beginning of night an utsava in honour of Agni is to be celebrated to the east of the *maṇḍapa.* Then an image of Govinda is to be made, it is established in a structure with 16 pillars on a *vedikā* (raised platform) and it is to be bathed with pañcāmṛta and various items of worship are to be offered and seven times the swing on which the image is placed has to be rocked to and fro. Fire kindled on the first day is to be preserved till the days of the festival end. At the end the swing is to be rocked 21 times. It is narrated that king Indradyumna started this swing festival in Vṛndāvana. By means of this utsava a man becomes free from all sins. Then Śūlapāṇi discusses at some length the exact tithi, *prahara* and nakṣatra on which the Dolayātrā is to be performed. Briefly, the conclusion is that Dolayātrā must be performed when the Full Moon tithi is running, whether there is Uttarā-phalgunī-nakṣatra or not.[618]

The Kālatattvavivecana very succinctly puts down the characteristics of Holikotsava as set forth in the Bhaviṣyottara.[619] The Nirṇayasindhu (227), Smṛti-kaustubha (516–519), Puruṣārtha-cintāmaṇi (308–319) and other late medieval works discourse on this festival, but for reasons of space their discussions are not set out here.

As Holākā is mentioned by Jaimini and the Kāṭhakagṛhya, it follows that it prevailed at least some centuries before Christ. The Kāmasūtra and Bhaviṣyottara connect it with spring and it was performed at the end of the year (on pūrṇimānta reckoning). Therefore, the bonfire represents the expiry of the season of frost and cold and heralds the warmth and love-making of spring. The ribald songs, dance and music are further accretions due to the joy felt on the advent of spring. The sprinkling of coloured

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617. It is edited by Shri Sureshchandra Banerji in the volume of papers presented to the author at pp. 56–62.

618. शूलपाणि quotes a verse of भुजबलनिबन्ध (on p. 61): उत्थाने मधुसूदनस्य शयने चाखण्डलस्योत्सवे कन्दर्पस्य रिपुप्रियोत्सवविधावन्येषु पर्वस्वपि। नक्षत्रेण समन्विता यदि तिथिर्दैवान्न संलभ्यते सम्पूज्यैव तिथिस्तदैव मुनयः प्राहुर्मुनीन्द्रादयः॥

619. यश्च फाल्गुनपौर्णमास्यां प्रदोषे शुष्ककाष्ठकरीषसञ्चयस्य राक्षोघ्नैर्मन्त्रैरग्निना दीपनं किलाकिलातालशब्दपूर्वकं तस्याग्नेस्त्रिः परिभ्रमणं निःशङ्कनानाविधभगलिङ्गनामकीर्तनमिश्रं हास्यगानादि बालानां परस्परं दारुखड्गयुद्धादीत्येवंरूपस्तदुत्तरप्रातिपदि च — वन्दितासि ... भूतिदा भव॥ — इति मन्त्रेण प्रातःकृत्यानन्तरं होलिकाविभूतिवन्दनमित्येवं-रूपस्तिथिद्वयसाध्यो होलिकोत्सवो भविष्योत्तरेऽभिहितस्तत्र पौर्णमासी पूर्वविद्धैव ग्राह्या शुम्भवाक्यात्॥ का. त. वि. p. 327.

water and powder is an additional item in the celebration of the delights of spring. In some provinces this sprinkling is done on the very day of the Holikā, while in the Deccan it is indulged in on the 5th day (popularly called Raṅga-pañcamī) after Holikā bonfire. Though the Holikā festival is composite in several parts of India and is celebrated on more days than one, in origin it is no more than a spring festival. In some parts mud is [620] thrown by people at each other on the day after bonfire. That is probably an extension of the idea of applying ashes of the bonfire to one's forehead and the body on the day after it. The usage in some parts of creating noise by striking the back of one's hand against one's mouth accompanied by an obscene reference to sex is a further perversion due to welcoming the advent of spring which is traditionally the season of love-making. Mr. Gupte in 'Hindu holidays and ceremonies' tries hard to show that the Holikā festival was 'imported from Egypt or Greece' (p. 92). This theory is very fantastic and does not deserve to be taken seriously. He had not read, it appears, the ancient works mentioned above and is not himself sure whether the origin is to be found in Egypt or in Greece.

Grahaṇa (eclipse, solar and lunar). Great importance was attached from very ancient times to eclipses. An extensive literature has accumulated on this subject. Vide among others Hemādri on Kāla 379–394, Kālaviveka 521–543, Kṛtyaratnākara 625–631, Kālanirṇaya 346–358, Varṣakriyākaumudī 90–117, Tithitattva 150–162, Kṛtyatattva 432–434, Nirṇayasindhu 61–76, SmK 69–80, Dharmasindhu 32–35, Gadādharapaddhati (Kālasāra) 588–599. A total eclipse of the Sun is referred to even in the Ṛgveda V. 40.5, 6, 8 'O Sun! when Svarbhānu, the son of an asura, struck you with darkness. O Indra! when you struck down the wiles of Svarbhānu that existed below the heaven, Atri secured the Sun which had been concealed by darkness that deviated from the usual rule (or law) by means of the highest (or 4th) prayer' &c.[621] It is stated in the Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa

620. वर्षकृत्यदीपक on p. 301 quotes the following verses 'प्रभाते विमले जाते ह्यङ्गे भस्मं च कारयेत्। सर्वाङ्गे च ललाटे च क्रीडितव्यं पिशाचवत्। सिन्दूरैः कुङ्कुमैश्चैव धूलिभिर्धूसरो भवेत्। गीतं वाद्यं च नृत्यं च कुर्याद्रथ्योपसर्पणम्। ब्राह्मणैः क्षत्रियैर्वैश्यैः शूद्रैश्चान्यैश्च जातिभिः। एकीभूय प्रकर्तव्या क्रीडा या फाल्गुने सदा। बालकैः सह गन्तव्यं फाल्गुन्यां च युधिष्ठिर॥.'

621. यत्त्वा सूर्य स्वर्भानुस्तमसाविध्यदासुरः। ... स्वर्भानोरध यदिन्द्र माया अवो दिवो वर्तमाना अवाहन्। गूळ्हं सूर्यं तमसापव्रतेन तुरीयेण ब्रह्मणाविन्ददत्रिः॥ ग्राव्णो ब्रह्मा युयुजानः

(*Continued on next page*)

(24.3) that the Atris performed the Saptadaśa-stoma three days before Viṣuvat and thereby smote the demon Svarbhānu that had pierced the sun with darkness i. e. the solar eclipse (in Ṛg. V. 40.5 ff.) took place three days before the autumnal Viṣuvat (equinox).

It appears from the Bṛhat-saṁhitā that the real cause of eclipses was known to Indian astronomers several centuries before Varāhamihira (1st half of 6th century A. D.) who remarks[622] 'In a lunar eclipse the moon enters into the shadow of the earth and in a solar eclipse the moon enters the Sun (i. e. comes between the sun and the earth), that this cause of eclipses was found by (former) ācāryas who had a divine insight; that Rāhu is not the cause (of eclipses); this is the true state that the śāstra (of astronomy) declares (or this is the real intent of śāstra)'. In spite of this correct theory of eclipses, common people and even learned men (not astronomers) then believed and do believe up to the present day that Rāhu is the cause of eclipses and regard an eclipse as a special occasion for bath, gifts, *japa*, śrāddha and the like. Varāhamihira makes an effort[623] to square Śruti, Smṛti, popular belief and real astronomical doctrine by the remark that there was an Asura on whom a boon was conferred by Brahmā 'You will be gratified by a portion of the gifts and offerings made on an eclipse', that Asura remains present to receive his portion and that therefore it is metaphorically (poetically) said that he is Rāhu. Rationalism and popular traditions and superstition cannot go together. Some difference was made between an eclipse of the Sun and

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(Continued from last page)

सपर्यन् कीरिणा देवान्नमसोपशिक्षन् । अत्रिः सूर्यस्य दिवि चक्षुराधात् स्वर्भानोरप माया अघुक्षत् ॥ ऋ. V. 40.5,6,8. It is difficult to say what the words तुरीयेण ब्रह्मणा exactly mean; the 4th verse (तुरीयं ब्रह्म) from the 5th appears to say that Atri prepared to extract Soma, offered worship with a hymn of praise and prostrated himself before the gods and that thereby Atri restored the eye of the Heavens viz. the orb of the sun to its usual splendour and (with the favour of Indra and Varuṇa) dispelled the wiles of Svarbhānu. It is probable that Atri and his family assured the common people that the sun would in a short time appear in all his glory. 'स्वर्भानुर्हासुर आदित्यं तमसाविध्यत्तस्यात्रयस्तमोऽप-जिघांसन्त एतं सप्तदशस्तोमं त्र्यहं पुरस्ताद्विषुवत् उपायंस्तस्य परस्तात्तमोऽपजघ्नुः ।' शाङ्खायन-ब्राह्मण 24.3.

622. भूच्छायां स्वग्रहणे भास्करमर्कग्रहे प्रविशतीन्दुः । ... इत्युपरागकारणमुक्तमिदं दिव्य-दृग्भिराचार्यैः । राहुरकारणमस्मिन्नित्युक्तः शास्त्रसद्भावः ॥ बृहत्सं. V. 8 and 13.

623. योऽसावसुरो राहुस्तस्य वरो ब्रह्मणाऽयमाज्ञप्तः । आप्यायनमुपरागे दत्तहुतांशेन ते भविता ॥ तस्मिन् काले सान्निध्यमस्य तेनोपचर्यते राहुः । बृहत्सं. V. 14-15.

that of the moon. Vyāsa says: [624] 'an eclipse of the moon is one hundred thousand times (more meritorious than an ordinary day) and an eclipse of the Sun ten times more so than the preceding and if the waters of the Ganges are near (for a bath) then a moon eclipse is one crore of times (more meritorious) and a sun's eclipse is ten times more so than the preceding'.

The first duty of a person on seeing an eclipse is to bathe. It is said 'on[625] seeing Rāhu (i. e. eclipse) men of all *varṇas* become impure. They should first bathe and then do their usual duties and should give up food already cooked (before the eclipse)'. Peculiar sanctity was deemed to attach to the time of grahaṇa. If a man[626] does not take a bath at the time of eclipse, at the passage (of the sun) from one *rāśi* to another, there is no doubt that he would suffer from leprosy for seven future lives and sorrow would be his lot.' He should take a bath in cold water and in as holy a place as possible. The holiest bath is the one in the Ganges or Godāvarī or at Prayāga, then in any one[627] of the big rivers such as the six rivers connected with Himavat mountain and the six south of the Vindhya mentioned in the Brahmapurāṇa, then in any other water, since at the time of eclipse all water becomes holy like Ganges water. A bath with hot water was allowed only to children, old men and persons that were ill. One had[628] to take a bath when the

624. व्यासः। इन्दोर्लक्षगुणं प्रोक्तं रवेर्दशगुणं स्मृतम्। गङ्गातोये तु सम्प्राप्ते इन्दोः कोटी रवेर्दश॥ हे. (on काल) 384, का. वि. 521, नि. सि. 64.

625. सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां सूतकं राहुदर्शने। स्नात्वा कर्माणि कुर्वीत शृतमन्नं विवर्जयेत्॥ षट्त्रिंशन्मत q. by का. वि. 533; हे. (on काल) p. 390 reads सर्वेषा ... राहुसूतके। सचेलं तु भवेत्स्नानं सूतकान्नं च वर्जयेत्॥ अयने विषुवे चैव चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे तथा। अहोरात्रोषितः स्नात्वा सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते॥ विष्णु q. by हे. (on काल) 383, व. क्रि. कौ. 91 (ascribes to शातातप), का. वि. 388 (ascribes to आपस्तम्ब).

626. ग्रहणे संक्रमे चैव न स्नायाद्यस्तु मानवः। सप्तजन्मसु कुष्ठी स्याद् दुःखभागी न संशयः॥ स. म. 130; चन्द्रे वा यदि वा सूर्ये दृष्टे राहौ महाग्रहे। अक्षयं कथितं पुण्यं तत्रार्के तु विशेषतः॥ मार्कण्डेयपु० q. by हे. (on काल) p. 384.

627. सर्वं गङ्गासमं तोयं सर्वे व्याससमा द्विजाः। सर्वं मेरुसमं दानं ग्रहणे सूर्यचन्द्रयोः॥ भुजबल p. 348, व. क्रि. कौ. 111, का. नि. 348, स. म. 130 (from व्यास). गोदावरी भीमरथी तुङ्गभद्रा च वेणिका। तापी पयोष्णी विन्ध्यस्य दक्षिणे तु प्रकीर्तिताः॥ भागीरथी नर्मदा यमुना च सरस्वती। विशोका च वितस्ता च हिमवत्पर्वताश्रिताः॥ एता नद्यः पुण्यतमा देवतीर्थान्युदाहृताः। ब्रह्मपुराण 70. 33–35.

628. ग्रस्यमाने भवेत्स्नानं ग्रस्ते होमो विधीयते। मुच्यमाने भवेद्दानं मुक्ते स्नानं विधीयते॥ भुजबल p. 347 verse 1513, q. by K. N. 353, हे. on काल 390; ग्रहस्पर्शकाले स्नानं मध्ये होमः सुरार्चनं श्राद्धं च। मुच्यमाने दानं मुक्ते स्नानमिति क्रमः।... एवं जपहोमतर्पणमार्जनविप्रभोजनात्मकपञ्चप्रकारं पुरश्चरणम्' तर्पणाद्यसम्भवे तत्तत्संख्याचतुर्गुणो जप एव कार्यः। ध. सि. 32–35.

eclipse began, to perform homa, worship of gods and śrāddha while the eclipse was in progress, to make gifts when the eclipse was about to end, and to take a bath again when the sun or moon became free from eclipse. Even a person who is impure owing to a birth or death has to take a bath on an eclipse but he is not to make a gift or to perform śrāddha (according to Gauḍa writers), but the Madanaratna and the Nirṇayasindhu refute this view and hold that in an eclipse even one who is in āśauca can take a bath, perform śrāddha and puraścaraṇa.[629] In the purāṇas and medieval digests some distinction as regards merit or holiness was made between eclipses in certain months and baths in certain rivers or holy places. The Kālanirṇaya (p. 350) especially commends the Godāvarī for a bath in a lunar eclipse and one in the Narmadā for a solar eclipse. The Kṛtyakalpataru (Naiyatakāla), Hemādri on Kala and the Kālaviveka quote [630] a long passage from the Devīpurāṇa, some verses of which may be rendered here: 'an eclipse in Kārtika is the highest (in merit) at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā, in Mārgaśīrṣa on Devikā, in Pauṣa Narmadā is holy, in Māgha Sannihitā is holy' &c. On the occasion of the partial eclipse of the sun on 20th June 1955 about four hundred thousand people took a bath at Kurukṣetra and Sanyahet (Sannihitā of ancient times).

The general rule is that one should not take a bath, make a gift or perform a śrāddha at night. Āpastamba [631] says 'let him avoid a bath at night'. Manu says 'one should not perform a śrāddha at night, she (night) is declared to be a rākṣasī (a demon) and also at both twilights and when the sun has just risen'. But eclipses were an exception as regards bath, gift and śrāddha. Yājñavalkya enumerates[632] eclipses among the proper times for śrāddha.

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629. तत्र जननमरणाशौचिनामपि स्नानं कर्तव्यं दानं श्राद्धं च न कर्तव्यम्। कृ. त. p. 433; अत्राशौचमध्येपि स्नानश्राद्धादि कार्यमेव । सूतके मृतके चैव न दोषो राहुदर्शने। तावदेव भवेच्छुद्धिर्यावन्मुक्तिर्न दृश्यते॥ इति माधवीये वृद्धवासिष्ठोक्तेः । ...इयं च शुद्धिरविशेषान्मन्त्रदीक्षापुरश्चरणादिसर्वस्मार्तकर्मविषया। मदनरत्नेप्येवम्। नि. सि. 66.

630. कार्तिके ग्रहणं श्रेष्ठं गङ्गायमुनसङ्गमे। मार्गे तु ग्रहणं प्रोक्तं देविकायां महामुने॥ पौषे तु नर्मदा पुण्या माघे सन्निहिता शुभा। देवीपुराण q. by कृत्यकल्प० (नैयत) 370-71, हे. (on काल) 385-86, का वि. 524. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV p. 560 n. 1260 for the passage from देवीपुराण.

631. सशिरावमज्जनमप्सु वर्जयेत् । अस्तमिते च स्नानम्। आप. ध. सू. I. 11. 32. 8; रात्रौ श्राद्धं न कुर्वीत राक्षसी कीर्तिता हि सा। सन्ध्ययोरुभयोश्चैव सूर्ये चैवाचिरोदिते॥ मनु III. 280.

632. व्यतीपातो गजच्छाया ग्रहणं चन्द्रसूर्ययोः। श्राद्धं प्रति रुचिश्चैते श्राद्धकालाः प्रकीर्तिताः॥ याज्ञ. I. 218.

It is stated by Śātātapa[633] that gifts, baths, *tapas* and śrāddha at the time of eclipses yield inexhaustible (rewards or merit); the night is a rākṣasī elsewhere (at times other than those of eclipses); therefore one should avoid it (in other matters). A passage is quoted from the Mahābhārata[634] 'on *ayana* and *Viṣuva* days and on the occasion of the eclipses of the sun and the moon, one should make a gift of land together with dakṣiṇā to a deserving brāhmaṇa'. Yājñavalkya succinctly observes ' not by learning alone nor by *tapas* alone (does one become a deserving person); that is declared a deserving person (*pātra*) in whom these two (*vidyā* and *tapas*) and actions (appropriate to these) are found .' Numerous inscriptions published so far bear witness to the fact that over the whole of India ancient and medieval kings and well-to-do people carried out to the letter this recommendation of making gifts of land on eclipses. Some inscriptions are mentioned here by way of illustration. Vide for gifts on solar eclipses the following: I.A. VI. pp.72-75 (in śake 534 expired) the grant of a village to a brāhmaṇa of Tagara by the great king Satyāśraya Pulikeśī II on Bhādrapada amāvāsyā; E. I. Vol. III. pp. 1-7 the Paṭṭadakal pillar inscription of Western Cālukya Kīrtivarman II recording a grant of fields on a total eclipse of the sun in Śrāvaṇa (Fleet calculates that it was 25th June 754 A. D.), E. I. Vol. III. pp. 103-110 Paithan Plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govindarāja (III) recording the grant of a village after the king bathed in the Godāvarī on a total solar eclipse in Vaiśākha of śaka year 716 (4th May 794 A. D.); E. I. VII. pp. 202-208 Sirur inscription of the time of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa I on a solar eclipse in Jyeṣṭha, of śaka year 788 (expired) on a Sunday (16th June 866 A. D.); E. I. IX. pp. 98-102 grant of a village by Western Cālukya king Vikramāditya I on a solar eclipse in Śrāvaṇa in his 6th regnal year (Monday, 13th July 660 A. D. acc. to Kielhorn), E. I. Vol. XIV. pp. 156-163 the Naihati grant of the Bengal king Ballālasena of a village as a dakṣiṇā on the gift of a golden horse on the occasion of a solar eclipse by the king's mother. As to lunar eclipses vide J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. 20 pp. 131 ff Nausārī plate of the Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Karka I in *śake*

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633. शातातपः। स्नानं दानं तपः श्राद्धमनन्तं राहुदर्शने। आसुरी रात्रिरन्यत्र तस्मात्तां परिवर्जयेत्॥ हे. (on काल) p. 387, का. वि. 527 (ascribes to यम), स्मृतिकौ. 71 (शातातप).

634. महाभारते। अयने विषुवे चैव ग्रहणे चन्द्रसूर्ययोः। पात्रभूताय विप्राय भूमिं दद्यात्सदक्षिणाम्॥ का. नि. p. 354, स्मृतिकौ. 72.

738 Māgha pūrṇimā, E. I. vol. I. p. 338 Pāṭṇā Inscription of the time of Yādava Siṅghaṇa in śake 1128 (rather 1129), 9th August (1209 A. D.) Śrāvaṇapūrṇimā for endowing a college (maṭha) to teach Bhāskarācārya's astronomical works; I. A. vol. 8 p. 96 grant of a village to 31 brāhmaṇas on Full Moon day of Mahāmāgha (Somagrahaṇe) in the first half of 7th century A. D. by Pulikeśī; E. I. vol. XIX. p. 41, E. I. vol. XX. p. 725 (of Vikrama 1108), C. I. I. IV. No. 13, 25, 31 for grants on solar eclipses and No. 21 on lunar eclipse. Even now poor people create a pandemonium in towns and cities clamouring for clothes and cash.

As regards śrāddha, it is often difficult to perform it at the time of an eclipse for two reasons. Most eclipses are partial and the time is short. Besides, there is a prohibition to eat food during an eclipse. A prājāpatya expiation is prescribed for partaking of food during an eclipse.[635] It is therefore provided in some smṛtis and digests that the śrāddha performed should be the āmaśrāddha or hemaśrāddha[636]. Though the person performing śrāddha in an eclipse is deemed to reap great merit, the person partaking of śrāddha dinner is liable to undergo an expiation and is generally looked down upon. The Mitākṣarā on Yāj. I. 217–218 quotes the first quarter of a verse 'one should not eat during a solar or lunar eclipse'.[637] Therefore a good brāhmaṇa cannot be easily secured and the performance of śrāddha with details is well-nigh impossible, even though Śātātapa and others state that it is obligatory: 'on seeing Rāhu (i. e. an eclipse) one should perform a śrāddha even at the cost of all his wealth; one who does not perform śrāddha then sinks like a cow in mud.' The order of the several acts on an eclipse is : first bath in Ganges or other water, prāṇā-

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635. चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे भुक्त्वा प्राजापत्येन शुध्यति । षट्त्रिंशन्मत q. by हे. on काल p. 382.

636. सर्वस्वेनापि कर्तव्यं श्राद्धं वै राहुदर्शने । अकुर्वाणस्तु तत् श्राद्धं पङ्के गौरिव सीदति ॥ शातातप q. by का. वि. 526, कृ. र. 625, ति. त. p. 154, नि. सि. p. 65 (reads 'नास्तिक्यात्पङ्के'); शातातपः । आपद्यनग्नौ तीर्थे च चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे तथा । आमश्राद्धं द्विजो दद्या-च्छूद्रो दद्यात्सदैव हि ॥ इति । क्वचित्तूत्तरार्धमेवं पठ्यते । आमश्राद्धं प्रकुर्वीत हेमश्राद्ध-मथापि वा । हे. on काल p. 387. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 514–515.

637. "यद्यपि 'चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे नाद्यात्' इति ग्रहणे भोजननिषेधस्तथापि भोक्तुर्दोषः, दातुरभ्युदयः ।" मिता. on याज्ञ. I, 217–218. The verse is चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे नाद्यादद्यात्स्नात्वा तु मुक्तयोः । अमुक्तयोरस्तंगतयोरद्याद् दृष्ट्वा परेऽहनि ॥ q. by का. वि. 537 (ascribes to मनु), हे. (on काल) p. 379 ascribes the same (with slight variations) to मत्स्यपुराण.

yāma, tarpaṇa, japa of Gāyatrī, homa in fire with sesame with the vyāhṛtis and the mantras for the planets as in Yāj. I. 300–301, then āmaśrāddha, gifts of gold, food, cows and land.

In these days most people except very sophisticated ones still take a bath on eclipses and make some gifts also, but do not proceed further in the matter of eclipses. An eclipse is the best time for japa and for dīkṣā (initiation) and perfection in the mantras peculiar to various deities: 'one[638] should engage in japa and the like while an eclipse of the sun or moon is in progress; one should not bathe nor eat food during that time, but when the sun and the moon are free from eclipse one should bathe and partake of food: one may engage in the japa of the Gāyatrī mantra (Ṛg. III. 62.10) and it is laid down that if one does not engage in japa on an eclipse one becomes sinful. For dīkṣā as to mantras seven days from eclipse are allowed. Solar eclipse is the best time for dīkṣā.

The Puṇyakāla (the holy period) in the case of eclipses lasts only as long as the eclipse is visible to the eye. Jābāli says[639] 'In the case of saṅkrānti the puṇyakāla is 16 kalās on both sides thereof, but in the case of a lunar or solar eclipse it lasts only so long as the eclipse is visible'. This leads on to a question that is very much discussed in the several medieval works and on which there is great divergence of views. Much emphasis is laid on the words 'yāvad-darśana-go-caraḥ' and 'rāhudarśane' occurring in several verses (quoted in the notes, 633, 639 &c.). The Kṛtyakalpataru (Naiyatakāla) argues that in those passages 'darśana' (being visible) is declared to be the cause or occasion of the several acts (snāna, dāna &c.) to be performed in an eclipse, that an eclipse is an occasion only when it is known that it has occurred, and that knowledge must be derived from the eye and that

638. सूर्येन्द्वोर्ग्रहणं यावत्तावत्कुर्याज्जपादिकम्। न स्नायाच्च भुञ्जीत स्नात्वा भुञ्जीत मुक्तयोः॥ शिवरहस्य q. by हे. (on काल p 389). Vide ति. त. p. 156 for the सङ्कल्प 'अद्येत्यादि राहुग्रस्ते निशाचरे अमुकगोत्रः श्रीअमुकदेवशर्मा अमुकदेवताया अमुकमन्त्रसिद्धिकामो ग्रासादिमुक्तिपर्यन्तं तज्जपमहं करिष्य इत्यभिलप्य तावत्कालं जपेत्। ततः प्रातः पूजयेत्। ··· सूर्यग्रहणे तु राहुग्रस्ते दिवाकरे इति विशेषः।'. स्वस्वेष्टदेवतामन्त्रजपं कुर्यात्प्रयत्नतः। यथाशक्ति जपेद्देवीं गायत्रीं प्रयतः सदा। चन्द्रसूर्योपरागे तु मालिन्यमजपाद् भवेत्॥ स्मृतिकौ. 75 (from कूर्म). ग्रहणादि सप्तदिनपर्यन्तं रामगोपालाद्यागमदीक्षोक्ता शिवार्चनचन्द्रिकायां ज्ञानार्णवे। मन्त्राद्यारम्भणं कुर्याद् ग्रहणे चन्द्रसूर्ययोः। ग्रहणाद्यापि देवेशि कालः सप्तदिनावधि॥ इति। ···अत्र सूर्यग्रहणमेव मुख्यम्। नि. सि. 67.

639. संक्रान्तौ पुण्यकालस्तु षोडशोभयतः कलाः। चन्द्रसूर्योपरागे तु यावद्दर्शनगोचरः॥ जाबालि q. by कृत्यकल्प॰ (नैयत॰) 368, हे. (on काल) 388, कृ. र. 625, स्मृतिकौ. 69.

therefore when the sun or moon is screened from view by clouds one need not enter upon a bath and the like prescribed in the case of an eclipse.[640] Hemādri on Kāla quotes this view and criticizes it in several ways. He first relies on Manu IV. 37 that prescribes that one should never see the sun when it is rising or setting or when it is eclipsed or is reflected in water or when it is in mid-sky. If actual seeing were necessary, that is an impossible condition as Manu has prohibited it and the result would be that one need not bathe when an eclipse is really on. He further says that śiṣṭas do observe bath &c. even if they do not actually see the eclipse. Therefore, he proposes that puṇyakāla exists so long as the eclipse is deduced to last from the śāstra (of astronomy). The Kṛtyaratnākara [641] (pp. 625–26) discusses the question, remarks that snāna and the other prescribed actions should be performed during that period in which the eclipse *can* be seen. It was argued by some that an eclipse by itself (and not seeing it) is the occasion on which bath, gift &c. must be observed; to this the Kālaviveka [642] gave the reply that, if mere existence of an eclipse were an occasion for bath, then the unacceptable conclusion would be that even if the moon were to be eclipsed (in some other country) according to astronomical calculations a person in a different country would have to undergo a bath by day for a lunar eclipse in a distant land. The Smṛti-kaustubha and Samayaprakāśa [643] therefore lay down that what is meant by 'darśana-gocaraḥ' is that when one knows from the astronomical science that the eclipse is capable of being seen with the eye in a particular country one should at the respective times perform bath and the like (even though one may not actually see it). The Saṁvatsara-pradīpa is quite explicit 'that is said to be an eclipse which *can be observed* by the eye; one

640. जाबालिः। संक्रान्तेः ···दर्शनगोचरः॥ इति। चन्द्रसूर्योपरागस्य निमित्तत्व-प्रतिपादनात् ज्ञातस्यैव च निमित्तत्वात् ज्ञानमात्रे प्राप्ते 'यावद्दर्शनगोचरः' इति 'राहुदर्शने' इति वचनाच्च चाक्षुषज्ञानविषयस्यैव निमित्तता। चाक्षुषज्ञाने दर्शनपदस्य मुख्यत्वात्। तेन न मेघादिच्छन्ने स्नानादि कर्तव्यम्। कृत्यकल्प० (नैयत०) 368.

641. यावद्दर्शनयोग्य उपरागो वर्तते तावद्दर्शनानन्तरं स्नानादि क्रिया। कृ. र. p. 526.

642. सत्तामात्रेण निमित्तत्वे दिवा चन्द्रग्रहणस्य रात्रौ सूर्यग्रहणस्य निमित्तत्वापत्तेः। का. वि. 529.

643. चाक्षुषविषयवचनो दर्शनगोचरशब्दस्तद्योग्यतापादिकां समानद्वीपस्थितिं लक्षणया ब्रूते। स्मृतिकौ. 70; समाने देशे चाक्षुषत्वयोग्यमुपरागं शास्त्रातो ज्ञात्वा तत्तत्काले स्नानं कुर्यात्। समयप्रकाश 126; तथा च संवत्सरप्रदीपे। चक्षुषा दर्शनं राहोर्यत्तद् ग्रहणमुच्यते। तत्र कर्माणि कुर्वीत गणनामात्रतो न तु॥ q. by ति. त. 155.

should perform religious acts on such an eclipse, but not on mere calculation.'

If a solar eclipse occurs on a Sunday and a lunar one on Monday, such a conjunction was called Cūḍāmaṇi and it was laid down that a Cūḍamaṇi eclipse yields one crore of times as much merit as an eclipse on other week days.[644]

Some held that on the day previous to an eclipse one should observe a fast; but Hemādri provided that a fast was to be observed on the day of the eclipse.[645] A householder however who had a son living was not to observe a fast as laid down in a text.[646]

About partaking of food before, during and after an eclipse elaborate rules were laid down from comparatively early times. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra[647] provides: 'one must not eat during an eclipse of the moon or sun; he should eat, after having previously taken a bath, when the eclipse is at an end; if the sun or moon have set before the eclipse was over he must bathe and on the next day he may eat again after having seen the sun rise'. This is elaborated in two verses quoted in several works: 'One should not take food before a solar eclipse and also in the evening of the day of a lunar eclipse; and one should not eat when the eclipse is in progress; but when the sun or moon is free from eclipse one may, after a bath, partake of food; when the moon is free from eclipse one may take food (even at night thereafter) provided it is not *mahāniśā;* when the sun or moon sets before being free from eclipse, one should see them rising the next day, bathe and then partake of food'.

644. सूर्यग्रहः सूर्यवारे सोमे सोमग्रहस्तथा। चूडामणिरयं योगस्तत्रानन्तफलं स्मृतम्। वारेष्वन्येषु यत्पुण्यं ग्रहणे चन्द्रसूर्ययोः। तत्पुण्यं कोटिगुणितं ग्रासे चूडामणौ स्मृतम्॥ का. वि. 523 (from स्मृतिसमुच्चय), का. नि. 351, ति. त. 154, स्मृतिकौ. 70 (from व्यास).

645. आदित्यग्रहणे राम ग्रहणे च निशाभृताम् (तः ?)। उपवासादवाप्नोति सर्वकल्मषनाशनम्॥ हे. on व्रत II. 917 (from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर).

646. तथा च जैमिनिः। आदित्येहनि संक्रान्तौ ग्रहणे सूर्यचन्द्रयोः। पारणं चोपवासं च न कुर्यात् पुत्रवान् गृही॥ हे. (on काल) p. 382, व. क्रि. कौ. p. 102.

647. चन्द्रार्कोपरागे नाश्नीयादविमुक्तयोरस्तंगतयोर्दृष्ट्वा स्नात्वा परेऽहनि॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 68. 1–3, q. by हे. on काल 396, का. वि. 537, कृ. र. 626; व. क्रि. कौ. p. 102. quotes a verse of देवल to the same effect; नाद्यात्सूर्यग्रहात्पूर्वमह्नि सायं शशिग्रहात्। ग्रहकाले च नाश्नीयात्स्नात्वाश्नीयाच्च मुक्तयोः॥ मुक्ते शशिनि भुञ्जीत यदि स्यान्न महानिशा। स्नात्वा दृष्ट्वापरेऽह्न्यद्याद् ग्रस्तास्तमितयोस्तयोः॥ q. by कृत्यकल्प० (नैयत०) 309–310, का. वि. 537 (ascribes to भोजदेव), हे. (on काल) 380 (ascribes to विष्णुशातातपौ), कृ. र. 626–27, व. क्रि. कौ. 104 (says that these were ascribed to कूर्मपुराण in कामधेनु). The first verse occurs in भुजबल p. 346. The two verses are कूर्मपुराण, उत्तरार्ध 19. 15–16.

It was further prescribed that not only was one not to eat during an eclipse, but in the case of a lunar eclipse one was not to eat for three *praharas* (9 hours or 22½ ghaṭikās) before the eclipse started and for four *praharas* before a solar eclipse starts, but this does not apply to children, old men and women.[648] This period of three or four praharas before an eclipse was called and even now is called 'vedha'. The Kṛtyatattva (p. 434) collects together in one place all the above propositions about taking food. Although these rules are not generally observed in these days by people in cities and by educated people, in the author's boyhood they were strictly observed by almost all adults educated or illiterate.

Certain astrological results were deemed to follow from eclipses. One or two are cited here for illustration. The Viṣṇudharmottara[649] states that if in one and the same month there is first an eclipse of the moon and then of the sun, that occurrence would tend to create disputes between brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas, but if the opposite was the case, then there would be prosperity. The same purāṇa says that persons born on the nakṣatra on which there is an eclipse of the sun or moon suffer troubles unless they perform śānti rites (to avert the evil results). Hemādri (on Kāla pp. 392–93) quotes several verses from Garga about the prognostications derived from eclipses of the sun and moon when they are in certain nakṣatras. Atri provides:[650] 'When the moon and the sun are eclipsed in the nakṣatra of a man's birth, that forebodes disease, long journeys, death and great danger from the king (of the country)'.

648. वृद्धगौतमः ॥ सूर्यग्रहे तु नाश्नीयात् पूर्वं यामचतुष्टयम् । चन्द्रग्रहे तु यामांस्त्रीन् बालवृद्धातुरैर्विना ॥ हे. (on काल) p. 381, स्मृतिकौ. p. 76.

649. एकस्मिन्यदि मासे स्याद् ग्रहणं चन्द्रसूर्ययोः । ब्रह्मक्षत्रविरोधाय विपरीते विवृद्धये ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 85. 56. 'यन्नक्षत्रगतो राहुर्ग्रसते चन्द्रभास्करौ । तज्जातानां भवेत्पीडा ये नराः शान्तिवर्जिताः ॥ *ibid* I. 85. 33–34.

650. आह चात्रिः । यस्य स्वजन्मनक्षत्रे ग्रस्येते शशिभास्करौ । व्याधिं प्रवासं मृत्युं च राज्ञश्चैव महद्भयम् ॥ का. वि. 543.

CHAPTER XIII

List of Abbreviations used in the following List of Vratas

AK = Ahalyākāmadhenu (ms).
BB = Bhujabalanibandha of Bhoja (ms).
BHP = Bhāgavatapurāṇa.
BHAV = Bhaviṣyapurāṇa.
BHAVU = Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa.
BR = Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa.
BRAH = Brahmapurāṇa.
BRV = Brahmavaivarta.
Br. S. = Bṛhat-saṁhitā of Varāhamihira.
DE = Devīpurāṇa.
DNS = Dvaitanirṇaya-siddhānta-saṅgraha.
DS = Dharmasindhu.
DT = Durgotsavatattva.
DV = Durgotsavaviveka of Śūlapāṇi.
ET = Ekādaśītattva.
GAR = Garuḍapurāṇa.
GK = Gadādharapaddhati (Kālasāra portion).
HK = Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi on Kāla.
HV = Hemādri's Vratakhaṇḍa vol. I and II.
KAL = Kālikāpurāṇa.
KKN = Naiyatkālika Kāṇḍa of Kṛtyakalpataru.
KKV = Vratakāṇḍa of Kṛtyakalpataru.
KN = Kālanirṇaya of Mādhava.
KNK = Kālanirṇaya-kārikā.
KR = Kṛtyaratnākara.
KSS = Kṛtyasāra-samuccaya.
KT = Kṛtyatattva of Raghunandana.
KTV = Kālatattva-vivecana.
KŪR = Kūrmapurāṇa.
KV = Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana.
LIN = Liṅgapurāṇa.
MAR = Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa.

MAT = Matsyapurāṇa.
MB = Mahābhārata.
M. Bh. = Mahābhāṣya.
NA = Nirṇayāmṛta.
Nār = Nāradapurāṇa.
NM = Nīlamatapurāṇa.
Nṛs = Nṛsiṁha-purāṇa.
NS = Nirṇayasindhu.
Pad = Padmapurāṇa.
PC = Puruṣārtha-cintāmaṇi.
RM = Rājamārtaṇḍa of Bhoja (ms).
RNP = Rājanītiprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya).
SM = Samayamayūkha.
SMK or SmK = Smṛtikaustubha (on Tithi and Saṁvatsara).
SP = Samayaprakāśa, part of Vīramitrodaya.
SPR or SPr = Samayapradīpa of Śrīdatta (ms)
TT = Tithitattva.
TV = Tithiviveka of Śūlapāṇi.
Vā = Vāmanapurāṇa.
Var = Varāhapurāṇa.
Vāyu = Vāyupurāṇa.
V. Dh. = Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra.
Vi. Dh. = Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa.
Viṣ = Viṣṇupurāṇa.
VK = Vrata-kośa.
VKD = Varṣakṛtya-dīpaka.
VKK = Varṣakriyā-kaumudī.
VKR = Varṣakṛtya of Rudradhara.
VKV = Vratakālaviveka.
VP = Vrataprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya) ms.
VR = Vratarāja.
VRK = Vratodyāpana-kaumudī.
VT = Vratatattva.

LIST OF VRATAS AND UTSAVAS

The following list of vratas and *utsavas* does not claim to be thoroughly exhaustive. But it is far more exhaustive and informative than any similar list so far prepared in English by any one or contained in any work in English. The line of demarcation between vratas and utsavas is very thin. Many vratas contain an element of festivities and many utsavas have more or less a religious element also and were religious in the beginning though later on they became secular, like the Olympic games of Greece. It may be pointed out that in the Asiatic Researches, vol. III, Sir William Jones published a list of Hindu festival days based on the Tithitattva (pp. 257–293) and Prof. Kielhorn also inserted a list of festival days based mainly on the Dharmasindhu in I. A. vol. 26 pp. 177–187. Both these are meagre. The Indian Ephemeris (vol. I part 1 pp. 55–69) has a long descriptive list and a brief but accurate account of Indian festivals in relation to tithis and *vice versa*. Yet it is not as exhaustive as this list will be and it refers hardly to any authoritative texts. Very recently in the Report (1953) of the Calendar Reform Committee presided over by the late Dr. M. N. Saha there is a list of lunar festivals (from Caitra onward) and solar festivals and of some important tithis (pp. 101–108) and an alphabeticed list of festivals (pp. 111–115), which is exhaustive but its great defect is that no texts are cited or referred to and hardly any details are given except month, pakṣa and tithi. There are a few works on vratas written in Bengali and other regional languages of India, but I could not include most of them in this volume as I do not know most of those languages, though I have referred to some of them. Apart from vratas and utsavas certain matters and technical terms that occur frequently in works on vratas have been included. The list is arranged in the Sanskrit alphabetical order, though everything is transliterated into the English alphabet for the convenience of printing. For saving space abbreviations have been very largely employed and a list of the most important abbreviations is given in the preceding pages. As regards each vrata the time when it begins, whether it is a tithivrata or vāravrata, saṁvatsara-vrata or a nakṣatravrata or a prakīrṇaka vrata is generally indicated (except where from its very title or description its nature is clear), the deity to be worshipped is pointed

out where possible or necessary, some details are added in certain cases, and some of the works in which it is described are mentioned. The rewards promised are not generally set out, as most of them are included in the rewards mentioned on p. 55–56 above, and as they are often too numerous to specify and also for reasons of space. Similarly, tithis that are Yugādi or Yugāntya or Manvādi or Kalpādi have not all been noted as they are too many but they are enumerated in one place under the words Yugādi &c. I have made great efforts to trace the Paurāṇic quotations to their sources, but I regret that I have not been quite successful owing to several causes such as the vast extent of Purāṇas, owing to several recensions of the same purāṇa and owing to my inadvertence or sheer weariness. One feels that tracing a verse to its origin is often as difficult as finding a pin in a haystack. The author or authors of Purāṇas often wrote like modern advertisers of medicines, toilet articles &c. Most of the vratas are said to have been declared by divinities like Śiva to Pārvatī, by Kṛṣṇa to Yudhiṣṭhira, by great sages like Mārkaṇḍeya, Nārada, Dhaumya, Yājñavalkya, Vasiṣṭha and it is often added that the Vrata is a great secret not narrated or known even to gods and goddesses e. g. Śivarātrivrata (in HV II. 88).

It may not be out of place to point out here what should be done about the numerous vratas and utsavas, described so far and to be mentioned in the long list that follows. Many of the vratas and utsavas once observed have already gone out of vogue owing to various causes. But it would not do to recommend the abolition of all vratas and utsavas even in the latter half of the 20th century. Some seasonal vratas and festivals should be kept up as in the case of Divāḷī and Holikā, but they should be shorn of extravagances like gambling on Balipratipadā or the obscenities and dirt-throwing indulged in by some people in Holikā. Other vratas and utsavas like the Rāmanavamī, Vijayādaśamī, Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭamī should also be celebrated in order to remind the present generation of the great heroes and *avatāras* of the past and the supreme values they exemplified in their lives and a few new ones such as the Jayantīs of Shivaji, Guru-Govindsingh, Tagore, Tilak and Gandhi may be added. Besides, such vratas as Vaṭa-sāvitrī and Haritālikā may still be emphasized for observance by women and lastly such nice observances redolent of disinterested regard and affection as Rakṣābandhana and Bhrātṛdvitīyā deserve to be preserved.

It should be remembered that several vratas depend conjointly upon month, tithi and nakṣatra together. It is difficult to classify such vratas and my classification may in some cases appear to be arbitrary. For saving space the details mentioned above will not generally be conveyed in regular sentences, but in catch-words only. The figures after the abbreviated name of a work represent pages and Roman figures refer to volumes or parts; and double Arabic figures with a dot between represent chapter and verses respectively. As most vratas are tithivratas, the word tithi is not mentioned where the vrata has reference to a tithi alone and to no other particular (such as month or week-day &c.). The word vrata has been generally omitted after the names, except where I felt that doubt or confusion is likely to be caused. The word 'purāṇa' is not added to the names of purāṇas such as Agni, Vāmana &c. Except in the case of purāṇas references to medieval digests and commentaries are generally arranged in chronological order. The following abbreviations are used for months and half months: Cai. = Caitra, Vai. = Vaiśākha, Jy. = Jyeṣṭha, Āṣ. = Āṣāḍha, Śr. = Śrāvaṇa, Bh. = Bhādrapada, Āśv. = Āśvina, K. = Kārtika, Mārg. = Mārgaśīrṣa, P. = Pauṣa, M. = Māgha, Phā. = Phālguna; Śu. or śu. = Śukla, Kṛ. or kṛ. = Kṛṣṇa (pakṣa).

Akṣayācaturthī—Caturthī with Tuesday yields special rewards for vratas like upavāsa. GK 72.

Akṣayaphalāvāpti—Vai. śu. 3; tithi; Viṣṇupūjā. HV I. 499 (special merit if Kṛttikā occurs on that tithi); NS 92–94.

Akṣayyatṛtīyā—Vide p. 88–89 above.

Akṣayyanavamī—K. Śu. 9; tithi; a *daitya* called Kūṣmāṇḍa was killed by Viṣṇu this day: VR 347. Vide *yugādi*.

Akhaṇḍadvādaśī—(1) Āṣ. śu. 11 (beginning); (fast on that day) and on 12th Viṣṇupūjā; tithi-vrata for one year; what is incomplete in rites becomes complete; KKV 344–347 and HV I. 1103–1105; (2) Mārg. śu. 12; removes *vaikalya* in yajña, upavāsa and vrata; HV·I. 1117–1124 (from Vi. Dh.), Vā. 17. 11–25; Agni (chap. 190); Gar. I. 118, Bhav U. 79.

Agastyadarśana-pūjane (seeing the star Agastya when the Sun is in the middle of Zodiacal sign Virgo and worship at night): N. M. pp. 76–77 verses 934–939.

Agastyārghyadāna—(offering arghya to Agastya, Canopus, a star of the first magnitude). Mat. chap. 61 for Agastyotpatti; Gar. I. 119. 1–6; KV. 290–292. (Agastya rises and sets at

different times in different countries); Agni. 206. 1-2 (arghya to be offered three days and 20 ghaṭikās before Sun enters Virgo); vide RM. (verses 1206-1228 in ABORI. vol. 36 pp. 317-320), KKN 448-451, HV II. 893-904, KR 294-299, VKK 340-343; RM (verses 1219-20) quote Ṛg. I. 179. 6 as mantra for arghya by *dvijas* and for others the mantra 'kāśapuṣpapratīkāśa vahnimārutasambhava । Mitrāvaruṇayoḥ putra Kumbhayone namostu te' cited in Mat. 61. 50, Gar. I. 119. 5. SPr (folio 40 b) remarks that there are two modes, one based on Brah (where arghya is main thing), the other based on Mat (where worship is main); KSS 12 provides *arghyadāna* for three days from Bh. śu 13; vide TT 146 and KT 443. For belief that the rise of Agastya made turbid waters clear, vide Raghu IV. 21.

Agni—fires kindled in several religious rites are addressed by different names, e. g. kitchen fire is Pāvaka, that in Garbhādhāna is Māruta; vide TT 99 quoting Gṛhyasaṅgraha (I. 2-12).

Agnivrata—Phā. Kṛ. 4 (fast); one year; Vāsudevapūjā; Vi. Dh. III. 143. 1-7 q. by HV I. 506 (a caturmūrtivrata).

Aghoracaturdaśī—Bh. Kṛ. 14 (fast that day); Śiva; vide GK 157, VKK 315, TT 122; KT 443.

Aṅgāraka-caturthī—4th tithi on a Tuesday; eight times or four times or for life; pūjā of Mars; mantra is 'Agnirmūrdhā' (Ṛg. VIII. 44. 16) and for śūdras only to remember Mars. Mat 72. 1-45 (17 of which q. by KKV 77-79, HV I. 508-509), Pad. V. 24. 20-63, Bhav U. 31. 1-62; VKK 32-33; VR 188-191; KKV (80-81) and HV I. 518-519 (quote from Bhav.), the latter calling it Sukhavrata. The dhyāna in A. K. (folio 354[a]) is 'Avantī-samuttham sumeṣāsanastham dharānandanam raktavastram samīḍe'.

Aṅgāraka-caturdaśī—GK 610; if there be 4th tithi or 14th on a Tuesday that yields more results than a hundred sun eclipses.

Aṅgirā-vrata—dark 10th, one year; worship of ten gods named; Vi. Dh. III. 177. 1-3.

Acalāsaptamī—M. śu. 7; worship of the sun; ekabhakta on 6th, on 7th upavāsa, at end of night on 7th standing water to be stirred after placing a lamp on one's head; HV I. 643-648 (from Bhav U.) where Kṛṣṇa tells Yudhiṣṭhira the story of a penitent prostitute Indumatī who performed it, Vratārka

folio 120b–122a, VR. 253–255, NA. 53 (says it is also called Jayantī); Bhāskaradhyāna on this day.

Acyutavrata—P. Kṛ 1; tithi; Acyutapūjā and homa with sesame and ghee with 'Om namo Vāsudevāya'; thirty brāhmaṇas with their wives to be fed; AK. folio 230.

Ativijayaikādaśī—on śukla Ekādaśī with Punarvasu-nakṣatra; for a year (gift of a *prastha* of sesame); Hari; HV. I. 1147 (from Vi. Dh.)

Adāridrya-ṣaṣṭhī—On ṣaṣṭhī (either fast or ekabhakta &c.); for one year; Bhāskarapūjā; HV I. 626–627 (quotes four verses of Skanda); the performer omits oil and salt and feeds brāhmaṇa on rice boiled with milk and sugar; no one in family is born poor or becomes poor.

Adhimāsa—(intercalary month); its *nirṇaya* and *kṛtya*; HK 26–66, KV 113–168, NS 9–15, SmK 520–529, PC 12–31, VKK 231–236, KR 536–539.

Aduḥkha-navamī—for all, but specially for women; Bh. śu. 9; Pārvatī; VR 332–337 (from Skanda). In Bengal women perform this for *avaidhavya*.

Anaghāṣṭamī—Mārg. dark 8; tithi; worship of Anagha and Anaghī image made with darbhas to be identified with Vāsudeva and Lakṣmī with 'ato devā' (Ṛg. I. 22. 16) or namaskāra by śūdras; Bhav U. 58. 1 ff (q. by HV I. 813–14 and AK folio 547b).

Anaṅgatrayodaśī—(1) Mārg. śu. 13; tithi; one year; Śambhupūjā and bath with pañcāmṛta; every month Anaṅga (identified with Śambhu) to be worshipped under a different name (such as Smara in Māgha) and with different flowers and *naivedya*; HV II. 1–8 (from Bhav U), KN 278, GK 153; pūrvaviddhā to be taken; occurs in Gar. I. 117; (2) Cai. or Bh. śu. 13; tithi; once or every month in a year; worship of picture of Kāma on cloth under twelve different names; HV II. 8–9 (from Kālottara), PC 223, NS 88.

Anaṅgadānavrata—Sunday with Hasta, Puṣya or Punarvasu; for Veśyās; worship of Viṣṇu and Kāma (God of love); thirteen months; Veśyā to offer herself to a brāhmaṇa on Sunday who repeats mantra 'ka idam kasmā adāt Kāmaḥ &c.'. Vide Atharva III. 29. 7, Tai. Br. II. 2. 5. 5–6, Āp. Śr. V. 13 for Kāmastuti; Mat. chap. 70 = Pad. V. 23. 74–146 (with some additions); KKV 27–31 (calls it Veśyādityāṅgadāna-

vrata), HV II. 544–548 (from Pad.); KR 605–608 (from Mat.)

Anaṅga-pavitrāropaṇa—Śr. śu. 13; HV II. 442, PC 238.

Anantacaturdaśī—See above pp. 151–153.

Anantatṛtīyā—Śu. 3 of Bh., Vai. or Mārg.; one year; worship of Gaurī with different flowers each month; Mat. 62. 1–39 = Pad. V. 22. 61–104, Bhav U. 26. 1–41, KKV 60–66 (quotes Mat.), HV I. 422–426 (from Pad.), KR 265–270.

Anantadvādaśī—Bh. śu. 12; tithi; for one year; Hari-pūjā. Vi. Dh. III. 219. 1–5, HV I. 1200–1201 (from Viṣṇurahasya).

Anantapañcamī—Phā. śu. 5; tithi; no deity mentioned; HV I. 564 (from Skanda, Prabhāsakhaṇḍa).

Anantaphalasaptamī—Bh. śu. 7; tithi; one year; worship of Sun; HV I. 741 (from Bhav. Brāhmaparva 110. 1–8), KKV 148–149.

Anantaratṛtīyā-vrata—vide Ānantarya-vrata below.

Anantavrata—(1) Begin on Mārg. on that day that has Mṛgaśīrṣa-nakṣatra; one year; in each month different nakṣatra (in P. Puṣya, in M. Maghā and so on); Viṣṇupūjā; HV. II. pp. 667–671 (from Vi. Dh. I. 173. 1–30). It is *putrada*. (2) Vi. Dh. III. 150. 1–5; Another variety from 2nd tithi; one year; worship of Ananta (as Viṣṇu); a caturmūrtivrata.

Anandā-navamī—Phā. śu. 9; tithi; one year; Devīpūjā; KKV 299–301 (calls it Ānandā), HV I. 948–950.

Anaraka-vrata—begins Mārg. śu. 1; ṛtuvrata; for two seasons, hemanta and śiśira: Keśavapūjā; 108 times japa of 'Om namaḥ Keśavāya'; dvādaśī has special rites; HV II. pp. 839–42 (from Viṣṇu-rahasya).

Annakūṭotsava—See Govardhana-pūjā. Vide Var. 164 and SMK 374.

Anodanāsaptamī—Begin with fast on Cai. śu. 6 and worship Sun on 7th; tithi; HV I. 702–705 (from Bhav.), KKV 205–208, KR 121–123. *Odana* comprises bhakṣya, bhojya and lehya (to be licked), but water is not *odana* and may be drunk that day.

Annadāna-māhātmya—See 'Sadāvarta'.

Aparājita-saptamī—Bh. śu. 7; tithi; one year; Sun worship; KKV 132–135, HV I. 667–668 (from Bhav., Brāhma 98. 1–19), PC 104; Bh. śu. 7 is called Aparājitā. Begin ekabhakta on 4th, have nakta on 5th, fast on 6th and pāraṇā on 7th.

Aparājita-daśamī—Āśv. śu. 1–10; specially for a king; tithi; once a year; Devīpūjā; HV I. pp. 968–973 (quoting Gopatha Br., Skanda and others); KR 365–366 (says it is based on śiṣṭācāra); PC 145–146, SMK 352; HV and SMK say that Rāma started on invasion this day when there was Śravaṇa-nakṣatra.

Aparādha-śata-vrata—Begin from Mārg. 12th, amāvāsyā or 8th of bright or dark half; one year; Hari worship; 100 aparādhas enumerated in Bhav U. 146. 6–21; all these sins are destroyed by this vrata. Thirty-two *aparādhas* are enumerated in Var. 117.

Apūpasaṅkrānti-vrata—begins on a saṅkrānti; a year; Sun is devatā; white sesame to be offered; HV II. 739–740.

Abhirūpapati-vrata—A fast is so called, whereby is secured a husband that is learned or handsome; m. in the drama Mṛcchakaṭika I (prelude) and Cārudatta p. 4 (TSS. 1914).

Abhiṣṭatṛtīyā—begins Mārg. śu. 3; tithi; Gaurī worshipped; Skanda, Kāśī-khaṇḍa 83. 1–18.

Abhīṣṭasaptamī—7th tithi of any month; worship of the oceans, continents (dvīpa), pātālas and the earth; HV I. 791 (from Vi. Dh. only one verse).

Amāvāsyā—*derivation* of, HK 311–315; HK 643–644, KV 343–44, TT 163, bhāṣya on Gobhila-gṛhya I. 5. 5, PC 314–345; VKK 9–10 quote passages from MB and Purāṇas stating that Amāvāsyā falling on Monday, Tuesday or Thursday is specially holy, so also if it occurs on certain nakṣatras such as Anurādhā, Viśākhā, Svātī; HV II. 246–257. Vide KN 309 ff for several derivations of the word and legends connected therewith from the Brāhmaṇas and Purāṇas. Amāvāsyā mixed with 1st tithi to be preferred to one mixed with 14th except in Sāvitrīvrata. Vide Vratārka. folios 334^{a}–356^{b} for amāvāsyā-vratas.

Amāvāsyā-kṛtya—Vide SMK 281, KSS 21–23, VKK 81–82.

Amāvāsyā-nirṇaya—KR 622–624, Dh. S 23, KN 301–307.

Amāvāsyāpayovrata—subsisting on milk alone on each amāvāsyā; tithi; one year; Viṣṇupūjā; HV II. 254 (from Pad.).

Amāvāsyāvrata—(1) HV II. 257 (from Kūr.); offering something to a brāhmaṇa intending it for Śaṅkara; (2) HV II. 257

(one verse from Kūr.). honouring three brāhmaṇas intending to please Brahmā.

Amāvāsyā-vratāni—HV II. 246–257, TT 162 ff, Vratārka (folios 344a–356b).

Amuktābharaṇa-saptamī—Bh. śu. 7; worship of Śaṅkara and Umā; HV I. pp. 632–638, SMK 222–228 (almost same passages as in HV). Vide Nār. I. 116. 32–33.

Ambuvācī—the time in solar Āṣāḍha when the Sun is in the first quarter of Ārdrā-nakṣatra; VKK 283 quoting RM (catvāriṁśat-liptā &c.), KT 434 (three days and 20 *ghaṭis* from the week day on which the Sun enters sign of Gemini, during which no sowing of seeds, nor Vedic study to be done). Mother earth and rivers are deemed unclean during these days in Bengal (in Jy. or Āṣ. Kṛ. 10 to 13th). Vide HK 701, 703.

Ayanavratas—Ayana depends on the motion (apparent) of the Sun. There are two Ayanas. Dakṣiṇāyana begins when the Sun enters Zodiacal sign Karkaṭaka (Cancer). KNK 14 says: 'Dakṣiṇa and Uttara ayanas respectively are appropriate to fierce and quiet rites and its com. (Vivaraṇa) provides that images of the Mātṛs, Bhairava, Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana and Durgā are to be established in Dakṣiṇāyana. KR 218, HK 16, SM 173, SP 13.

Ayācitavrata—subsisting on food not obtained by begging from another. KN 138–139, NA 19, KTV 214–218, PC 49.

Araṇya-dvādaśī—begun by bath on morning of Mārg. śu. 11 or in K., M., Cai. or Śr.; tithi; for one year; Govinda deity; sumptuous feast on 12th in a forest to 12 *dvijas*, *yatis* or householders and their wives; HV I. 1091–1094 (from Bhav U.); some mss. read 'Aparā-dvādaśī.'

Araṇyaṣaṣṭhī—Jy. śu. 6; RM verse 1396 states that women with fans and arrows (v. l. 'with fans alone in one hand') wander in forests. GK p. 83 says it is same as Skandaṣaṣṭhī; tithivrata; Vindhyavāsinī and Skanda worshipped; KR 185 (quotes RM), VKK 279, K. T. 430–431; observers subsist on lotus stalks, bulbous roots and fruits hoping for the health of their children.

Arāndhanāṣṭamī—Vide VK, No. 470.

Aruṇodaya—The last half quarter (*prahara*) of night. HK 259, 272; KN 241 (quoting Skanda and Nāradīya) says 'four ghaṭikās before sunrise.'

Arundhatīvrata—for women only; for freedom from widowhood, for sons &c.; fast for three nights; 3rd tithi in the beginning of Vasanta (spring); worship of Arundhatī; HV II. 312-315, VR 89-93.

Arkavrata—eating at night alone on 6th and 7th (*v. l.* 7th & 8th) in both fortnights; tithivrata; for a year; Arka (Sun) worshipped; KKV 387, HV II. 509.

Arkasaptamī—tithi; for two years; deity Sun; one is to drink from a cup made of the leaves of *arka* plant; HV I. 788-789 (from Brah.). Vide Pad. V. 75. 86-106 which state that vrata to be begun in Uttarāyaṇa on a Sunday in śukla pakṣa; on 5th *ekabhakta*, on 6th nakta, on 7th fast and on 8th pāraṇā.

Arkasampuṭasaptamī—Begin on Phā. śu. 7; tithi; for a year; Sun worshipped; Bhav. I. 210. 2-81 (q. by KKV 191-198, HV I. 690-696).

Arkāṣṭamī—On Sunday on 8th śu.; worship of Umā and Śiva in whose eye the Sun rests; HV I. 835-837.

Arghya—See H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 318, 543. Later medieval digests made it elaborate. VKK 142 says 'arghya for all deities consists of sandalwood paste, flowers, whole grains of *yava*, tips of kuśa grass, sesame, mustard and dūrvā.' Vide HV I. 48, KR 296, VR 16 (for eight ingredients of).

Ardhaśrāvaṇika-vrata—begin on 1st of Śr. śu.; one month; worship of Pārvatī called Ardhaśrāvaṇī; worshipper to observe *ekabhakta* or *nakta* for one month; at end to offer dinner to maidens and brāhmaṇas; HV II. 753-754 (from Br.), VP (folios 106-107).

Ardhodaya-vrata—This is a vrata of rare occurrence and is said to be equal in holiness to a crore of Sun eclipses. Later medieval digests (e. g. TT 187, KSS 30, NS 211, SmK. 442-445, P. C. 316) quote a verse from Mahābhārata 'when in the month of Pauṣa or Māgha there is amāvāsyā with Śravaṇa-nakṣatra and Vyatīpāta-yoga, that is called Ardhodaya and Vratārka (folios 348[a]-350[b]) states that according to Prayāga-setu of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa it takes place in Pauṣa when amānta reckoning is used and in Māgha when Pūrṇimānta reckoning is used. HV (II. pp. 246-252) quotes from Skanda and adds Sunday to the above requirements and BB (pp. 364-365) adds that the Sun must be in Makara (Capricorn). The TT 187, Vratārka folio 348[a] and

PC 316 read a half verse 'this yoga is commended only if it occurs by day and not so if at night.' KSS 30 provides that if one out of the several requirements (Pauṣa or Māgha Amāvāsyā, Vyatīpāta, Śravaṇa-nakṣatra, Sunday) is absent, it becomes Mahodaya-parva. In Ardhodaya a bath at Prayāga in the morning is most meritorious, but it is provided that all rivers become like the Ganges at Ardhodaya. The devatās of the vrata are three viz. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara and they are worshipped in the same order; offerings (of ghee) are made in fire with Paurāṇika mantras, and also with three Vedic mantras viz. 'Prajāpate' (Ṛg. X. 121. 10) for Brahmā, 'Idam Viṣṇur' (Ṛg. I 22. 17) for Viṣṇu, 'Tryambakam yajāmahe' (Ṛg. VII. 59. 12) for Maheśvara. At the end gifts of cow or money are made. In I. A. vol. 25 p. 345 there is mention of Ardhodaya in śake 1352, Pauṣa, which corresponds to 14th January (Sunday) 1431 A. D. The reference to the distribution of all his wealth by Emperor Harṣavardhana at Prayāga once in five years made by the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang (vide 7 I. A. 196 at p. 198) is not to Ardhodaya at all, as some suppose. If Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. I. pp. 214 and 233 be carefully read this will be clear.

Alakṣmīnāśaka-snāna—On full moon of P. when there is Puṣya nakṣatra, persons should bathe after anointing their bodies with white mustard and drive off *alakṣmī* (misfortune or poverty) and worship images of Nārāyaṇa, Indra, Moon, Bṛhaspati and Puṣya by bathing them with water in which sarvauṣadhis are put and with homa. Vide SMK 344–345, PC 307, GK 178.

Alavaṇatṛtīyā—On śu. 3 of any month, specially of Vai., Bh. or M.; women alone to perform; fast on 2nd and food on 3rd without salt; Gaurī worshipped; it may be for life; KKV 48–51, HV I. 474–477, S. Pr. folio 32[a]. Vide Bhav., Brāhmaparva 21. 1–22 for this.

Avatāras—Tithis of the appearance of (they are called Jayantīs), cited in NS 81–82 and KSS 13 as follows: Matsya–Cai. śu. 3; Kūrma–Vai. pūrṇimā; Varāha–Bh. śu. 3; Narasiṁha–Vai. śu. 14; Vāmana–Bh. śu. 12, Paraśurāma–Vai. śu. 3; Rāma Cai. śu. 9; Balarāma–Bh. śu. 2; Kṛṣṇa–Śr. kṛ. 8; Buddha–Jy. śu. 2. Some works say Kalkin is yet to appear while others give Śr. śu 6 as Kalkijayantī. Some works differ as to the tithis e. g. some say Matsya appeared on Cai. śu. 5 (and

not 3). Vide Śrī B. Bhattacharya's paper on 'the ten avatāras and their birth dates' in volume of studies presented to Dr. F. W. Thomas pp. 31–33 quoted from Śakti-saṅgamatantra I. See under Vaiśākha. The Eran Inscription of Toramāṇa refers to Varāhāvatāra (Gupta Inscriptions p. 159). Var. 48. 20–22 (q. by both KKV 333 and HV. I 1039) state which avatāra out of the well-known ten (including Buddha and Kalkin as separate) is worshipped for what object.

Avamadina—a week day on which two tithis end is so called. NS 153 quoting Ratnamālā ("Yatraikaḥ spṛśate tithidvayāvasānam vāras-ced-avamadinam taduktam-āryaiḥ"). This is to be avoided when beginning a vrata for the first time, as there is kṣaya of a tithi here.

Avighnavināyaka or Avighnavrata—(1) begin on Phā. 4th; tithi; four months; Gaṇeśa worshipped. HV I 524–525, KKV 82–83, both quoting from Varāha 59. 1–10; (2) 4th tithi on both fortnights; three years; Gaṇeśa deity; NA 43 (from Bhav U).

Aviyogadvādaśī—Bh. śu. 12; tithi; worship of Śiva and Gaurī, Brahmā and Sāvitrī, Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī, the sun and his consort Nikṣubhā. HV I. 1177–1180.

Aviyogavrata or Aviyogatṛtīyā—For women; begin on Mārg. śu. 2 with partaking rice boiled in milk and sugar on 3rd; worship of Gāurī and Śambhu; for a year; worship of images of both made from rice flour under different names in each of twelve months with different flowers; KKV 70–75, HV I 439–444, KR 452–455. Vide Bhav U. 22 for this.

Avaidhavyaśuklaikādaśī—Cai. śu. 11; HV I. 1151 (only one verse from Vi. Dh.).

Avyaṅgasaptamī—Śr. śu. 7; tithi; to be performed every year; 'AVYAṄGA' to be offered to the sun; 'Avyaṅga' is explained in KKV 150 as a hollow strip made of fine white cotton thread, resembling a serpent's slough, 122 fingerbreadths long (the best), or 120 (middling) or 108 (the shortest). It seems to have been like the *Kusti* worn by modern Parsis. Vide Bhav. (Brāhma-parva) 111. 1–8 q. by KKV 149–151 and HV I. 741–743, also V. P (folio 116, which mentions the story of Sāmba in Bhav.). The printed Bhav. uses the word 'abhyaṅga'. In Bhav. (Brāhma) 142. 1–29 we have the legend of Avyaṅgotpatti. In verse

18 occurs the word 'sārasanaḥ' which reminds one of 'Saracen'. Vide Nār. I. 116. 29–31 for AVYAṄGĀKHYA-VRATA, the 7th tithi being destroyer of sins if it is conjoined to Hasta-nakṣatra. Avyaṅga appears to be a Sanskrit adaptation of the Avestan 'Aivyaṅghana' (meaning 'girdle'). In the 16 ślokas addressed to the prince Jadi Rāṇā by the Parsis emigrating to India occurs this 'who put on the waist a woollen *kushti* which is fastened on the *sadra* (garment), each end of which is like the mouth of a serpent, which is tied into knots at equal distances' (vide M. M. Murzban's 'Parsis in India ' vol. I at p. 93). It seems probable that this particular form of Sun-worship was imported from Iran or was borrowed from Parsi practices. The Bṛ. S. (59. 19) states that the priests of Savitṛ should be Magas i. e. Maga or Śākadvīpīya brāhmaṇas for whom vide I. A. vol. VIII. 328 and Weber's edition of Magavyakti of Krishnadas Mishra.

Aśūnyaśayanavrata or Aśūnyaśayanadvitīyā—on dark 2nd tithi of four months from Śr.; tithi; Lakṣmī and Hari worshipped; occurs in Vi. Dh I. 145. 6–20 and III. 132. 1–12, Vā. 16. 16–29, Āgni 177. 3–12, Bhav. I. 20. 4–28, KKV 41–44 (q. from Bhav U) and 44–46 (from Mat. 71. 2–20 = Pād. V. 24, 1–19). The Matsya contains a somewhat different mode; HV I. 366–371 (from Bhav.) and 371–377 (from Bhav U); KR 225–228 (quotes Bhav I. 20. 4–28). This vrata secured *avaidhavya* to women and *aviyoga* (absence of the loss of wife) to men. Vide S. Pr. (folio 22b) and SmK 146–148. One of the mantras that occur in both KKV 43 and HV I. 373 is 'Lakṣmyā na śūnyaṁ varada yathā te śayanaṁ sadā । śayyā mamāpyaśūnyāstu tathātra Madhusūdana' ॥. KR (p. 228) remarks that when it is said that the vrata begins in Śr. Kṛ., the month is *pūrṇimānta* according to the usage. Mentioned in 'Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingana Districts of Nizam's Dominions' by Dr. Srinivasachar No. 50 pp. 140–142 of *śake* 1198 Māgha śu. 10 (1276 A. D.) where Kuppāmbikā wife of a Kākatīya General is said to have performed it.

Aśūnyavrata—on dark 2nd tithi of four months from Śr., in which *arghya* with curds, whole grains of rice and fruits are offered to the moon; if the second tithi is mixed with (viddhā) the third tithi on a certain day the vrata should be performed on that day; P C 83.

Aśokakalikābhakṣaṇa—Vide Aśokāṣṭamī.

Aśokatrirātra—For three nights from the 13th tithi of Jy., Bh. or Mārg. śu; for one year; Aśoka tree of silver to be worshipped and image of Brahmā and Sāvitrī on first day, of Umā and Maheśvara on 2nd and of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa on third and then images donated; this vrata removes sins and diseases and confers long life, fame, wealth and prosperity on sons and grandsons; HV II 279–283, VP (folio 102b), Vratārka folio 261b-264; mostly for women, but men desirous of prosperity of sons may also perform it.

Aśokadvādaśī—same as Viśokadvādaśī. Begin in Āśv.; for a year; on 10th take light meal, on 11th fast and on 12th pāraṇā; worship of Keśava; results are health, beauty and freedom from sorrow; Mat. 81. 1–28, 82. 26–30 quoted in KKV 360–363; HV I. 1075–1078 (quotes almost same verses from Pad.)

Aśokapūrṇimā—On Phā. pūrṇimā; tithi; for a year; the earth is to be called Aśokā in first four months and also in the next four months; worship of Earth and arghya to the Moon; in the first 4 months worship earth as Dharaṇī, in the next four as Medinī and in last four as Vasundharā. Keśava is to be worshipped at the end of each group of 4 months; Agni 194. 1, HV II. 162–164.

Aśokapratipad—Āśv. śu. 1; tithi; worship of Aśoka tree or its golden or silver image or its picture; only for women; HV I. 351–52 (from Bhav U. chap. 9).

Aśokaṣaṣṭhī—Vide VK No. 52.

Aśoka-saṅkrānti—Vratārka folio 388b–389a; to be performed on ayanasaṅkrānti or Viṣuvasaṅkrānti when there is Vyatīpāta; ekabhakta; Sun to be worshipped; gifts of sesame.

Aśokāṣṭamī—(1) Cai. śu. 8 and if there be Wednesday and Punarvasu-nakṣatra then special merit; worship of Durgā with Aśoka flowers; one should drink water mixed with eight Aśoka buds, worship of Aśoka tree with the mantra 'tvām–aśoka harābhīṣṭam madhumāsa–samudbhavam। pibāmi śokasantapto mām–aśokam sadā kuru'. KV 422 (quotes mantra from Liṅga), HK 626 (from Viṣṇu), HV I 862–63 (from Liṅga) and 875–76 (from Ādityapurāṇa but no mantra); KR 126–127; R. M (1379–80) has the mantra 'tvām–aśoka harābhīṣṭa' and the verse 'Aśoka–kalikāś-cāṣṭau' and BB 1734–35, both of which verses are Gar. I

133. 1-2; PC 109; SMK 94. Vide JRAS for 1900 pp. 545, 791 and for 1901 p. 127 for some remarks. (2) KV 422, KR. 126, KT 463 and other digests state that all tīrthas and rivers come to the Brahmaputrā on Cai. śu. 8 and a bath in it on that day yields the same rewards as Vājapeya, when it falls on Wednesday and on Punarvasu.

Aśokikāṣṭamī—Worship of Umā. NM p. 74 (verses 905-907) states that Aśoka plant is Devī herself.

Aśvatthavrata—Vratārka (folio 406b-408a) from Adbhutasāgara following Ātharvaṇaśākhā; worship of Aśvattha in case of evil portents, invasions, epidemics, diseases like leprosy.

Aśvadīkṣā—When the moon is in Svāti in Āśv. śu., worship Uccaiḥ-śravas and one's own horses may be honoured if there be 9th tithi; Śānti rites and threads coloured in four colours to be tied round horses' necks; NM p. 77 verses 943-947.

Aśvapūjā—On Āśv. śu. 1 to 9; see below under Āśvina.

Aśvavrata—a Saṁvatsaravrata; Indra is the deity; Mat. 101. 71 q. by KKV 449, HV II. 911 (quotes same 1½ verses from Pad).

Aṣṭamīvratas—There are about 30 Aṣṭamī-vratas, which will be entered at the proper places. General rule is that in the bright half Aṣṭamī mixed with Navamī is to be preferred and in dark half aṣṭamī mixed with saptamī is preferred. Vide TT 40, DS 15. For Aṣṭamīvratas vide HV I. 811-886, KN 194-228, KKV 225-272, VR 256-319, VKK 38-40, PC. 109-139. There are a few exceptions to above two rules, some of which may be noted at the proper places.

Asidhārāvrata—begin on Āṣ. śu. 15; five days or ten days after Āṣ. 15, K.15 or for 4 months from Āṣ., or one year or 12 years; one has to sleep on bare ground, to bathe outside house, eat food only in the night, to remain celibate even though sleeping in wife's embrace, curb anger and be devoted to *japa* and *homa* to Hari. Different rewards acc. to length of time, the greatest being that after twelve years of this vrata the observer may secure the rulership of the world and on death become one with Janārdana. Vi. Dh. III. 218. 1-25 q. by HV II. 825-827. The word means the vrata is as sharp or difficult as treading on the edge of a sword. The Raghuvaṁśa 13. 67 in referring to Bharata's abstention from enjoying regal splendour out of regard for the exiled Rāma calls it *ugra* ' iyanti varṣāṇi tayā sahogram-abhyasyatīva vratam-āsidhāram '.

Ahan—a day. There are several views about the divisions of the day, viz. into two, three, four, five, eight, or fifteen parts. The two are pūrvāhṇa and aparāhṇa (as in Manu III. 278); for three vide notes 257–258 above. Four parts described by Gobhila (q. by KN p. 110) are pūrvāhṇa (for 1½ *prahara*), madhyāhna for one prahara, aparāhṇa up to the end of the 3rd prahara and thereafter sāyāhna till end of day. For names of five divisions vide H. of Dh. vol. IV p. 376. In Ṛg. V. 76. 3 (utāyātam saṅgave prātarahno) three of the five parts of a day viz. *prātaḥ*, *saṅgava* and *madhyandina* are expressly mentioned. Eight divisions of the day are mentioned by Kauṭilya (I. 19), Dakṣa (chap. 2) and Kātyāyana. Kālidāsa in Vikramorvaśīya II. 1 (ṣaṣṭhe bhāge) appears to know this. There are fifteen muhūrtas of the day and fifteen of the night. Vide Bṛhadyogayātrā VI. 2–4 for 15 muhūrtas. As the day and night become long or short at different places (except on the equator) each of the muhūrtas will vary in length to some extent even in the same place in different seasons of the year. Similarly, pūrvāhṇa or prātaḥkāla will be of 7½ muhūrtas if day is divided only in two parts, if into five parts pūrvāhṇa or prātaḥ will comprise only three muhūrtas. The KN (p. 112) remarks that the division into five parts being observed in many Vedic and Smṛti texts as the principal division, that division, is the one resorted to in the śāstric passages about positive and negative injunctions. Vide HK 325–329, VKK 18–19, KTV 6, 367.

Ahiṁsāvrata—not to eat flesh for a year and then donate a cow and a golden deer; saṁvatsaravrata; KKV 444, HV II. 865 (quoting Pad. = Mat. 101. 35).

Ahirbradhnasnāna—HV II. pp. 654–655 (from Vi. Dh.). On a day on which there is Pūrvābhādrapadā-nakṣatra performer to bathe in water from two jars in which are put udumbara leaves, pañcagavya, water with kuśas, sandalwood paste &c; worship of Ahirbradhna, the Sun, Varuṇa, the moon, Rudra, and Viṣṇu. Ahirbudhnya was the presiding deity of Uttarābhādrapadā acc. to Bṛ. S. 97. 5, Bhav U. q. by HV II p. 596, KR 560. Vide H. of Dh. II. p. 247, note 563 for the devatās of all nakṣatras. This secured thousands of cows and highest prosperity. Ahirbudhnya is the correct and ancient form. In about ten passages of the Ṛgveda 'Ahirbudhnyaḥ' appears to be some deity (probably Agni),

vide. Ṛg I. 186. 5, II. 31. 6, V. 41, 16, VI. 49. 14, VI. 50. 14; VII. 34. 17, VII. 35. 13, VII. 38. 5, &c. and Nir. X. 44.

Ākāśadīpa—Lighting lamps fed with ghee or oil in K. intending them for some deity or in a temple or where four roads meet. Aparārka 370–372 (for dīpadāna), Manu IV. 29, RM 1351–57 (vide BORI vol. 36 p. 330), NS. 195.

Āgneyavrata—once on any 9th tithi; worship Vindhyavāsinī with flowers &c. (five *upacāras*), HV I 958–59 (quoting Bhav U.)

Ājñāsaṅkrānti—A Saṅkrāntivrata; begin on a holy saṅkrānti day; Sun deity; at end gift of golden image of Sun with Aruṇa, chariot and seven horses; reward unquestioned sway everywhere; HV II. 738 (quoting Skanda).

Ājyakambala-vidhi—One of the 14 yātrās of Bhuvaneśvara; when Sun enters Makara-rāśi; GK 191.

Ādityavāra—has various names (12 in all) when conjoined with certain tithis, nakṣatras and months; it is *Nanda* in M. śu. 6, when *nakta* and anointing Sun image with ghee and offering flowers of Agasti tree and white sandalwood paste and *guggulu-dhūpa* and naivedya of apūpa; HV II 522–23, KKV 10–12; it is Bhadra when Bh. śu. has Sunday; one may observe nakta or fast on that day, offer in the noon mālatī flowers, white *candana* paste, vijaya incense; HV II 523–24, KKV 12–13; in the same way Saumya (Sunday with Rohiṇī nakṣatra); Kāmada (Sunday on Mārg. śu. 6); Jaya (Sunday in Dakṣiṇāyana); Jayanta (Sunday in Uttarāyaṇa); Vijaya (Sunday on śu. 7 with Rohiṇī); Putrada (Sunday with Rohiṇī or Hasta, fast and śrāddha with piṇḍas); Ādityābhimukha (Sunday on Māgha dark 7, ekabhakta, japa of Mahāśvetā mantra from morning till sunset); Hṛdaya (Sunday with saṅkrānti when observance of nakta, facing the Sun in a Sun temple and japa of Ādityahṛdaya mantra 108 times); Rogaha (Sunday on Pūrvāphalgunī, worship with arka flowers collected in a bowl of arka leaves); Mahāśvetāpriya (Sunday and solar eclipse, fast, japa of Mahāśvetā); Mahāśvetā mantra is 'hrīṃ hrīṃ sa iti' (vide HV II. 521). For the last ten, vide KKV 12-23, HV II. 524–528 (with variations in both works).

Ādityamaṇḍala-vidhi—On a circle made with red sandalwood paste or saffron, place pastry made with white wheat or barley flour mixed with jaggery and ghee (from cow milk)

and worship of; Sun thereon with red flowers; HV I. 753–754 (quoting Bhav U 44. 1–9) AK (folio 462b ff).

Ādityavāra-naktavrata—observe ekabhakta on Sunday, nakta on following Sunday or on Sunday with Hasta nakṣatra; Vāravrata; Sun deity; one year; Mat. 97. 2–19 q. by KKV 31–34, HV II. 538–541, KR 608–610.

Ādityavāravrata—from Mārg.; worship of the Sun; for one year; each month different name of Sun taken and different fruits offered such as Mitra and cocoanut in Mārg., in P. Viṣṇu and fruit *bījapūra* and so on. Vratārka, folios 375b–377a. It removes all diseases including leprosy.

Ādityavāravratāni—HV II. 520–577, KKV 8 ff, Vratārka folios 3754b–3794b.

Ādityavrata—(1) for men and specially for women; begin on Āśv. Sunday; for one year; Sun deity; Vratārka (folio 378a) narrates from Skanda how Sāmba was cursed by Kṛṣṇa to become a leper and was cured of leprosy by this vrata; (2) Sunday and 14th tithi and Revatī, or Sunday, 8th tithi and Maghā; worship of Śiva; sesame to be eaten; HV II. 589.

Ādityaśayana—On 7th tithi with Sunday and Hasta-nakṣatra or when there is Saṅkrānti of the Sun on 7th with Sunday; worship of the images of Umā and Śiva (the Sun is non-different from Śiva); salutations to Sun identifying his various limbs from the feet with nakṣatras from Hasta onwards; gift of splendid bed with five coverlets and pillows and of a cow; Mat. 55. 2–33 q. by KKV 404–408 and Pad. V. 24. 64–96 (q. by HV II. 680–684).

Ādityaśāntivrata—Sunday with Hasta; worship of Sun image with fuel sticks of *arka* plant (108 or 28 in number); homa of sticks with honey and ghee or curds and ghee; 7 times; HV II. 537–38 (from Bhav.)

Ādityahṛdayavidhi—Ādityahṛdaya is a mantra to be repeated 108 times in a Sun temple on Sunday when there is saṅkrānti and observe nakta; HV II. 526 (from Bhav.). In the Rāmāyaṇa (Yuddhakāṇḍa 107) Agastya comes to Rāma and advises him to mutter a sublime praise of the Sun (called Ādityahṛdaya) in verse to secure victory in the final stage of the battle with Rāvaṇā; KKV (19–20) mentions this but holds that if there is saṅkrānti on a Sunday, the latter is called Hṛdaya or Ādityahṛdaya.

Ādityābhimukhavidhi—Vide KKV 18–19, HV II. pp. 525–26, KR 494–495 (last two quoting from Bhav.); after morning bath one should stand with face towards the sun till sunset, repeat reclining against a pillar the Mahāśvetā and worship the sun with *gandha*, flowers &c.; to give dakṣiṇā and then take his meal.

Anantaryavrata—begin on Mārg. śu. 3; nakta on 2nd and fast on 3rd of each fortnight; for a year; Umā worshipped under different names on each 3rd, the *naivedya* is different and the performer is to subsist on different foods for nakta; specially recommended to women; it is so called because it prevents *antara* (separation) from one's sons, friends and relatives. HV I. 405–413.

Ānandanavami—begin on Phā. śu. 9; for one year; ekabhakta on 5th, nakta on 6th, ayācita on 7th, fast on 8th and 9th; worship of Devī; year divided into three parts; flowers, naivedya, the name of Devi &c. differ in each period of four months; KKV 299–301, HV I. 948–950 (reads ' anandā ').

Ānandapañcamī—5th tithi is dear to Nāgas; worship of nāgas (images) by bathing them with milk; they bestow freedom from fear; HV I pp. 557–560; for names of nāgas vide under Nāgapañcamī p. 124 and note 321.

Ānandavrata—For four months from Cai. distribute water without being requested for it; at end of vrata, gift of a jar filled with water, along with food, clothes, vessel full of sesame and gold; KKV 443, HV I pp. 742–43 (from Mat.), VKK 520, KR 85, Mat. 101. 31–32.

Ānandasaphalasaptamī—On Bh. śu. 7; for one year; fast; Bhav. (I. 110. 1–8), KKV 148–149, HV I. 741. In some mss. written as ' Anantaphala '.

Āndolaka-mahotsava—in Vasanta; Bhav U. 133. 24.

Āndolanavrata—on Cai. śu. 3; worship of Pārvatī and Śiva (images) and swinging them in a *dolā*; HV II. 745–748, SmK. 90–91, PC 85; HV prescribes Ṛg. X. 81. 3 (Viśvataś-cakṣur-uta) as the mantra.

Āmardakīvrata—On 12th śu. of any month, specially of Phā.; Āmardakī = Dhātrī (myrobalan); one year; 12th with various nakṣatras is given various names e. g. Vijayā (with Śravaṇa), Jayantī (with Rohiṇī), Pāpanaśanī (with Puṣya); fast on this last is equal to one thousand Ekādaśīs; one

should perform *jāgara* (keeping awake) in Viṣṇu worship under Āmardakī tree; story of birth of Āmardaka tree; HV I. 1214–1222.

Āmalakyekādaśī—On Phā. śu. 11; worship of Hari at the root of *āmalaka* tree, in which he and Lakṣmī are deemed to reside; Pad. VI. 47. 33 ff. and HV I. 1155–56 (from Skanda, Prabhāsakhaṇḍa), SMK 516. SmK (364–366) gives an elaborate description of the worship of Dāmodara and Rādhā under the Āmalakī tree on K. pūrṇimā or any day in K.

Āmrapuṣpabhakṣaṇa—Cai. Śu. I; eating the blossom of mango trees as part of Madana worship; SMK 519, VVK 516–517.

Āyudhavrata—(1) for four months from Śr.; worship of conch, wheel, mace and lotus (identified with Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha); Vi. Dh. III. 148. 1–6 q. by HV II 831; (2) Vi. Dh. III. 155. 1–7.

Āyurvrata—(1) Applying sandalwood paste to Śambhu and Keśava; for one year; at end gift of cow with jar of water; KKV 442 (12th among ṣaṣṭivratas); (2) on Full Moon day; worship of Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu; fast and gifts to brāhmaṇas and to young married ladies; HV II. 227–229 (from Gar).

Āyuḥsaṅkrāntivrata—On Saṅkrānti day; worship of the Sun; gifts of bell-metal vessel, milk, ghee and gold; udyāpana as in Dhānyasaṅkrānti; HV II 737, Vratārka (folio 389).

Āraṇyakaṣaṣṭhī—Vide Araṇyaṣaṣṭhī above.

Ārogyadvitīyā—begin on P. śu. 2; for a year on each śu. 2; worship of moon's crescent; on Mārg. śu. 2 after worship of crescent gifts of two garments, gold and a jar of liquid; HV I. 389–91 quoting Vi. Dh. II. 58; result is health and prosperity.

Ārogyapratipad—begin on first tithi at the end of a year; one year; worship of printed image of Sun on every pratipad; reward same as above. HV I. 341–42 (quoting Vi. Dh.), Vratārka (folio 28), VR 53.

Ārogyavrata—(1) from *pratipad* after Bh. Full Moon up to Āśv. Full Moon; worship of Aniruddha by day with lotuses and jātī flowers; homa, fast of three days before end; secures health, beauty, prosperity; Vi. Dh. III. 205. 1–7 (q. by HV II 761); (2) It is a daśamīvrata; fast on 9th and worship of Lakṣmī and Hari on 10th; HV I 963–965 (from Gar).

Ārogyasaptamī—On M. śu. 7; fast on each saptamī for one year; worship of Sun; Var. 62. 1–5, q. by KKV 223–224 and HV I 747; TT. 36, KT 460; secures health and wealth.

Ārdrādarśana or Ārdrābhiṣeka—on full moon of Mārg.; people flock for darśana of Naṭarāja (the dancing Śiva) and at Chidambaram in south India a great festival is held for this.

Ārdrānandakarī-tṛtīyā—begin on Śu. 3 when it has either Uttarāṣāḍhā nakṣatra, Pūrvāṣāḍhā or Abhijit or Hasta or Mūla; for one year divided into three periods; worship of Bhavānī and Śiva; salutations to the feet and other limbs of Devī up to her mukuṭa; Mat. 64. 1–28 (same as Pad. q. by HV I. 471–474), KKV 51–55, BhavU. 27.

Ālekhyasarpapañcamī—Bh. śu. 5; tithi-vrata; Nāgas drawn with coloured powders and worshipped; result–no danger from snakes; Bhav. (Brāhmaparva 37. 1–3) q. by KKV 94–95, HV I. 567, S. Pr. folio 26a.

Āśādaśamī—begin on any śu. 10th tithi; period 6 months, a year, two years; draw in one's own court figures of the ten quarters to be worshipped; all one's desires are fulfilled (*āśā* means 'directions' and also 'hope' or 'desire'); HV I. 977–981, VR 356–7; if *viddhā*, perform on that day when *daśamī* exists in the forenoon.

Āśāditya-vrata—Begin on a Sunday in Āśv.; for one year; worship of Sun with 12 different names; HV II. 533–37 (from Skanda), Vratārka folio 379b; Sāmba became free from leprosy by means of this.

Āśrama-vrata—begin on Cai. Śu. 4; for a year divided into three periods of four months; Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha to be worshipped one after another in each period. Vi. Dh. III. 142. 1–7 q. by HV I 505, VP (folio 59).

Āśvinakṛtya—Vide KR 301–397, VKK 343–458, NS 144–192, SMK 287–373, KT 444–447. This month has numerous observances and festivals. The important ones will be separately entered in the list. A few lesser ones are noted here. V. Dh. (90. 24–25) provides that by donating ghee everyday in this month, a man pleases Aśvins and becomes handsome and by feeding brāhmaṇas with cow's milk (and its products) he secures a kingdom. On śu. 1 there is mother's father's śrāddha by a grandson whose father is alive (vide H. of Dh. vol. IV p. 533); on that day also begins

Navarātra; on śu. 4 worship of Satī (Pārvatī who threw herself in a lake on that date) with arghya, flowers &c. and honour is to be paid to chaste women, mother, sister and other women whose husbands are alive (KKN 404, KR 348); on śu. 5 nāgas made of kuśa grass and Indrāṇī are to be worshipped (NA 47, KR 348); in bright half on a tithi with an auspicious nakṣatra and muhūrta going to field having ripe crops with music and dance, one should offer homa and should eat the new corn with curds as also new grapes (KKN 405, KR 303); in Śukla pakṣa when there is nakṣatra Svāti Uccaiḥśravas (Sun's horse) first carried the Sun and hence he and one's horses should be honoured by an owner of horses (KKN 407, KR 347); in śu. pakṣa on Mūla one should invite Sarasvatī, establish her on Pūrvāṣāḍhā in books, offer oblations to her on Uttarāṣāḍhā and take leave of her on Śravaṇa and one should not read, teach or write during these days (NS 171, SmK 352, PC 73). In Tamil lands Sarasvatī-pūjā in books on Āśv. śu. 9; Tulāmāsa (Āśv.) is sacred for bath in Kāverī river; and on Amāvāsyā there is a special bath in Kāverī river.

Āṣāḍha-kṛtya—KR 196–218, KT 434–437, VKK 283–292, NS 101–109; SMK 137–148. Some of the smaller observances of Āṣāḍha are mentioned here. Ekabhakta vrata for whole month (SMK 137, KR 196); gift of sandals, umbrella, salt and myrobalans (v. l. 'new kambala') to a brāhmaṇa for securing favour of Vāmana (avatāra) on the first or on some convenient day of Āṣāḍha; on śu. 2. if there is Puṣya nakṣatra, Rathotsava of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā (TT 29, NS 101, SMK 137); on śu. 7 (fast on 6th and) worship of Sun called Vivasvat who appeared on Pūrvāṣāḍhā that day (KKN 390, SmK 138); on 8th image of Devī that killed Mahiṣāsura should be bathed with turmeric water and camphor and sandalwood paste, and feast to brāhmaṇas and maidens full of sweet dishes and tasty liquids and lamps lighted; NA 56, SmK 138; as to 9th see under Ubhaya-navamī; on tenth Varalakṣmīvrata (very important in Tamil country) and worship on a *kalaśa;* as to 11th and 12th vide under these words; Full Moon is very holy and gifts must be made (Rāmāyaṇa q. by KR 214); if there be Uttarāṣāḍhā nakṣatra on Pūrṇimā worship of ten Viśve-devas (KKN 393, KR 213 and H. of Dh. vol. IV p. 457); gift of food on Pūrṇimā gives inexhaustible merit (V. Dh.); on Pūrṇimā

ascetics to shave and perform Vyāsapūjā (NS 109, SMK 144-146); on dark 8 Vināyakapūjā (KKN 390, KR 198); Āṣ. Kṛ. 8 is Manvādi tithi.

Induvrata—58th of the 60 saṁvatsara-vratas m. in KKV 451 (one verse which is Mat. 101. 80 and is quoted from Pad. by HV II. 883). One has to honour a householder and his wife three times a day and give a cow at end of the year.

Indradhvajotthānotsava- (festival of the raising of Indra's banner). On Bh. śu. 8 the pole for the banner was to be brought or made of sugarcane and was to be worshipped with attendant deities and was to be taken down and cast in deep water. It was raised on Śravaṇa, Dhaniṣṭhā or Uttarāṣāḍhā nakṣatra and taken down on Bharaṇī at night. It is elaborately described in Varāha's Bṛhatsaṁhitā, chap. 43, Kālikāpurāṇa (90), R M verses 1260-1292 (vide BORI. vol. 36 pp. 323-327), HV II 401-419, TT. 115-117, VKK 322-323, KV 294-299, KR 292-293. It was recommended for observance by king. It is mentioned in Buddhacarita (SBE 49 part I. p. 113), Raghuvaṁśa IV 3, Mṛcchakaṭika X. 7, in the 1st book of Maṇimekhalai and 5th of Śilappadhikāram, and in an inscription published in E. I. XII. 320 (dated in 461 of Mālava era i. e. 404-5 A. D.). It is described in Kālikāpurāṇa 90, in Kṛtyakalpataru (on Rājadharma) pp 184-190 (from Devīpurāṇa), in RNP pp 421-423, and is mentioned in Nāgānanda I. Vide H. of Dh. II pp.825-826 for description. RNP (pp 430-433) quotes several Paurāṇika āśīrvāda mantras and prārthanāmantras from the Viṣṇudharmottara.

Indravrata—47th of the 60 Saṁvatsara-vratas described in KKV p. 449. One has to sleep in the open in the rainy season, and make a gift of a milch cow. It is Mat. 101. 69.

Indrapaurṇamāsī—HV II. 196 (one verse from BhavU). Fast on Bh. Full Moon and honouring thirty householders with their wives with ornaments; secures *mokṣa*. Vide GK 176.

Iṣṭajātyavāpti—Vi. Dh. III. 200. 1-5; begin in Cai. and in K.; worship Hari with Ṛg. X. 90 1-16 and the 16 upacāras and at end gift of a cow.

Īśānavrata—Fast on śu. 14 and on Full Moon day when it is a Thursday; worship of Liṅga with Viṣṇu to the left and Khakholka (the Sun) to the right; five years; gift of one cow at end of 1st year, of 2 at end of 2nd, of 3 at end of 3rd, of

4 at the end of 4th and five at the end of 5th; KKV 383–385, HV II. 179–180 (from Kālikā).

Īśvaragaṇagaurīvrata—18 days from Cai. Kṛ. 1 to Cai. śu. 3; this is meant only for women whose husbands are alive; worship of Gaurī and Śiva; well-known in Mālava (Māḷwa); AK folio 237.

Īśvara-vrata—On dark 14th; worship of Śiva; HV II. 148 (from Bhav., 4½ verses).

Ugra-nakṣatras—are the three Pūrvās (Pūrvāṣāḍhā, Pūrvābhādrapadā, Purvāphalgunī), Maghā and Bharaṇī. Vide under Nakṣatra and Bṛ. S. 97. 8.

Uttamabhartṛprāpti—on 12th of śu. of Vasanta; Viṣṇu is deity; Var. 54. 1–19.

Uttarāyaṇa—Gifts are recommended at the beginning of each *ayana* (vide Śātātapa in KV 536 and VKK 292) and gifts made at the beginning of an *ayana* yield a crorefold of merit, while a gift on Amāvāsyā gives only 100 times (RM q. by KV. 381, VKK 214). Vide I. A. vol. 20 pp. 104–106 for a grant of Eastern Cālukya king Mango-yuvarāja on the occasion of Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti.

Utthāpanaikādaśī—on K. śu. 11; GK 188, KSS 42 (has three mantras for Viṣṇutthāpana).

Utpattyekādaśī—Vide VK No. 694.

Utsarjana—Vide H. of Dh. vol. II 815–818, NS 120–121, SmK 164–167.

Utsavas—Numerous utsavas are mentioned in the Purāṇas and works on vrata. Some of these such as Holikā, Durgotsava have already been described at some length above. A few more will be briefly dealt with at appropriate places in the list. The word 'utsava' occurs in Ṛg. I. 100. 8 and I. 102. 1 and is derived from the root *sū* in the sense of 'urging or inspiring' by Sāyaṇa. Vide 'India Antiqua' (a volume presented to Dr. J. Ph. Vogel) pp 146–153 where Prof. Gonda derives it from root 'su' (rather unconvincingly).

Udakasaptamī—drinking only a handful of water on 7th tithi gives happiness; KKV 184, HV I. 726 (from Bhav).

Udasevikā—same as Bhūtamātṛ-utsava. This utsava followed immediately after the Indradhvaja was taken down (i. e. it took place on Bh. śu. 13). It somewhat resembled the wild

and mystic Roman Bacchanalia. In HV II 359–365, KKN 413–421 and KR 387–395 this festival is described at length from the Skanda. The origin is traced to Bhairava and a girl called Udasevikā (whose body was smeared with mud) sprung from the mind of Śiva and Pārvatī respectively. They became husband and wife. All people become on this day vociferous about sexual matters. Men and women go out like crazy persons, ride asses, bulls and dogs, smear themselves with ashes and mud, even men 100 years old act like boys, become void of shame, utter obscene songs, dress like cowherds, *dombas,* barbers and also went about naked. It is remarkable that Skanda averred that gods and *pitṛs* did not accept the offerings of a man who did not take part in this festival and remained aloof. There was difference of views about the time when the utsava was to be celebrated. Vide HV II p. 368, and VP (folios 91–92), which place it in Jy. kṛ. 1 to 15 (by pūrṇimānta reckoning).

Uddālakavrata—Vide Vas. Dh. S. XI. 76–77; it was prescribed for one who was patitasāvitrīka. See H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 376–377. In HV II p. 932 (from Brah.), it is described as subsisting on āmikṣā and boiled milk for two months each, eight days on curds, three days on ghee and total fast for one day.

Udyāpana—Vide pp. 120–21 above. It is said in KTV 95 that in some vratas like Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī to be observed throughout one's life there is no udyāpana.

Unmīlanīvrata—Ekādaśī mixed with dvādaśī. Vide p. 119 above; Pad. VI. 37–29 ff. and SmK 250–2.

Upacāras—(items in worship of images). Vide pp. 34–37 above.

Upavāsavrata—See under Ekādaśī pp. 97–100; vide Vi. Dh. I. 59. 3–5 for rewards of fast on week-days from Monday, *ibid* I. 59. 6–15 for fasts on nakṣatras and I. 59. 15–20 for fasts on tithis from 1 to 15. No upavāsa beyond a month was allowed. Vide S. Pr. folio 300, HV II. 776–783.

Upākarma—Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 807–815.

Upāṅgalalitā—Āśv. śu. 5: tithi; Lalitādevī (i. e. Pārvatī); prevalent in the Deccan; story of brāhmaṇa Gautama from Broach, KTV 218 (ff); SmK 343–352, PC 99, VR 206–219 (from Skanda).

Ubhayadvādaśī—Begin on Mārg. Kṛ. 12, then P. śu. 12 and so on for one year on all 24 dvādaśīs; tithi; the 24 forms of

Viṣṇu viz. Keśava, Nārāyaṇa and others are to be worshipped; HV I. 1013–1021.

Ubhayanavamī—Begin on P. śu. 9; one year; Cāmuṇḍā worship; each month different material for making image of Devī and different name; buffalo flesh offered on some days and performer to observe nakta and feed maidens on each navamī. KKV 274–282, HV I. 921–928, KR 203–4, 445–446, 517 (all from Bhav.), VP. folio 66a.

Ubhayasaptamī—begin on śu. 7; tithi; one year in each pakṣa; Sun deity; KKV 159–160, HV I. 748–753 (both from Bhav. I. 165. 1–45); (2) begin on M. śu. 7; for one year; every month a different name of the Sun to be worshipped; Bhav, U. 47. 1–25.

Ubhayaikādaśī—Begin on 11th in Mārg.; tithi; one year (in each pakṣa); Viṣṇu; different names (such as Keśava, Nārāyaṇa) in dark half and other names of Kṛṣṇa in śu. pakṣa. Vraṭārka folios 233b–237a. It notes that among Gurjaras it is called 'Ubhayā' simply.

Umācaturthī—M. śu. 4; tithi; Umā; KKN 437–438, SPr (folio 47b), KR 503; Men and specially women should worship with *kunda* flowers and should observe fast.

Umāmaheśvaravrata—(1) Begin on Bh. pūrṇimā; saṅkalpa on 14th; tithi; worship of golden or silver images of Umā and Śiva; Vratārka folios 336a–343b (from Śivarahasya); well-known in Karṇāṭaka; (2) begin on pūrṇimā, amāvāsyā, 14th or 8th tithi; one year; Umā and Śiva to be worshipped; *nakta* with *haviṣyānna* on those tithis; HV II. 395 (from Śivadharma); (3) on 8th and 14th tithis; one is to fast for one year on those two tithis; HV II. 396 (from Śivadharmottara; (4) begin on first tithi of Mārg.; tithi; one year; same deities; Liṅga, purvārdha 84. 23–72; (5) Begin on Mārg. śu. 3; tithi; one year; same deities as above; Bhav U. 23. 1–28, Liṅga, pūrvardha 84; (6) HV. II. 691–693 (from Devīpurāṇa), KKV 414–416.

Umādipūjā—Cai. śu. 2; tithi; worship of Umā, Śiva and Agni; SmK 8, PC 83.

Ulkānavamī—9th tithi of Āśv. śu.; tithi; one year; worship of Mahiṣāsuramardinī with mantra 'Mahiṣaghni Mahāmāye' HV I. 895 (from Bhav U.). Another variety is; HV I. 897–9 and VP folio 187a (from Saurapurāṇa);

mantra is the same as in first variety. The vrata is so called because the man appears to his enemies like ulkā (firebrand) and the woman performer to her co-wives just like ulkā.

Uṣaḥkāla—The period of five ghaṭīs before sunrise, or 55 ghaṭīs after the preceding sunrise is so called 'Pañca-pañca uṣaḥkālaḥ saptapañcāruṇodayaḥ । aṣṭapañca bhavet prātaḥ śeṣaḥ sūryodayo mataḥ ॥' KSS 52 (from Devībhāgavata).

Ṛtuvratas—HV II. 858–861; mentions five seasonal vratas which are entered at the proper places in this list; vide also VKK 237–240, SmK pp. 548–552.

Ṛṣipañcamī—Vide pp. 149–151 above.

Ekānaṅgāpūjā—on K. śu. 4th, 8th, 9th or 14th; on the last women worship Ekānaṅgā under a tree bearing fruit and ask a hawk or other bird to carry to Bhagavatī the excellent morsel of food that they offer and on this day the wife takes her food first and serves it to her husband afterwards; KR 413–414 (from Brah).

Aiśvaryatṛtīyā—on 3rd tithi worship Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Śiva and the three worlds with mantras addressed to them separately; secures great prosperity; HV I. 498 (from Vi. Dh.).

Kajjalī—Bh. Kṛ. 3 (by pūrṇimānta reckoning); tithi; Viṣṇupūjā; NS 123, AK (folio 274a, says it is on Śr. Kṛ. 3). NS says it is well-known in Madhyadeśa.

Kaṭadānotsava—This festival was performed on Bh. śu. 11 and 12 or 15 when Viṣṇu was supposed to change the side on which he slept for two months; HV II. 813, SmK 153.

Kadalīvrata—on 14th of Bh. śu.; tithi; plantain plant to be worshipped for health, beauty, progeny &c.; HV II 132–133 (from Bhav U.). Vratārka says that among Gurjaras it is performed on the Full moon of K, M or Vai. and all upacāras are offered with Paurāṇic mantras and Udyāpana is performed on the same tithis in those months or in any sacred month. If no kadalī available, worship golden image (folio 292a–296a). Vide also AK (folio 611a).

Kapardīśvara-Vināyakavrata—4th tithi of Śr. śu.; tithi; worship of Gaṇeśa; Vratārka folios 78b–84a (from Skanda), VR 160–168; both refer to Vikramārkapura and say Vikramāditya performed it.

Kapilāṣaṣṭhī-vrata—on Bh. Kṛ. (by amānta reckoning) or Āśvina kṛ by (pūrṇimānta) 6th; conjoined to Tuesday, Vyatīpāta-yoga, Rohiṇī-nakṣatra acc. to HV I 578 (Prosthapadāsite pakṣe ṣaṣṭhī Bhaumena saṁyutā । Vyatīpātena Rohiṇyā sā ṣaṣṭhī kapilā smṛtā ॥). If in addition to the above the Sun is in Hasta nakṣatra then the results are greater still; worship of Bhāskara; gift of a kapilā cow. HV I 577-78 (from Skanda), NS 152, PC 102, VR 221-231. Some works refer it to Āśv.; but when Bh. is mentioned it must be taken to be *amānta* as the concurrence of Rohiṇī is possible on that supposition alone. The conjunction of so many items is rare, generally found once in 60 years. For reference to Kapilāṣaṣṭhī, vide I. A. vol. 25 p. 345 where a Canarese inscription of Vijayanagar king Kṛṣṇarāya (in Bh. Kṛ. 6 of *śake* 1435 corresponding to Tuesday, 20-9-1513) refers to it.

Kamalaṣaṣṭhī—Mārg. śu. 5-7; tithi; one year; Brahmā is devatā; begin niyamas on 5th, fast on 6th and gift of lotus made of gold and sugar to a brāhmaṇa; on 7th morning honouring brāhmaṇa and feeding him kṣīra; 12 different names of Brahmā in 12 months; Bhav U. 39.

Kamalasaptamī—begin on Cai. śu. 7; tithi; one year; Divākara (Sun) is devatā; Mat. 78. 1-11 (q. by KKV 217-219) = Pad. V. 21. 281-290 (HV I 640-641 quotes these and a few more as from Pad.), KR 119-121. Vide also Bhav U. 50. 1-11; VP (folio 61b) quotes from Pad. the verse 'Bhāskarāya vidmahe saptāśvāya dhīmahi । tan me bhānuḥ pracodayāt ॥' in imitation of the famous Gāyatrī (Ṛg. III. 62. 10).

Karakacaturthī—for women only; on K. Kṛ. 4; tithi; worship of picture of Gaurī accompanied by Śiva, Gaṇeśa and Skanda drawn under a vaṭa tree with all upacāras; gift of ten karakas (vessels) to brāhmaṇas and arghya to Moon after moonrise. NS 196, Vratārka folio 84a-86a, VR 172 ff (mentions month as Āśv. by amānta reckoning), SmK. 367 (quoting Vā), PC 95 (which says it is same as Daśarathacaturthī).

Karakāṣṭamī—8th of K. Kṛ.; worship of Gaurī at night, gift of nine jars filled with scented water and surrounded with garlands; he should take food after feeding nine maidens; AK folio 547a (remarks it is well-known in Mahārāṣṭra).

Karaṇavratāni—The karaṇas will be described in the next section. Vide Bṛ. S. chap. 99, Vi. Dh. I. 83. 24 ff, HV II 718–726 (quoting Brahmāṇḍa and other purāṇas), SmK 564–565.

Karavīrapratipad-vrata—on 1st of Jy. śu.; tithi; worship of Karavīra plant growing in a temple garden; HV I 353 (from Bhav U. 10), SmK 117. The mantra is 'ā kṛṣṇena' (Ṛg. I. 35. 2). It is observed in Tamil country but on Vai. śu. 1.

Karivrata—miscellaneous vrata (prakīrṇaka); Brahmā devatā; KKV 449 (quoting Mat. 101. 72), HV II. 911 (from Pad., same verses); a fast and gift of golden chariot with two elephants.

Kalaśa—a jar or jars are used as auspicious in marriage, establishment of an idol, marching on an expedition, coronation &c.; up to 108 may be employed; their circumference should be from 15 to 50 finger-breadths, height 16 *aṅgulas*, base 12 aṅgulas and mouth 8 aṅgulas. HV (I. 608) derives the word (' Kalām kalām gṛhītvā ca devānām Viśvakarmaṇā । nirmitoyaṁ surair yasmāt-kalaśastena ucyate ॥); vide HV I. 65–66 for kalaśotpatti and its measurements. A pūrṇa kalaśa is mentioned in Ṛg. III. 32. 15.

Kalkidvādaśī—12th of Bh. śu.; tithi; Kalkin devatā; Var. 48. 1–24, some of which are q. by KKV 332–333 and HV I. 1038–39. Vide ' avatāras ' above.

Kalpavṛkṣa-vrata—Saṁvatsarvrata; one of the ṣaṣṭivratas in Mat. 101, q. by KKV 446; HV II. 910–911 (quotes from Pad. same verses).

Kalpādi—seven tithis are mentioned as the beginnings of Kalpas in Mat. viz. Vai. śu. 3, Phā. Kṛ. 3, Cai. śu 5, Cai. Kṛ. 5 (or amāvasyā ?), M. śu 13, K. śu. 7, Mārg. śu 9. Vide HK 670–1. NS 82, SmK. 5–6 and H. of Dh. IV. 374. They are śrāddha tithis. Hemādri mentions 30 tithis as Kalpādi from Nāgarakhaṇḍa. The Mat. (chap. 290. 3–11) names thirty Kalpas somewhat different from those in the Nāgarakhaṇḍa.

Kalpānta—See Vi. Dh. I. 77 for description.

Kalyāṇasaptamī—begin on śū. 7th tithi on a Sunday. That tithi is called Kalyāṇinī or Vijayā; one year; Sun worship; in 13th month gift of 13 cows. Mat. 74. 5–20 (q. by KKV 208–211) and Bhav U. 48. 1–16; HV I. 638-640 (quotes almost same verses from Pad. Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa 21. 216–235).

Kāñcanagaurī—Bh. śu. 3; tithi; Gaurīpūjā; NA 39, GK 72.

Kāñcanapurīvrata—A miscellaneous vrata (prakīrṇaka); on Śu. 3, Kṛ. 11, Pūrṇimā, Amāvāsyā, 8th tithi or Saṅkrānti; gift of golden purī (town) with walls of gold, silver or lead, pillars of gold, silver &c.; in most of the manufactured town, images of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī; HV II. 868–876 (from Gar.), Bhav U. 147; practised by Gaurī and Śiva, Rāma and Sītā, Damayantī and Nala, Kṛṣṇa and Pāṇḍavas. Confers everything and frees from all sins.

Kātyāyanīvrata—Bhāgavata X. 22. 1–7. The story is that maidens in Nandavraja worshipped in Mārgaśīrṣa the image of Kātyāyanī for a month for securing Kṛṣṇa as husband.

Kāntāradīpadānavidhi—lighting eight lamps on a post of sacrificial tree for one month from Āśv. Pūrṇimā to K. Pūrṇimā, or on three nights (Āśv. pūrṇimā, Āśv. amāvāsyā and K. pūrṇimā) or only on K. pūrṇimā, acc. to one's ability; deities Dharma, Rudra, Dāmodara; KKN 452–456 (from Mat.), KR 382–386 (quoting some verses from Brah.); KR 382–386; '*kāntāro durgamam vartma*' KR 386. This rite was principally meant for the benefit of *pretas* (disembodied spirits) and pitṛs (manes).

Kāntivrata—(1) K. śu. 2; tithi; for a year; worship of Balarāma and Keśava and of the crescent of the moon; homa with sesame for 4 months from K. and with ghee for four months from Āṣāḍha; at end of year gift of a silver image of Moon to a brāhmaṇa; KKV 47–48 (from Var. 57. 1–18); HV I. 378–379 (from Var.); (2) in Vai.; Saṁvatsaravrata; giving up in whole of Vai. salt and flowers, KKV 445.

Kāmatrayodaśī—on 13th; tithi; worship of Kāma (god of love); HV II. 25 (from Bhav.), VKK 70.

Kāmatrivrata—worship of several goddesses such as Umā, Medhā, Bhadrakālī, Kātyāyanī, Anasūyā, Varuṇa-patnī; result is accomplishment of desired objects; HV I 575–576 (from Vi. Dh.).

Kāmadavidhi—worship of Sun on the Sunday that occurs on Mārg. śu 6 with Karavīra flowers smeared with red sandalwood paste; KKV 14.

Kāmadāsaptamī—7th of Phā. śu.; tithi; for a year; worship of Sūrya (sun); in each group of four months from Phā. worship with different flowers, different *dhūpa* and different

naivedya; KKV 169–172, HV I. 728–731 (both quote from Bhav. I. 105. 1–29).

Kāmadevapūjā—on Cai. śu. 12; tithi; worship of Love-god drawn on a piece of cloth with various flowers and keeping in front of the picture a jar of cool water covered with flowers; wives are to be honoured by the husbands on this day; KKN 384.

Kāmadevavrata—begin on Vai. śu. 13; tithi; for one year; worship of Kāmadeva; Vi. Dh. III. 183 q. by HV II. 18, VP (folio 86a).

Kāmadhenuvrata—for five days from K. Kṛ. 11; tithi; Śrī and Viṣṇu devatā; lighting lamps at night in the house, cowpen, *caityas*, temples of gods, roads, cemeteries, tanks; dice play at night with wife and relatives; fast on Ekādaśī and bathing Viṣṇu image with cow's milk or ghee, for four days; giving of a *dāna* called Kāmadhenu; HV II. 344–348 (from Vahni-purāṇa). This serves also as a prāyaścitta for all sins. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 874–875 for description of Kāmadhenu *dāna*.

Kāmadevatrayodaśī—(or Madana-trayodaśī) Cai. śu. 13; tithi; worship of Damana plant as identical with Madana; GK 152–153 (quoting Bhav.) and KT 465; vide Anaṅga-trayodaśī.

Kāmadevadvādaśī—begin on Mārg. śu. 12; on each 12th thereafter for one year; worship of Kāmadeva; SmK 114 (quoting Vi. Dh. I. 158).

Kāmamahotsava—on 14th of Cai. śu.; tithi; establishment of Madana and Rati on the night of 13th in a park and worship on 14th; the festival is to be celebrated with obscene words, with songs and music; next morning play with mud for a *prahara* (three hours); VKK 529–532 which quotes two verses (on p. 530) from RM. This is also called 'Caitrāvalī' and 'Madanabhañjī' in Śaivāgama. Vide KV 190 'Caitravihita- Aśokāṣṭamī- Madanatrayodaśī - Caitrāvalī- Madanabhañjikā-Caturdaśī-prabhṛtīn' and RM. (folio 81a verses 1381–1384 ABORI 36 p. 333–34), KR 137–138.

Kāmavrata—(1) for women alone, KKV 421–424, HV II. 821–824 (both quote from Bhav.); begin in K.; Māsavrata; one year; worship of Sun; Hemādri calls it strī-putra-kāmāvāptivrata; (2) begin on 13th of P. śu.; observe nakta on each 13th and in Cai. donate a golden Aśoka tree and sugarcane stalks ten finger-breadths in length with the words

'May Pradyumna be pleased'; KKV 440, HV II. 25(quoting Pad.); (3) on 7th tithi of any month; tithi; worship of Suvarcalā, the Sun's wife; secures all desired objects; HV I. 790 (quoting Vi. Dh. one verse only); (4) begin on 5th of P. śu.; tithi; worship of Viṣṇu in the form of Kārtikeya; nakta on 5th, on 6th only one fruit to be eaten; on 7th pāraṇā; one year; gift of golden image of Kārtikeya and two garments to a brāhmaṇa; in this very life all the desires of the performer are fulfilled. Var. 61. 1–12 q. by KKV 98-99 and HV I. 615–616. HV calls it 'Kāmaṣaṣṭhī'.

Kāmaṣaṣṭhī—Vide the immediately preceding vrata (4).

Kāmāvāptivrata—on Kṛ. 14; tithi; worship of Mahākāla (Śiva); secures desired objects. HV II. 155 (one verse from Vi. Dh.)

Kāmikāvrata—Mārg. Kṛ. 2; tithi; golden or silver image with cakra (discus) to be worshipped and donated. AK (folio 251a).

Kārtika—For vratas in K., vide HV II 769–784, KR 397–442, VKK 453–481, NS 192–208, KSS 20–26, SmK 358–427, GK 24–32. It is said to be a very holy month, holier than all tīrthas and all solemn sacrifices. For its *māhātmya*, vide Skanda, Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa. chap. 9, Nār. (uttarārdha) chap. 22, Pad. VI. 92.

Kārtikasnānavrata—For the whole month of K. a person, taking bath early morning outside the house in a river, being engaged in *japa* of Gāyatrī and partaking only once in the day of sacrificial (haviṣya) food, becomes free from all sins committed in the year; V. Dh. 89. 1–4 q. by KKV 418, HV II. 762. Vide also RM folio 80a, 1358–1362 (vide ABORI 36 pp. 330–31). Pad. VI. 91 and 119. 12–13, KV 324, NS 192–194, SmK 358, GK 27–29.

Among the many things to be given up in K. is flesh. S. Pr. (folio 46) and KR (397–399) quote MB to the effect that giving up flesh-eating in Kārtika (particularly in the bright half) is equal to the performance of severe austerities (*tapas*) for a hundred years and that great ancient kings like Yayāti, Rāma and Nala did not eat flesh in K. and therefore went to heaven. Nār. (uttarārdha) 22. 58 avers that a man becomes a cāṇḍāla by eating flesh in K. Vide under Bakapañcaka.

Lighting lamps and making illuminations in K. in the temples of Śiva, Caṇḍī, the Sun and other gods is highly

eulogised. Vide Pad. III. 3. 13 ff, HV. II. 763–768, KR 403–404, KV 326, SmK. 358–59; worship of Keśava with flowers called muni (i. e. Agastya) for the whole month of K. excluding other flowers secures reward of Aśvamedha; TT. 147.

Kārtika śu. 1. Vide above under Divālī for the rites on this tithi; on śu. 2 worship of Yama (NS 203, PC 83, SmK (377) and Bhrātṛdvitīyā (vide pp. 207–208 above); on śu. 3 worship of Satīdevī (AK folio 295–296); śu. 4 Nāgacaturthī (GK 81); śu. 6 is called Mahāṣaṣṭhi on which there is Vahnimahotsava (SmK 378, PC 102); special importance if it falls on Tuesday; śu. 8 worship of Bhagavatī (KKN 424–425, KR 413); śu. 9 is yugādi tithi (śrāddha without piṇḍas may be performed) and Bhagavatī-pūjā (KKN 424–25, KR 413); śu. 10 partake of curds and eat only in the evening (KV 425, KR 420); śu. 11 is Bodhanī or Prabodhinī or utthāna-Ekādaśī when Viṣṇu rises from sleep (KKN 392, NS 205); this is specially sacred to Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas; on this tithi there is the marriage of Tulasī to Viṣṇu (SmK 366, 378, VR 384–86), vide also Bhīṣma-pañcaka vrata; there is Tulasīvivāha in Tamil and some other lands on 12th tithi; some observe Bodhana also on the 12th (KR 426); vide under Yogeśvara-dvādaśī; there is worship of Varāha avatāra (Var. 123. 8–11 q. by KKN 426) on this tithi; śu. 13, vide Liṅgārcanavrata; śu. 14. on this there is Vaikuṇṭha-caturdaśī, which see; on K. 14 the Brah. says that the mistress of the house in former ages took a tasty morsel of food, offered it to a hawk, and asked it to take it to Durgā and that she in the present age is to eat first on this day and then the husband has to offer honour to his wife (KKN 425 quoting Brah. and KR 413–14); Kārtika Pūrṇimā was called Mahā-Kārtikī, if the Moon and Jupiter on that tithi are both in the Kṛttikā (Pleiades) nakṣatra or there is Rohiṇī nakṣatra on it; KKN 372, VKK 481, SmK 406; HV II. 181 (quotes Bhav U) to the effect that if in addition to the above the pūrṇimā falls on a Monday it is a very holy day, which occurs rarely (īdṛśī bahubhir varṣair bahupuṇyena labhyate); In the Sunao plates of Saṅgama-siṁha (in 292 of the Kalacūri era i. e. 541 A. D.) there is mention of a grant to several brāhmaṇas of Bharukaccha (modern Broach) made on this day (E. I. X. p. 72), also C. I. I. Vol. IV Nos. 9, 11, 16, 17, 30 (five grants made on Kārtikī Pūrṇimā); vide HK 641, KR 430–431, NS 207 (for Mahākārtikī); on K. Full Moon also some celebrate Tulasī-vivāha (vide SmK 366); on K. Pūrṇimā the *Rathayātrā* of Brahmā was celebrated (Pad. V. 17. 217–253); on the Full moon

Bhav. prescribes the letting loose of a bull (SmK 390-406); on this pūrṇimā was celebrated Tripurotsava in the evening when illuminations were made with lamps in temples (NS 207, SmK 427); K. Kṛ. 4 vide Karaka-caturthī; K. Kṛ. 8 see Karakāṣṭamī; K. Kṛ. 12 worship of cows (HV I. 1180-1190, NS 196, SmK 367-368); on kṛ. 13 offering a lighted lamp to Yama outside the house; Kṛ. 14 and amāvāsyā (by the pūrṇimānta reckoning) vide under Narakacaturdaśī and Lakṣmī-pūjana above pp. 198-200 and KKV 423-424. On K. amāvāsyā one who had not performed or could not perform pārvaṇa-śrāddha in pitṛ-pakṣa (Bh. dark fortnight) could perform it on K. amāvāsyā.

Kārtikavrata—HV II. 762-763 (from Vahni-purāṇa); offer food full of ghee and honey to gods, pitṛs and men; worship of Hari and lighting lamps there remove sins and the performer goes to heaven.

Kārtikī—pūrṇimāvrata—K. śu. 15; tithi; the full Moon tithis in Vai., K., M. were highly honoured, and one should not allow them to pass without bath and donations; bath at holy places on those days is commended and gifts also according to monetary ability. The pre-eminent tīrtha on K. Full Moon is Puṣkara, in Vai. Ujjayinī and in M. Vārāṇasī. Gifts were to be made on these days not only to brāhmaṇas, but also to one's sister, sister's son, father's sister's son, maternal uncle and to poor relatives. In the Rāmāyaṇa Bharata took a *śapatha* (oath) before Kausalyā "if my elder brother went to the forest with my consent, may the Full Moon tithis of Vai., K., M., honoured even by gods, pass in my case without gifts"; HV II. 137-171 (quoting Bhav U) contains (on p. 170) this oath of Bharata. This verse about Full Moon of Vai. &c. does not occur in several editions of the Rāmāyaṇa though several other verses ending in 'Yasyāryonumate gataḥ' occur in Ayodhyākāṇḍa 75.

Kārtikeya-vrata—6th tithi; Kārtikeya is devatā; HV I. 605-606 (from Bhav.), Vratakāla-viveka p. 24.

Kārtikeya-ṣaṣṭhī—on Mārg. śu. 6; tithi; worship of golden, silver, clay or wooden image of Kārtikeya; HV I. 596-600 (from Bhav U. 42.1-29).

Kālabhairavāṣṭamī—Mārg. kṛ. 8; tithi; Kālabhairava is deity; VK 316-317, VKD 106.

Kālarātrivrata—on Āśv. śū. 8; *pakṣa* vrata; for all varṇas but not for those beyond the pale of caste system; fast for 7 or

3 days or one day according to physical ability; first pūjā of Gaṇeśa, Mātṛs, Skanda and Śiva and then homa which was to be in a kuṇḍa by a brāhmaṇa who had taken initiation as a Śaiva or by persons belonging to *avyaṅga* (Maga brāhmaṇas or Parsi ?) families; eight maidens to be fed and eight brāhmaṇas to be invited; HV II. 326-332 (from Kālikāpurāṇa).

Kālāṣṭamīvrata—on Bh. kṛ. 8 with Mṛgaśiras nakṣatra; tithivrata; one year; Vā. 16. 30-66 q. by KKV 258-263 and by HV I. 849-853, KN 196; Śiva is supposed to stay in liṅgas on this day unaccompanied by bull or Gaṇeśa. The performer bathes with different things, offers different flowers and employs different names of Śaṅkara in each month.

Kālīvrata—The same as Kālarātrivrata above. So called in KKV 263-269. The editor of KKV (G. O. S.) did not notice that this was identical with the vrata in HV II. 326-332.

Kimicchakavrata—Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 122.8, 17, 20 (Venk. ed.). It consists in asking an *atithi* what he wants and in offering what he wants. There is the story of Avikṣit, son of Karandhama, whose mother had undertaken this vrata and who had made a promise to his mother to carry out her vrata. He proclaimed 'śṛṇvantu merthinaḥ sarve pratijñātam mayā tadā। kimicchatha dadāmyeṣa kriyamāṇe kimicchake'॥ (Mārk. 122.20)

Kīrtivrata—Saṁvatsaravrata; the performer salutes Aśvattha tree, the Sun and the Ganges, stays in one place restraining his senses, eats only once in the noon; he does so for one year; at end of vrata honours a brāhmaṇa and his wife with gifts of three cows and a golden tree. It yields fame and land to performer. KKV 442, HV II. 863-864 (from Pad.). The verses are also Mat. 101.23-24. It is the 13th Ṣaṣṭivrata.

Kīrtisaṅkrāntivrata—on the day of a saṅkrānti, the disk of the Sun to be drawn on ground, an image of the Sun to be placed in the midst of the figure and worshipped; for one year; HV II. 738-739 (from Skanda). Reward is great fame, long life, kingdom and health.

Kukkuṭī-markaṭīvrata—on Bh. śu. 7; tithi; for one year on each saptamī, whether of bright or dark half; on 8th dinner to brāhmaṇas consisting of sesame cake and rice and jaggery; worship of Śiva with Ambikā drawn in a circle; described

at length in Bhav U. 36. 1-43; TT 37 (calls it Kukkuṭīvrata); the performer has to wear for life a *doraka* (band of threads with filigree of gold or silver) on his arm; the story of a queen and the wife of her husband's purohita who became a markaṭi (the monkey) and kukkuṭi (hen) because they forgot to wear the doraka is narrated by Kṛṣṇa to Yudhiṣṭhira; VKK 319 (quoting Bhav.), GK 85.

Kundachaturthī—on M. śu. 4; tithi; Devīpūjā; gift of flowers of kunda plant, vegetables, salt, sugar made from jaggery, jīraks &c. to maidens; fast on 4th; KKV 283-284, HV I. 525-526 (from Devīpurāṇa), S. Pr 27b, VP (folio 284b). It is also called Gaurīcaturthī; chief matter is fast on 4th and the gifts only confer *saubhāgya.*

Kuberavrata—on 3rd tithi; worship of Kubera; HV I. 478-479 (from Bhav.), KN 176.

Kumāraṣaṣṭhī—begin on Cai. śu. 6; tithi; for one year; worship of clay image of Skanda with twelve arms; HV I. 588-590 (from Kālottara); VP (folio 61a).

Kumārīpūjā—in Navarātra. Vide pp. 170-171 above and SM 22.

Kumbhaparva—It occurs once in twelve years. The Sun and Moon should be in Makara rāśi, Jupiter in Taurus (Vṛṣabha), there is amāvāsyā; this is called Kumbhayoga. Bath at Prayāga on this yoga is deemed to be more meritorious than a thousand Aśvamedhas, a hundred Vājapeyas and a lakh of pradakṣiṇās round the earth. Bath at Prayāga and the large concourse of *sādhus* are the two predominant objects of those who gather there in thousands and sometimes millions. It is in three parts, first is Makarasaṅkrānti, the 2nd (the chief one and called Pūrṇakumbha) is *amāvāsyā* and 3rd is Vasantapañcamī. In 1954 A. D. the three dates were 14th January, 3rd February and 7th February. Some hold that the three days are Makarasaṅkrānti, Pauṣa Pūrṇimā and Amāvāsyā. There are other Kumbha-yogas viz. at Haridvāra when Jupiter is in Kumbharāśi and Sun enters Meṣa, at Nasik when Jupiter is in Siṁha and Sun and Moon in Karkaṭa, at Ujjain when Sun is in Tulā and Jupiter in Vṛścika.

Kumbhikāvrata—on K. śu. 11; tithi; Viṣṇu deity; HV I. 1105-8, VP (folio 211); both quote Skanda.

Kūrmadvādaśī—on P. śu. 12; tithi; Nārāyaṇa; KKV 317-319, HV I. 1026-27 (quoting 9 verses from Var., chap. 40), KR

482–484. On a copper vessel full of ghee the image of tortoise with *mandara* mountain is to be placed and donated.

Kūṣmāṇḍa-daśamī—on Āśv. śu. 10 up to the 4th tithi following; tithi; worship of Śiva, Daśaratha, Lakṣmī with kūṣmāṇḍa flowers; *arghya* to Moon; GK pp. 125-126 (from Sāmbapurāṇa).

Kṛcchravrata—On Mārg. Śu. 4; tithi; four years; Gaṇeśa deity; HV I 501–504 (from Skanda); in the first year he subsists by ekabhakta on 4th, in the 2nd by nakta, on 3rd by ayācita way and in 4th he fasts on 4th tithi.

Kṛcchravratāni—several kṛcchras, such as Somāyana, Tapta-kṛcchra, kṛcchrātikṛcchra, Sāntapana (that are really prāyaścittas) are described as vratas by HV II. 931 ff.; vide also HV II 769–71 for these. Śūdra had no *adhikāra* for these. Some of the other kṛcchras are described here; Paitāmaha kṛcchra from K. kṛ. 7 (on four days partake only of water, milk, curds and ghee respectively), on 11th fast and worship Hari; Vaiṣṇava-kṛcchra consists in partaking of *munyanna* (such as nīvāras) for three days, yāvaka for three days and fast for three days.

Kṛttikāvrata—begin on Mahā-kārtikī as defined above or on any K. Full Moon; bath in some holy place like Kurukṣetra, Prayāga, Puṣkara, Naimiṣa, Mūlasthāna, Gokarṇa or in any city or village; six kṛttikā images made of gold, silver, jewels, butter, flour and decked with sandalwood paste and alaktaka dye, saffron &c. and worshipped with *Jāti* flowers and to be donated to brāhmaṇas. HV II. 191–193 (from Bhav U.).

Kṛttikāsnāna—fast on Bharaṇī-nakṣatra; on Kṛttikā *snapana* of performer and his wife by purohita with water from jars of gold or clay filled with all plants and holy water; worship of Agni, Skanda, Moon, sword, Varuṇa; HV II 597–598 (from Vi. Dh.).

Kṛṣṇacaturdaśī—(1) on Phā. kṛ. 14; tithi; Śiva is devatā; 14 names of Śiva to be repeated; for 14 years; HV II. 65–71 (from Kālottara); (2) for women alone; fast on kṛ. 14; tithi; Śiva; for one year; HV II. 154; (3) on 14th of M. Kṛ; worship of Śiva with bilva leaves; HV. II. 156 (from Saura-purāṇa... (4) on 14 of Kṛ. burning guggulu before Śiva image; HV 156 (from Saura).

Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī—Vide pp. 128–140 above.

Kṛṣṇadolotsava—on 11th of Cai. śu. 11; tithi; the image of Kṛṣṇa (with that of Lakṣmī) to be placed in a swing, worshipped with *damanaka* leaves and jāgara at night; SMK 101.

Kṛṣṇadvādaśī—on 12th of Āṣ. kṛ.; tithi; fast on 12th and worship of Vāsudeva; HV I. 1036–37 (quoting Var. 46. 1–7 and calling it Vāsudeva-dvādaśī), KKV 329–331. Vide Var. 46. 1–15.

Kṛṣṇavrata—on 11th; tithi; Kṛṣṇa; KKV 447 (quoting Mat. 101. 58), HV I. 1161 (quoting same verse from Pad.).

Kṛṣṇaṣaṣṭhī—(1) Mārg. kṛ. 6; tithi; one year; Sun worship with a different name in each month; KKV 101–103, HV I. 624–626 (from Bhav U.), KR 447–448 (from Bhav.); (2) on each 6th of both pakṣas for one year; nakta on it and arghya to Kārtikeya; Bhav. Brāhmaparva, 39. 1–13 and Agni 181. 2.

Kṛṣṇāṣṭamīvrata—(1) on Mārg. kṛ. 8; tithi; one year; Śiva deity; KKV 241–245, HV I. 823–826 (both from Devīpurāṇa); different names of Śiva in each month and different food to be eaten in each month; (2) begin on Mārg. kṛ. 8; tithi; one year; Śiva deity; Bhav U. 57. 1–22 q. by KKV 245–248, HV I. 816–817; (3) Śivapūjā from Mārg. to K. under twelve different names; KKV 248–250 quoting Mat. 56. 1–117, KR 450–452 (from (Bhav.), VR 317–319 (from Ādityapurāṇa); (4) for a year from Bh. Kṛ. 8 to Śr.; Śiva is deity; KKV 250–252, HV I. 821–823 (both from Bhav.); (5) on Jy. kṛ. 8; tithi; Śiva worshipped; KKV 252–254, HV I. 840–841 (calls it Tindukāṣṭamī); (6) begin Cai. kṛ. 8; tithi; one year; Kṛṣṇa deity; HV I. 819–821 (from Vi. Dh.) for progeny; (7) begin on 8th of dark half of Āśv. or M. or Cai. or Śr.; deity is Maṅgalā Devī; ekabhakta, nakta, ayācita and upavāsa from 8th to 11th and following days in the same rotation. KKV 233–235; japa of 17 names of Devī to be performed.

Kṛṣṇaikādaśī—on Phā. kṛ. 11; tithi; Caṇḍī devatā; HV I. 150, Vratārka (folios 232–33).

Kedāragaurīvrata—on K. amāvāsyā; tithi; worship of Gaurī and Kedāra; AK (folios 1062b–1067b). AK says it is well-known among dākṣiṇātyas; AK quotes a story from Padma.

Kokilāvrata—Mostly for women. On the Full moon of Āṣ. in the evening a saṅkalpa; for one month after Āṣāḍha Full Moon (in pūrṇimānta reckoning); worship of Gaurī in the form of Kokilā image made of gold or sesame cake; nakta for one month; at end of one month gift of image placed in a copper vessel with precious stones for eyes and with feet and beak of silver; HV II. 755-57 (quoting Bhav. U. chap. 11), NS 108-109. The Vratārka (folios 329-334) notes that in Gurjara country this vrata is performed in the intercalary Āṣāḍha by usage but there is no śāstra authority. It is said that Gaurī was cursed to be kokilā by Śiva after he destroyed Dakṣa's sacrifice. A golden image of female cuckoo with feet of silver and pearls for eyes is worshipped with 16 upacāras. It is performed for saubhāgya and prosperity. In Tamil calendars it is shown on Jy. (Mithuna) 14.

Koṭihoma—Mat. (93. 5-6) says that the Navagrahahoma is called Ayutahoma since the āhutis therein number ten thousand, another variety being Lakṣahoma and a third being Koṭihoma. Navagraha-makha is a śānti for averting evil omens or planetary influences. Mat. 93. describes all the three. Vide Nṛsiṁha-purāṇa 35, Bṛ. S. 45. 6 (which prescribes Koṭihoma against *divya* utpātas) and Harṣacarita V. where it is referred to as being performed when Prabhākaravardhana was on his death-bed.

Koṭīśvarīvrata—on Bh. śu. 3: tithi; for four years; fast on that day; one lakh of rice-grains or sesame should be cast into milk and with the thick paste image of Devī (Pārvatī) to be made and worshipped; result no poverty, eight sons, eminent husband; also called Lakṣeśvarī; HV I. 459-461 (from Skanda), Vratārka (folios 52b-53b), VP (folio 124).

Kojāgara or Kaumudī-mahotsava—on Āśv. Pūrṇimā; tithi; worship of Lakṣmī and Indra riding Airāvata; lighting of lamps fed with ghee or sesame oil on a large scale (one lakh to 100) at night on the capital roads, in temples, parks and private houses; dice play; bath next morning and worship of Indra, sumptuous dinner to brāhmaṇas; Liṅga-purāṇa states that beneficent Lakṣmī moves about at midnight in the world saying 'who is awake' and people should drink the water in the cocoanut fruit and play with numerals (i. e. dice marked with numerals); KV 403, VKK 453-54

(both quote same two verses from Liṅga), TT 135-137, KT 445-447, NS 191, PC 302-303; words 'ko jāgarti' try to explain the name Kojāgara. This is also called Kaumudī (Skanda q. by Vratārka) and Kojāgara is probably an abbreviation of Kaumudī-jāgara. For Kaumudī-mahotsava vide Kṛtyakalpataru (on Rājadharma) pp. 182-183 (from Skanda) and RNP p. 419-421.

Kaumudī-vrata—Begin on Āśv. Śu. 11 with a fast and jāgara; on 12 th worship of Vāsudeva with various kinds of lotuses; Yātrotsava on 13th by Vaiṣṇavas; fast on 14th and on pūrṇimā worship of Vāsudeva and japa of mantra 'om namo Vāsudevāya'; HV II 760, KV 223, SmK 355, Agni chap. 207. HV says that this may be continued till the awakening of Viṣṇu in K.

Kautuka—Nine things are so called, viz Dūrvā, barley sprouts, *vālaka*, mango leaves, two kinds of haridrā (turmeric), mustard, peacock feathers, serpent's slough; they are to be tied on kaṅkaṇa in marriage &c. HV I. 49, VR 16. The Raghuvaṁśa VIII. 1 mentions vivāhakautuka.

Kramapūjā—KR 141-144 (quoting Devī-purāṇa) deals with worship of Durgā in months from Cai. on particular tithis and nakṣatras and the rewards thereof.

Kṣīradhārāvrata—on the 1st and 5th tithis of two months one should subsist only on milk; secures the reward of Aśvamedha; Liṅ. 83. 6.

Kṣīrapratipad—on 1st of Vai. or K.; tithi; one year; Brahmā deity; performer to offer milk according to ability with words 'May Brahmā be pleased with me'; HV I. 336-338, KKV 36-38; japa of several holy texts such as those in Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra 28. 10-15, Śaṅkhasmṛti chap. V.

Kṣemavrata—worship of Yakṣas and rākṣasas on 14th; tithi; HV II. 154 (one verse only from Vi. Dh.).

Khañjanadarśana—(seeing the Khañjana bird). See above p. 193.

Khaḍgadhārā-vrata—See Asidhārā-vrata p. 266 and Vi. Dh. III. 218. 23-25.

Gaṅgāsaptamī—on Vai. śu. 7; worship of Ganges; SmK 112 (quoting Brah.), VR 237. Sage Jahnu angrily drank Ganges and then let it off through his right ear on this day.

Gajacchāyā—A combination of Āśv. kr. 13, of Maghā-nakṣatra, sun in Hasta. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV p. 371 n. It is a time for śrāddha. Vide Yāj. I. 218 and Manu III. 274. Śātātapa (q. by HK 386) says when there is a solar eclipse, that is also Gajacchāyā and śrāddha at that time becomes inexhaustible.

Gajanīrājanāvidhi—(waving lamps before elephants). On Āśv. Full Moon tithi in the afternoon; HV II. 226–227 (from Gopatha Brāhmaṇa).

Gajapūjāvidhi—On Full Moon of Āṣ. ; by those who desire prosperity or wealth. HV II. 222–225.

Gaṇagaurīvrata—on Cai. śu. 3; tithi; worship of Gaurī to be performed particularly by women whose husbands are alive; Some call it Giri-Gaurīvrata; AK (folio 257); well-known in Madhyadeśa.

Gaṇapaticaturthī—on 4th tithi; for two months; no food by day for performer on that day and he feeds brāhmaṇas on sesame food and himself eats it at night; HV I 519–520 (two verses from Bhav.).

Gaṇeśacaturthī—Vide pp. 145-149 above.

Gaṇeśacaturthīvrata—Begin Bh. śu. 4; tithi; for one year; worship of Gaṇeśa; KKV 84–87, HV I. 510–512 (both quote Narasiṁha-purāṇa 26. 2–20); (2) HV I. 510 (from Bhav.) on 4th; worship of Gaṇeśa; procedure like Vaiśvānarapratipad-vrata.

Gandhavrata—begin on Full Moon day; for one year; fast on Full Moon day; at the end of year an image covered with all fragrant substances to be offered to a brāhmaṇa. HV II. 241.

Gandhāṣṭaka—mixture of eight fragrant substances slightly varying according to the deities (such as Śakti, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa) to whom they are to be offered. The eight for Śakti worship are sandalwood, agallochum, camphor, saffron, *rocanā*, Jaṭāmāṅsī (valerian), cora and kapi (last two are some kinds of grass); AK (folio 98a).

Galatikāvrata—pouring a stream of water on the image of Śiva in summer from jars full of holy water; secures Brahmapada; HV II. 861 (only one verse).

Gāyatrīvrata—on śu. 14th; worship of Sun; japa of Gāyatrī (Ṛg. III. 62. 10) for 100, 1000, 10000 times; removes

various diseases; HV II. 62–63 (quoting Gar.). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp 303–304 for eulogy of Gāyatrī and its sacredness.

Giritanayāvrata—begin on Bh. or Vai. or Mārg. śu. 3; one year; worship of Gaurī or Lalitā; different flowers and different names of Gaurī in each of 12 months; Mat. 62, Pad. V. 22. 61–104, q. by HV I. 422–426 (from Pad.).

Guḍatṛtīyā—on Bh. śu. 3; tithi; Pārvatī· offerings of cakes (pūpa) with guḍa (jaggery) or pāyasa; HV I. 497–98 (from Bhav.), VP (folio 125 a).

Guṇḍicā-yātrā—Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp 700–701. On Āṣ. śu· 2 with or without Puṣya-nakṣatra; GK 186.

Guṇāvāptivrata—begin on Phā. śu. 1; for one year; Śiva; on four days worship of images of Āditya, Agni, Varuṇa and the moon (as forms of Śiva) in order, the first two being the fierce forms and the last two the mild forms of Śiva and snāna (bath) on these days with different substances; also homa on four days with wheat, sesame, corn and barley; to subsist on milk; Vi. Dh. III. 137. 1–13 (quoted by HV II. 499–500).

Guruvrata—Begin on a Thursday with Anurādhā nakṣatra; worship of golden image of planet Jupiter in a golden vessel; seven naktas observed; HV II. 579 (quoting 4½ verses from Bhav. U.).

Guhyakadvādaśī—on 12th; one should fast on it and worship Guhyakas (Yakṣas) with akṣatas and ground sesame and donate gold to a brāhmaṇa; removes all sins; HV I. 1204 (from Bhav. U.)

Gurvaṣṭamīvrata—Bh. śu. 8 with Thursday; worship of golden or silver images of *Guru* (planet Jupiter); HV I. 882–886 (from Bhav.)

Gṛhapañcamī—on 5th; worship of Brahmā and gift of grinding stones, mortar, stone, winnowing basket and cooking pot (as the 5th home gear) and a jar of water; HV I 574, KR 98 (provides seven, by adding a *cullī* (oven) and containing jar of water.)

Gṛhadevī-pūjā—vide NM p. 79 verses 961–62. Offerings at the beginning of the year in one's own house and not on a tree.

Go-upacāra—A cow is honoured on the tithis called Yugādi and Yugāntya, Ṣaḍaśīti-mukha, Uttarāyaṇa, Dakṣiṇāyana,

(first day of) two Viṣuva days (of equal day and night), all saṅkrāntis, pūrṇimā, the 14th, 5th and 9th in every month, eclipses of Sun and Moon; KR 433–434, SmK 275–276.

Gotrirātravrata—(1) Begin on Āśv. kṛ. 13; for three days; Govinda deity; in a cowpen or a cottage prepare a *vedī* on which in a *maṇḍala* the image of Kṛṣṇa to be placed with four queens on right and four on left; homa on 4th day; arghya and pūjā to cows; HV II. 288–293 (from Skanda). This conduces to increase of progeny. (2) begin on Bh. śu. 12 or K. śu. 13; fast for three days; worship of Lakṣmī, Nārāyaṇa and Kāma-dhenu, for *saubhāgya* and wealth; HV II. 293–303, VP (folios 158–160); (3) begin on Bh. śu. 13; three days; worship of Kāma-dhenu and Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa: HV II. 303–308 (from Bhav. U.), V P (folio 161)

Godhūma—production of – on 9th tithi in Kṛta-yuga by Janārdana (Viṣṇu), Durgā, Kubera, Varuṇa and Vanaspati; these five to be worshipped with food made from wheat; KR 285 (from Brah.) and 286 (from Vi. Dh).

Gopadatrirātra or Gospadatrirātra—Begin on Bh. śu. 3 or 4 or in K.; worship of cows and of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa for three days; vrata to be accepted at sunrise and fast on that day, anointing horns and tails of cows with curds and ghee; one should eat uncooked food and abstain from oil and salt; HV II. 323–326 (from Bhav. U. 19. 1–16); Hemādri quotes the verse 'Mātā rudrāṇām' (Ṛg. VIII. 101. 15).

Gopadmavrata—Begin on Full Moon of Āṣ. or 8th, 11th or 12th of Āṣ. and carry on for 4 months till that tithi of K. on which it was begun in Āṣ. It is meant for all but mostly for young married women; draw figure of cow's foot in the house or cowpen or in temple of Viṣṇu or Śiva or near Tulasī plant; 33 figures to be drawn every day; five years; Viṣṇu is devatā; then udyāpana; gift of cow at end; SmK. 418–424, VR 604–608.

Gopapūjā—Smk 386

Gopūlanavamī—on 9th; bath in a river falling into the sea; worship of Kṛṣṇa; HV I. 939–941 (from Gar.), Smk 418. 423.

Gopāṣṭamī—on 8th of K. śu.; worship of cows; NA 77 (from Kūrma).

Gopūjā—mantras of, in HV I, 593–594, II. 324.

Gomayādisaptamī—on 7th of Cai. śu.; tithi: one year; the Sun; worship of sun under different names in each month; the performer subsists on Gomaya (cow-dung), Yāvaka or fallen leaves or on milk &c; KKV 135–136, HV I. 724–25 (quoting Bhav. Brāhmaparva 209. 1–14).

Goyugmavrata—on Rohiṇī or Mṛgaśirṣa nakṣatra; a young bull and a cow are decorated and donated after worship of Śiva and Umā; KKV 410, HV II. 694–695 (both quote 4½ verses from Devīpurāṇa). The performer never loses his wife or son.

Goratnavrata—KKV 410–411, HV II. 694–95 (both quote same two verses). HV splits the two verses in two vratas, Goyugma and Goratna, but also says that it may be that the verse (yo vā ratnasamāyuktam) is an alternative method of Goyugma-vrata.

Govatsadvādaśī—(1) on 12th of K. kṛ.; one year; Hari; different names of Hari in each month; performed for securing a son; K. kṛ. 12 is called Govatsa (acc. to VKD); HV I. 1083–1084 (from Bhav.), VKD 278–279; (2) another variety in HV I. 1180–1190 (from Bhav. U.).

Govardhanapūjā—Vide p. 205 above and Harivaṁśa II. 17.

Govindadvādaśī—on 12th of Phā. śu.; one year; every month on the 12th feed cows and subsist on food mixed with milk, curds or ghee in an earthen vessel and avoid *kṣāra* and *lavaṇa*; HV I. 1096–97 (from Viṣṇurahasya): KV 468 (adds that there should be Puṣya-nakṣatra on 12th); GK 607 (from Gar.), VKK 514, TT 117.

Govindaprabodha—on 11th of K. śu.; in some the 12th is said to be the tithi; HV II. 814–817 for Paurāṇika mantras and 'idam Viṣṇur' (Ṛg. I. 22. 17).

Govindaśayanavrata—on 11th of Āṣ. śu.; image of Viṣṇu placed on a bed; some *niyamas* observed for four months; cāturmāsya vratas begin on this; after this for four months all auspicious rites such as upanayana, marriage, Cūḍā, first entrance into a house are stopped. Vide pp. 109–112 above and HV II. 801–813.

Goṣpadatrirātra—Vide Gopadatrirātra above.

Goṣṭhāṣṭamī—K. śu. 8; worship of cows, giving grass to them, going round them and following them; TT 55 (quoting a verse from Bhīma-parākrama); VKK 478-479, GK 115.

Gaurīgaṇeśacaturthī—on any 4th tithi worship of Gaurī and Gaṇeśa; secures saubhāgya and success. GK 73 (from Liṅga).

Gaurīcaturthī—on 4th of M. śu. Gaurī to be worshipped by all, specially by women, with kunda flowers; learned brāhmaṇas, women and widows to be honoured. HV I. 531 (from Bṛah.), KN 184, VR 175.

Gaurītapovrata—for women only; on Mārg. amāvāsyā; Mahādeva to be worshipped at midday in a Śiva temple and Pārvatī also; for 16 years; then udyāpana on Mārg. pūrṇimā; Vratārka (folios 344a-346a): also called Mahāvrata.

Gaurī-tṛtīyā-vrata—on 3rd of Cai. śu, Bh. śu. or M. śu.; worship of Gaurī and Śiva; her eight names are Pārvatī, Lalitā, Gaurī, Gāyatrī, Śaṅkarī, Śivā, Umā, Satī. SM 36, PC 85; observed in Deccan but not in North India.

Gaurīvivāha—on 3rd, 4th or 5th of Cai; images of Gaurī and Śiva to be made of gold, silver or sapphire for the rich or of sandal-wood, arka plant or aśoka or madhūka and marriage of them to be performed; KR 108–110 (from Devī-purāṇa).

Gaurīvrata—(1) for four months from Āṣ., one should not partake of milk, curds, ghee and sugarcane juice and should donate vessels full of these with the words 'May Gaurī be pleased with me'; KR 219; (2) Another variety in KR 85 (from Mat.), KKV 440; (3) for women alone; on 3rd of śu. and kṛ. from Cai.; for one year; different names of Gaurī (in all 24) on each 3rd; different foods also; HV I. 450-452; Mat. 101-8, VP (folios 56b ff.); (4) for women on 3rd; Bhav. I. 21.1 ff: they should give up salt and fast on that day; specially holy in Vai., Bh., M.; for life; D. S. 13; (5) on 4th of Jyeṣṭha; worship of Umā, as she was born on that day; PC 91 (from Brah.)

Grahayāga—Vide Navagrahayāga in the section on Śānti below; HV II. 590–592 where it collects together the different conjunctions of planets with reference to tithis and nakṣatras and provides for *yāgas* in honour of the planets and gods, whereby at small expense great merit may be collected. One example may be given: when the 6th tithi occurs on a

Sunday and in conjunction with Puṣya nakṣatra then Skandayāga should be performed, which leads to the fulfilment of all desires. About a dozen yāgas are mentioned in HV. Vide SmK 455-479 for three kinds of Grahayajñas that are different from those in HV II. 590-592.

Ghaṭasthāpanavidhi—Vide above pp. 183-184 under Durgāpūjā and VR 62-67.

Ghṛtakambala—on 14th of M. śu. fast and on 15th a thick blanket-like plaster of ghee on Śivaliṅga up to the Vedikā and then gift of fine pairs of dark bulls. Result - the performer lives in Śivaloka for numberless years; HV II. 239-240, Vratārka (folio 390b). It is also a śānti, where performer is wrapped with cloth and is sprinkled with ghee. Vide Ātharvaṇa-pariśiṣṭa XXXIII pp. 204-212 and RNP pp. 459-464.

Ghṛtabhājana-vrata—On Full Moon day: Śivaliṅgapūjā; dinner to brāhmaṇas with ghee and honey, gift of one *prastha* (= $\frac{1}{4}$ of an āḍhaka) of sesame and two prasthas of husked rice HV II. 240-241.

Ghṛtasnāpana-vidhi—on Viṣuva day, on eclipse or on holy days, in Pauṣa; Śiva; continuous stream of ghee on Śivaliṅga the whole day and night; *jāgara* with songs and dance; HV I. 911-12.

Ghṛtāvekṣaṇavidhi—Prakīrṇaka (miscellaneous). HV II. 192-93 (from Gopathabrāhmaṇa). It is a *śānti* for king's victory. Vide Ātharvaṇa-pariśiṣṭa No. VIII.

Ghoṭakapañcamī—On Āśv. kṛ. 5; tithi; it is prescribed for kings; it is a śānti for the increase (or good health) of horses; GK 50 (from Devīpurāṇa)

Cakṣurvrata—Same as Netravrata; 2nd tithi of Cai. śu; worship of Āśvins (divine physicians popularly identified with Sun and Moon) for one year or 12 years; performer to subsist on that date on curds and ghee; performer has good eyes and if performed for 12 years he becomes a king; VI. Dh. III. 130. 1-7 q. by HV I. 392-393.

Caṇḍikāvrata—on 8th and 9th tithis of both fortnights; tithi; one year; worship of Caṇḍikā; no food to be eaten; KKV 388, HV II. 510 (from Bhav. U.)

Caṇḍīpāṭha—Vide under Durgotsava above pp. 171-173

Caturthī-vratas—vide KKV 77–87, HV I. 501–536, KN 177–186, VKK 30–34, PC 91–95, VR 120–191. Except in Gaṇeśa-caturthī, Gaurī 4th, Nāga 4th, Kunda 4th and Bahulā 4th, the tithi mixed with 5th is to be accepted; about 25 vratas on caturthī; Yama says if the 4th tithi occurs on Saturday with Bharaṇī-nakṣatra, bath and gifts yield inexhaustible merit (HK 620); Agni 179 mentions a few. Caturthī is of three kinds, viz. Śivā, Sāntā and Sukhā. Vide Bhav. I. 31. 1–10; they are respectively on śu. of Bh., M. and 4th with a Tuesday; vide HV I. 514, VKK 31.

Caturdaśījāgaraṇa-vrata—on K. śu. 14; tithi; for five or twelve years; worship of Śiva by bathing liṅga with ghee and the like from a number of *kalaśas* up to one hundred and with other upacāras and jāgara; performer enjoys divine pleasures and secures mokṣa; HV II. 149–151 (from Kālikā).

Caturdaśīvratas—Vide Agni 192, KKV 370-378, HV II. 27–159, KN 278–280, VKK 76–77, PC 231–251. The digests speak individually of about thirty Caturdaśī vratas. KKV speaks of one only viz. Śiva-caturdaśī.

Caturdaśyaṣṭamī—on 14th and 8th of both fortnights; only eating by nakta method; for one year; Śivapūjā; Liṅ. 83. 4 and HV II. 158–159 (from Bhav U.).

Caturmūrtivratas—Vi. Dh. III chap. 137–151 contain fifteen of these, some of which are described in HV I. 505 ff.

Caturyugavrata—On first four days of Cai. and of the following months worship of the four yugas, Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Tiṣya (Kali); one year; subsist on milk alone. HV II. 503–504 quoting some verses from Vi. Dh. III. 144.1–7.

Catus-sama—vide p. 38 n 88 above.

Candradarśana-niṣedha—See under Gaṇeśa-caturthī pp. 147–148 above.

Candranakṣatra-vrata—on Cai. pūrṇimā with Monday; vāra-vrata; worship of Moon; on 7th day from beginning placing a silver image of Moon in vessel of bell metal, homa in name of Moon with ghee and sesame with 28 or 108 fuel sticks of *palāśa*; HV II. 557–58 (from Bhav. U.).

Candrarohiṇīśayana—Vide Rohiṇī-candra-śayana; HV II 175-179 (from Pad.).

Candravrata—(1) on amāvāsyā; for one year; worship of images of Sun and Moon on two lotuses; HV II p. 256 (Vi. Dh. III. 191. 1–5); (2) begin from Mārg. pūrṇimā; for one year; fast on each pūrṇimā; worship of Moon: HV II. 236 (from Vi. Dh. III. 194. 1–2); (3) on Pūrṇimā; for 15 years; *nakta--bhojana* on that day; gets the reward of 1000 Aśvamedhas and one hundred Rājasūyas; HV II. 244–245 (from Var); (4) performance of cāndrāyaṇa and the gift of golden image of Moon; HV II. 884 (one verse from Pad. = Mat. 101. 75), KKV 450 (from Mat.).

Candraṣaṣṭhī—on 6th of Bh. kṛ.; same as Kapilāṣaṣṭhī according to some; fast on it; NA 50, NS 153. Acc. to AK folio 411a it is wrong to identify it with Kapilāṣaṣṭhī.

Candrārghyadāna—when there is Rohiṇī in conjunction with the Moon's crescent on the 1st tithi specially of K. offering of *arghya* to the Moon yields great reward; GK 602 (from Agni).

Campakacaturdaśī—14th of śu., when the Sun is in the sign Vṛṣabha (Taurus or Bull); worship of Śiva; KR 192, quoting RM (folio 8la, v. 1393 ABORI. vol. 36 p. 335).

Campakadvādaśī—on Jy. śu. 12 ; tithi; worship of Govinda with Campaka flowers; GK 147.

Campāṣaṣṭhī—6th tithi on Bh. śu.; 6th when joined to Vaidhṛti-yoga, Tuesday and Viśākhā-nakṣatra is called Campā; fast on it, Sun deity; HV I. 590–596, NS 209, SmK 221–22, VR 233–236 (provides another date in Mārg. śu. 6th with Sunday and Vaidhṛtiyoga). SmK 430 and AK (folio 425 b) give both dates and add that according to Madanaratna it occurs on Mārg. śu. 6, Sunday, when the moon is in Śatabhiṣak nakṣatra. It occurs once in about thirty years with Vaidhṛti, Tuesday and Viśākhā and the digests provide that one should see Viśveśvara on this or at least some Śivaliṇga. NS (p. 209) says that Mārg. śu. 6th is known as Campāṣaṣṭhī in Mahārāṣṭra.

Cāndrāyaṇavrata—begin on pūrṇimā; for a month; *tarpaṇa*, *homa* every day; HV II. 787–789 (from Brah.). Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV pp. 134–138 for cāndrāyaṇa as prāyaścitta.

Citrabhānupadadvayavrata—Ayanavrata from the beginning to end of Uttarāyaṇa; worship of Sun; Bhav., Brāhmaparva 107. 7–25, KKV 431–432.

Cāturmāsya-vrata—Vide above pp. 122–123 and SM. 150–152; various *niyamas* (restrictions on conduct and food) are undertaken such as giving up the use of oil and pungent substances, tāmbūla, of jaggery &c, giving up flesh, honey (or intoxicants). Vide HV II 800–861 (there are some vratas here that are not exactly vratas of Cāturmāsya in the popular sense).

Cāndravrata—begin on Mārg. śu. 1 with Mūlanakṣatra; nyāsa of the nakṣatras on the various limbs of the moon image; Anuśāsana 110.

Citrabhānuvrata—on 7th of śu.; tithi; worship of Sun with red fragrant flowers, with streams of ghee &c.; reward of health: HV I. 787 (Bhav.).

Cūḍāmaṇi—Vide p. 249 and note 644 above.

Caitra—for kṛtyas in, vide KR 83–144, KT 462–474, NS 81–90; special vratas are separately noted. Caitra śu. 1—vide pp. 82–84 above for beginning of year, Navarātra beginning pp. 154, 186 above; worship of Damanaka plant (HK 617); śu: 1 is *kalpādi* (SmK 87); *Jaladāna* for four months (KR 85); touching a *śvapaca* (a cāṇḍāla) and then bath (KKN 423, S. Pr. folio 50a from Pad.); on śu. 2, worship of Umā, Śiva and Agni; śu. 3 is Manvādi-tithi and Matsya-jayantī (NS 80–81); śu. 4, worship of Gaṇeśa with *Laḍḍukas* (PC 91); śu. 5 worship of Lakṣmī (KR 127, SmK 92) and *nāgas* (SmK 93); śu. 6, see Skanda-ṣaṣṭhī; śu. 7, worship of Sun with damanaka (SmK 94); śu. 8 Bhavānī-yātrā (SmK 94) and bath in Brahmaputrā river (KR 126); śu. 9 Bhadrakālī-pūjā (KR 127); śu. 10 Dharmarājapūjā with damanaka (Smk 101); śu. 11 Dolotsava of Kṛṣṇa and worship of sages with damanaka (KS 86, SmK 101); women worship Rukmiṇī, wife of Kṛṣṇa, and throw *pañcagavya* in all directions in the evening; KR 129 (from Brah.); śu. 12, Damanakotsava (SmK 101–103); śu. 13 worship of Love god made with Campaka flowers or sandalwood paste (HK 637, KV 469); śu. 14 Nṛsiṁhadolotsava, worship of Ekavīrā and Bhairava and of Śiva with damanaka (SmK 104); Pūrṇimā-Manvādi and Hanumaj-jayantī and Vaiśākhasnānārambha (SmK 106); kṛ. 13 Vāruṇīyoga (KT 463, NS 89, SmK 107): If Cai. kṛ. 13 falls on Saturday and has Śatabhiṣak nakṣatra it is called Mahāvāruṇī; NS 89, KSS 2–3.

Caitrāvalī—See p. 282 under Kāmamahotsava.

Caitri-pūrṇimā—vide Cintra praśasti of Sāraṅgadhara (20-1-1287, A. D.) in E. I. (Vol. I. p. 271 at p. 279) for provision for the pavitra to be made by merchants.

Chandodevapūjā—on the Ekādaśī after Phā. Full Moon, i. e. Cai. kṛ. by pūrṇimānta reckoning; women (not men) were to worship the deity called Chandodeva with flesh of aquatic animals, with tasty edibles and fragrant saffron &c.; NM p. 55 verses 670–674.

Janmatithi-kṛtya—one should worship after bath every year on the tithi of birth Guru, gods, Agni, brāhmaṇas, parents and Prajāpati and the nakṣatra of birth; he should honour also Aśvatthāman, Bali, Vyāsa, Hanūmat, Bibhīṣaṇa, Kṛpa, Paraśurāma, Mārkaṇḍeya (all deemed *cirajīvinaḥ*) and pray to Mārkaṇḍeya 'Mārakaṇḍeya mahābhāga saptakalpāntajīvana। cirajīvī yathā tvam bho bhaviṣyāmi tathā mune ॥'; one should eat sweet food, avoid flesh, be celibate that day and drink water mixed with sesame. KKN 447, SPr. folio 50 b, KR 540–41 (quoting Brah.), VKK 553–564, TT 20–26, SM 175.

Janmāṣṭamī—Vide Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī pp. 128–143 above.

Jaya—term applied to Itihāsa, Purāṇas, Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa &c. Vide KR 30 (quoting Bhav.), TT 71, SmK 300. These are called Jaya because by following their teachings a man rises superior to *saṁsāra* (jayaty-anena saṁsāram, as TT says on p. 71).

Jayadāsaptamī—Jayā or Vijayā is śu. 7 on a Sunday; Sun to be worshipped with flowers and various fruits; fast, nakta or ekabhakta or ayācita that day; HV I. 717–720 (from Bhav. U).

Jayantavidhi—on Uttarāyaṇa Sunday; worship of Sun; KKV 16–17, HV II. 525 (from Bhav. U). Hemādri reads 'Jayanta uttararkṣe ādityagaṇa', while KKV reads 'Jayantetyuttare jñeyo ayane gaṇa-'.

Jayādvādaśī—Phā. śu. 12th with Puṣya nakṣatra is so called; gifts and *tapas* on it yield merit crores of times; KKV 349, HV I. 1146 (from Ādityapurāṇa).

Jayantavrata—worship of Jayanta, son of Indra, makes one happy; HV I. 792 (from Vi. Dh. only a half verse).

Jayantī—Vide p. 132 above and under 'Avatāras' in this list.

Jayantīdvādaśī—When on śu. 12 there is Rohiṇī nakṣatra. GK 143.

Jayantīvrata—(1) Vide Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī vrata; (2) on M. śu. 7; one year; Sun; months arranged in four groups, in each of which different flowers, unguents, *dhūpa* and naivedya are employed. HV I. 664–667 (from Bhav.), KR 505–508.

Jayantīsaptamī—Same as Jayantīvrata (2).

Jayantyaṣṭamī—on P. 8th with Bharaṇī nakṣatra; bath, gift, japa, homa, tarpaṇa; this yields a crore of times of merit; HK 627, PC 138–139.

Jayapaurṇamāsī—on each Full Moon for a year; worship of the Moon drawn along with nakṣatras; HV II. 160–162 (from Bhav. U).

Jayavidhi—on Dakṣiṇāyana Sunday; Vāravrata; fast, nakta, ekabhakta on this day yields merit a hundred times more; KKV 16, HV II 525 (from Bhav.).

Jayavrata—HV II. 155 quotes one verse from Vi. Dh. that worship of five gandharvas gives victory.

Jayātithi—3rd, 8th and 13th are so called; NA 39 (quoting Ratnamālā) says undertakings useful in battle and in giving strength become successful on these.

Jayāpañcamī—HV I. 543–546 (from Bhav. U.). Viṣṇu worshipped; no details about tithi or month.

Jayāpārvatīvrata—begin on Āṣ. śu. 13 and finish on 3rd tithi; worship of Umā and Maheśvara; 20 years; no salt to be used for first five years; for five years subsist on rice but no product of sugarcane juice to be eaten; well-known among Gurjaras; Vratārka, folios 251–253.

Jayāvāpti—After Āśv. Full Moon from 1st *tithi* up to K. Full Moon and particularly the three days ending with K. Full Moon; worship of Viṣṇu; obtains success in legal actions, gambling, disputes, love affairs; HV II. 768, VP folio 196, both quoting Vi. Dh. III. 213 (1–5); Purāṇa reads 'dadyād-ukṣāṇam' for 'dadyād-bhakṣaṇam' of HV.

Jayāsaptamī—(1) when on śu. 7 there is a nakṣatra with five stars (i. e. Rohiṇī, Āśleṣā, Maghā and Hasta); worship of Sun; for one year; the months being arranged in three groups with different flowers, dhūpa, naivedya in each group; KKV

124-127, HV I. 660-663 (from Bhav.); (2) śu. 7 with Sunday; fast; Sun; VKK 35.

Jayaikādaśī—Vide VK No. 910 p. 205.

Jalakṛcchra-vrata—on K. kṛ. 14; a kṛcchra-vrata; worship of Viṣṇu and fast on that day while remaining in water; reward is Viṣṇuloka; HV II. 769 (from Viṣṇurahasya).

Jalaśayanavrata—said to have been performed by Kuppāmbikā, wife of a Kākatīya general. Vide No. 50. pp. 140–142 dated śake 1198 Māgha śu. 10 (1276 A. D.) in 'Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingana Districts of Nizam's dominions'. It is probable that this vrata is the same as the Jalakṛcchra.

Jāgrad-Gaurīpañcamī—on 5th of Śr. śu.; keep awake at night for fear of snakes; Gaurī is deity; GK 78.

Jātitrirātra-vrata—three days from 13th of Jy. śu.; ekabhakta on 12th and fast for three days from 13th; worship of images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and their consorts with flowers, fruits; homa of yavas mixed with sesame and rice; Anasūyā performed it and so three gods were born as her sons; HV II, 320–22 (from Bhav. U.); VP folio 99.

Jāmadagnyadvādaśī—on 12 of Vai. śu.; tithi; worship of golden image of Viṣṇu in the form of Jāmadagnya (i. e. Paraśurāma,); the mantra is 'prīyatām madhusūdano Jāmadagnyarūpī'; king Vīrasena got Nala by this vrata; Var. 44. 1–21 of which about 17 verses q. by KKV. 325–327 and HV. I. 1032–34.

Jitāṣṭamī—Vide VK No. 469 p. 111.

Jīvat-putrikāṣṭamī—on 8th of Āśv. kṛ.; worship of Jīmūtavāhana, son of king Śālivāhana, by women for securing sons and *saubhāgya* (blessed wifehood); KSS 19 (from Bhav.).

Jīvantikāvrata—on amāvāsyā of K. worship of Jīvantikādevī drawn on a wall with saffron, chiefly by women; AK folio 1062.

Jñānāvāptivrata—for one month after Cai. pūrṇimā; every day worship of Nṛsiṁha and *homa* with mustard every day and dinner consisting of honey, ghee and sugar to brāhmaṇas; fast for three days before Vai. pūrṇimā and on Full moon gifts of gold; this increases intelligence; HV II. 749–50 (from Vi. Dh.).

Jyeṣṭha-kṛtya—Vide HV II. 750-51, KR 179-195, VKK 259-283, NS 98-101, SmK 117-137, PC 6, GK 23. Jy. śu. 1-Karavīra-pratipad-vrata (see p. 280), beginning of Daśaharā-snāna (AK folio 153 a); śu. 3 Rambhāvrata (which see); śu. 4 worship of Umā by women for *saubhāgya* (KKN 389-90, KR 185); śu. 8 worship of Śuklādevī (KKN 390, KR 186, KN 198); śu. 9-worship of Umā, fast that day or nakta, dinner to maiden); śu. 10-Ganges came down to earth on Tuesday and when Sun in Hasta (SmK 119-120); vide Daśaharā pp. 90-91 above; on pūrṇimā if on Jyeṣṭhā-nakṣatra gift of umbrella and sandals to a brāhmaṇa (V. Dh. 90. 14); for Jy. Pūrṇimā-vrata see Pad. V. 7. 10-28; called Mahājyeṣṭhī if there is Jyeṣṭhā-nakṣatra and also Jupiter and the Sun is in Rohiṇī (HK 641, KV 348-49, VKK 78, NS 161); Jy. pūrṇimā is Manvādi; worship of Vedas on Full Moon as they appeared in the world on this day (KKN 390, KR 192); vide Vaṭasāvitrīvrata pp. 91-94 above: Kṛ. 8 worship of Śiva (NA 56); kṛ. 14 worship of Revatī with dark flowers (KKN 389, KR 184); on amāvāsyā some observe Vaṭasāvitrī (KKS 6) and circumambulate the Vaṭa tree.

Jyeṣṭhāvrata—(1) on Bh. śu. 8 if it is in conjunction with Jyeṣṭhā nakṣatra; nakṣatravrata; worship of Jyeṣṭhā (identified with Lakṣmī and Umā) for removal of *alakṣmī* (poverty or ill-luck); also called Nīlajyeṣṭhā if there is Sunday in addition to above; HV II. 630-638, NS 135-136, Smk 230-231, PC 132-134, VR 292-296; (2) on the tithi in Bh. śu. when there is Jyeṣṭhā nakṣatra; every year for 12 years or for life; worship of image of Jyeṣṭhā-devī and jāgara; HV II. 638-640 (by a woman whose children are dead or who has only one child and by a poor man) from Bhav. U.

Ḍhuṇḍirāja-pūjā—on M. śu. 4; the performer should offer naivedya of sesame *laḍḍus* to Gaṇeśa and should himself eat them and homa with sesame and ghee; vide Skanda, Kāśīkhaṇḍa 57. 33 for derivation of the word Ḍhuṇḍhi and PC 95; vide Tila-caturthī.

Tapas—This word is applied to such expiatory rites as Kṛcchra and cāndrāyaṇa and also to restrictive rules of conduct for brahma-cārins and others. Vide Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 1 (niyameṣu tapaś-śabdaḥ). Manu XI. 233-244, V. Dh. 95., Vi. Dh. III. 266 contain long eulogies of *tapas*. Devala (in KR 16)

defines *tapas* as mortification (lit. heating and burning) of the body by vratas, fasts and restrictive rules. The Anuśāsanaparva 103. 3 says that there is no higher *tapas* than fasting. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV pp. 42–43 for further details.

Tapaścaraṇavrata—begin on 7th of Mārg. Kṛ.; tithi; for a year; Sun; HV I. 630–632 (from Bhav. U.)

Tapovrata—on 7th of M.; tithi; performer to wear only a short garment at night and to donate a cow; HV I. 788 (one verse from Pad.).

Taptamudrādhāraṇa—Making on the body on the 11th of Āṣ. śu. or K. śu. marks of conch, discus (which are held by Viṣṇu) with heated copper or the like by Vaiṣṇavas of Mādhva and other sects. SM (pp. 86–87) says the practice is without textual authority; but NS 107–108, DS 55 say that one's family custom should be followed.

Tāmbūla-saṅkrānti—for women only; for one year; performer makes brāhmaṇas eat tāmbūla every day and at end of year donates golden lotus and all utensils for tāmbūla to a brāhmaṇa and his wife and gives a sumptuous dinner; secures *saubhāgya* and lives happily with husband and sons, &c.; HV II. 740–41 (from Skanda); Vratārka folio 388a and b.

Tārakādvādaśī—begin on Mārg. śu. 12th for a year; the Sun and stars; in each month brāhmaṇas to be fed on different kinds of foods; arghya to stars; removes all sins; story of a king who killed a *tāpasa* by mistaking him for a deer and who became in twelve births a different animal; HV I. 1084–1089 (from Bhav. U.).

Tārātrirātravrata—on 14th of M. kṛ.; tithi; Hari and stars to be worshipped. KR 496-497 (from Brah.).

Tūlanavamī—on 9th of Bh. śu; worship of Durgā; VKK 320.

Tithiyugalavrata—on the two aṣṭamīs and two caturdaśīs of a month, on amāvāsyā and paurṇamāsī, the two saptamīs and two dvādaśīs of each month one should not eat at all; for one year; HV II. 397 (from Yamasmṛti); KKV 387 (from Atri) is slightly different.

Tindukāṣṭamī—8th kṛ. from Jy.; one year; worship of Hari with lotuses for 4 months from Jy., with dhatūrā flowers from

Āśv. to P.; with śatapatras (day lotuses) from M. to Vai.; HV I. 840–41 (from Bhav.).

Tilakavrata—on 1st of Cai. śu.; tithi; one year; worship of Saṁvatsara drawn with perfumed powder; the performer has to apply on his forehead a *tilaka* with white sandalwood paste; HV I. 348–350 (from Bhav. U. 8. 1–25), SP 11, VR 54–56, PC 9.

Tilacaturthī—on M. śu. 4; this is same as Kundacaturthī; NS 219, DS 124, VKD 110–111 and 287 (it is the same as Ḍhuṇḍirājacaturthī); nakta vrata, worship of Ḍhuṇḍirāja with naivedya of sesame *laḍḍus*.

Tiladāhīvrata—on P. kṛ. 11th; tithi; Viṣṇu deity; fast on that day and homa to be performed with dried cowdung mixed with sesame collected on Puṣya-nakṣatra; gives beauty, fulfils all objects; HV I. 1131–35 (from Skanda).

Tiladvādaśī—(1) on 12th tithi of kṛ. after Full Moon of M. when joined with Śravaṇa-nakṣatra; bath with sesame, homa with sesame, naivedya of sesame with sweets, lamps fed with sesame oil, giving water mixed with sesame and gifts of sesame to brāhmaṇas; Vāsudeva worshipped with Ṛg. I. 22. 20 and Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90) or with two mantras of 12 syllables; HV I. 1149–50 (quoting Vi. Dh. I. 163. 1–13), KV 466–7 (quotes the verse 'tilodvartī... ṣaṭtilī pāpanāśanī); (2) on M. kṛ. 12 when joined to Āṣ. or Mūlanakṣatra; tithi; Kṛṣṇa; KKN 436, HK 635–36; HV I. 1108–10 (from Vi. Dh.), KR 496.

Tiṣyavrata—begin on Tiṣya (Puṣya) nakṣatra in bright half and Udagayana; for one year every month on each Tiṣya; fast on the first Tiṣya only; Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera) to be worshipped; for puṣṭi (prosperity); Āp. Dh. S. II. 8. 20. 3–9.

Tīvravrata—to stay in Kāśī after shattering one's feet, so that one cannot go elsewhere. HV II. 917.

Turagasaptamī—on Cai. śu. 7; tithi; fast and worship of the Sun, Aruṇa, Nikumbha, Yama, Yamunā, Saturn, and Sun's queen Chāyā, seven metres, Dhātā, Aryamā and other deities; gift of horse at end of vrata; HV I. 777–778 (from Vi. Dh.)

Turāyaṇa—From Anuśāsana 103. 34 it appears that Bhagīratha performed it for 30 years. Pāṇini V. I. 72 has 'Pārāyaṇa-turāyaṇa-cāndrāyaṇaṁ vartayati'; SK. explains Turāyaṇa as some Yajña. Āp. Śr. S. II. 14 dilates on Turāya-

ṇeṣṭi and Manu VI. 10 refers to it as a vedic iṣṭi along with Cāturmāsya and Āgrayaṇa.

Tulasītrirātra—begin on K. śu. 9; vrata for three days, thereafter worship of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī in a garden of Tulasī plants; Pad. VI. 26. Tulasīmāhātmya - vide Pad., Pātālākhaṇḍa, 94. 4-11.

Tulasī-lakṣa-pūjā—offering in worship one hundred thousand tulasī leaves; in K. or M. every day one thousand Tulasī leaves to be offered; Udyāpana in Vai., M. or K.; SmK 408, VKD 404-408; even bilva leaves, dūrvā grass, campaka flowers are so offered.

Tulasī-vivāha—on K. śu. 12; on 9th performer prepares golden image of Hari and Tulasī and worships for three days and then marries them; he secures the puṇya of kanyādāna; NS 204, VR 347-352, SmK 366. In the courtyard of every Hindu house, there is a *vṛndāvana* (a raised structure of bricks or stone on which Tulasī plant grows and women worship tulasī every evening with water, lamp, &c. Vṛndā, wife of Jālandhara, became Tulasī. Padma VI. (chap. 3-19) contains a lengthy story (of about 1050 verses) about Jālandhara and Vṛndā.

Tuṣṭiprāptivrata—on 3rd tithi of Śr. Kṛ. (by pūrṇimānta reckoning) with Śravaṇa nakṣatra; worship of Govinda with mantras beginning with *om* and ending with *namaḥ*; highest satisfaction is reward; HV I. 499 (from Vi. Dh.)

Tṛtīyā-vratas—Agni 178, HV I. 394-500 (about 30 are named), KKV 48-77 (only 8), KK 172-176, KR 153-157, VKK 29-30, TT 30-31, VR 82-120, PC 85; if the 3rd is mixed with 2nd and 4th tithi the rule is that in the case of all vratas except Rambhāvrata 3rd mixed with 4th is to be accepted (KN 174, TT 30-31, PC 84-85.)

Tejaḥsaṅkrānti-vrata—on each Saṅkrānti day; for a year; Sun worshipped; HV II. 734-35.

Trayodaśapadārthavarjana-saptami—begin vrata after the end of Uttarāyaṇa on a Sunday in the bright half of a month with 7th and a nakṣatra with masculine name (viz. Hasta, Puṣya, Mṛgaśīrṣa, Punarvasu, Mūla, Śravaṇa (but vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 219 n. 512 for different views); one year; worship of Sun; omitting thirteen things such as vrīhi, yava, wheat, sesame, māṣa, mudga &c. and subsisting on

mere grain and the like (except the 13); HV I. 756 (from Bhav. U. 45. 1-5).

Trayodaśī-vratas—Agni 191, HV II. 1-25 (about 14), KKV 369 (only one), KN 277, KV 469, VKK 70, SM 95-96, PC 222-31.

Trayodaśī-vrata—on 13th of any month; performer to place a lump of cow's butter as big as a kapittha fruit in a vessel of gold, silver, copper or clay and make with flowers or akṣatas and prepare a lotus thereon with heaps of flowers and invoke Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī thereon and divide the lump of butter in two parts and pronounce separate mantras over the two parts and give the parts to wife, first the portion over which Viṣṇu was invoked and then the other; result birth of many sons; HV II. 19-21 (from Var.); on Cai. śu. 13 worship of image of Kāmadeva with Rati drawn on a jar, or white cloth and decked with Aśoka flowers and worship with damanaka; KV 469 (quoting Devīpurāṇa).

Trigatisaptamī—begin on Phā. śu. 7; one year; worship of the Sun under the name Heli (Greek 'Helios' the Sun); in Phā. to Jy. Sun to be worshipped as Haṁsa, in Āṣ. to Āśv. as Mārtaṇḍa, and in K. to M. as Bhāskara; secures lordship of the earth and enjoys overlordship over earth, the pleasures of Indraloka and residence in Sūryaloka (these are three *gatis*); Bhav., Brāhmaparva 104. 2-24 q. by KKV 141-145, HV I. 736-38, KR 524-526); the 2nd verse is 'japan helīti devasya nāma bhaktyā punaḥ punaḥ.'

Tritayapradāna-saptamī—on 7th of M. śu. with Hasta nakṣatra; tithi vrata acc. to KKV and māsavrata acc. to HV; one year; Sun; performer to make gifts each month of ghee, paddy, yava, gold and eight other things respectively and subsist on corn (of different kinds) and partake respectively every month of cow's urine, water and ten other things; he secures three, viz. birth in a good family, health and wealth; KKV 151-153, HV I. 744-45 (both quoting Bhav. Brāhma 112. 10-16), KR 458-460. HV calls it Nayanapradasaptamī.

Tridinaspṛk—where one tithi touches three week days, it is so called. HK 677, NS 154.

Tripurasūdana-vrata—on Sunday with Uttarā nakṣatra: worship of Sun image to be bathed with ghee, milk, sugarcane juice and application of saffron as unguent; HV II. 525 (from Bhav. U.).

Tripurotsava—on the evening of Full Moon of K.; lamps should be lighted in temple of Śiva; NS 207, SmK 427.

Trimadhura—Honey, ghee and sugar are so called. Vi. Dh. III. 127. 10 and III. 136. 2–3, HV I. 43 and II. 750.

Trimūrtivrata—on Jy. śu. 3; tithi; three years; worship of Viṣṇu as Vāyu, Moon, Sun; Vi. Dh. III. 136.

Trirātravrata—performed by Sāvitrī. Vide Vanaparva 296. 3 ff. Vide pp. 92–94 above.

Trilocana-yātrā—(1) on 3rd of Vai. śu.; worship of Śivaliṅga; SM. 36 (quoting Kāśīkhaṇḍa); (2) visiting on 13th at pradoṣa Kāmeśa in Kāśī, particularly on Saturday, bath in Kāmakuṇḍa; PC 230.

Trisugandha—is formed by *tvak* (cinnamon), cardamom and patraka in equal quantities; HV I. 44.

Trispṛśā—one of the 8 kinds of Dvādaśīs when Ekādaśī exists for a short time at *aruṇodaya*, then follows dvādaśī and towards the end of that day before the next morning there is trayodaśī, that is trispṛśā (HK 261). Vide Pad. VI. 35.

Trivikrama-trirātravrata—begin on 9th of Mārg. śu.; every month two trirātravratas; in four years and two intercalary months i. e. in all 50 months one hundred trirātras would be finished; Vāsudeva to be worshipped; ekabhakta on 8th and thereafter fast for three days and nights; end of vrata in K.; HV II. 318–320.

Trivikramatṛtīyā—(1) begin on 3rd of śu. of any month; three years or 12 years; worship of Trivikrama and Lakṣmī; homa with mantra Ṛg. I. 22. 20, or 'Trivikramāya namaḥ' for women and śūdras; HV I. 453–54 (from Vi. Dh. III. 133. 1–13); (2) begin on 3rd of Jy. śu; fast on 2nd and on morning of 3rd worship of Agni and of Sun in evening and then nakta on that day and of Viṣṇu's three steps; for one year; HV I 455–456 (from Vi. Dh. III. 134. 1–12); (3) begin on Jy. śu. 3; one year; worship of the earth, mid regions and heaven in each period of three months; Vi. Dh. III. 135.

Trivikramavrata—from K. for three months or for three years; worship of Vāsudeva; performer becomes free from sins; HV II. 854–855 (from Vi. Dh.) = KKV 429–430.

Trivṛt—milk, curds and ghee in equal parts are so called (vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra III. 10).

Trisama—cloves and *cinnamon* bark and *patraka* are so called HV I. 43.

Tryahaḥ-spṛk—Vi. Dh. I. 60. 14; when three tithis are touched in one day and night that day is so called and is very sacred. Vide p. 68 above and note 172.

Traiyambaka or Tryambaka-vrata—on 14th of each month taking food in nakta way and at end of year donating a cow, one reaches Śiva-pada; HV II. 147 (one verse from Pad.)=KKV 449. The verse is Mat. 101. 67.

Dattātraya-janma—on Mārg. paurṇamāsī; Atri's wife Anasūyā called him Datta (because god gave himself up to him as son) and as he was Atri's son he is called Dattātreya; NS 210, SmK 430, VKD 107–108; Dattabhakti is prevalent mostly in Mahārāṣṭra and places associated with Datta viz. Audumbara, Gāṇagāpura, Narsobā-wādi are in Mahārāṣṭra; Dattātreya conferred boons on Kārtavīrya (Vanaparva 115, 12, Brah. 13. 160–185, Mat. 43. 15–16), was an avatāra of Viṣṇu and propounded Yoga to Alarka (Brah. 213. 106–112, Mārkaṇḍeya 16. 14 ff, Br. III. 8. 84); he resided in valleys of Sahya, was called Avadhūta, was given to wine and liked female company; Pad. II. 103. 110–112 and Mārkaṇḍeya 16. 132–34. From Tamil calendars it appears that Dattātreya-jayantī is celebrated in Tamil land also.

Dadhivrata—on 12th of Śr. śu.; NS 111; one has to give up curds on this day.

Dadhisaṅkrāntivrata—begin on Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti and carry on at each Saṅkrānti for one year; worship of image of Nārāyaṇa with Lakṣmī by bathing it with curds, the mantra being either Ṛg. I. 22. 20 or 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya'; VKK 218–222.

Damanakapūjā—on 13th of Cai. śu. worship of Kāma, as damanaka plant is Madana himself; TT 120–121; VKK 529–531.

Damanabhañjī—14th of Cai. śu. is so-called; pūjā of Kāma with all parts (roots, trunk and foliage) of damanaka plant (Artimisia Indika); KV 469, VKK 531. Vide E. I. vol. 23 p. 186 for the erection of a shrine to Vindhyeśvara Śiva on Damanakacaturdaśī in saṁvat 1294 (Thursday, 12th March 1237).

Damanakamahotsava—on 14th of Cai. śu.; tithi; pūjā of Viṣṇu with Damanaka; SmK 101–103; Pad. VI. 86. 14; 'tatpuru-

ṣāya vidmahe Kāmadevāya dhīmahi ı tannoṣnaṅgaḥ pracodayāt ıı' is Kāmagāyatrī).

Damanakotsava—on 14th of Cai. śu. worship of damanaka plant in a garden; invocation of Śiva (who is Time himself) at the root of Aśoka tree; see Īśānagurudevapaddhati, 22nd paṭala (T. S. S.) which gives a long story how the fire from Śiva's 3rd eye appeared as Bhairava, how Śiva called him Damanaka, but Pārvatī cursed him to be a plant on the earth and Śiva gave him a boon that if people offered worship to him alone with Vasanta and Madana they would secure all their objects. The Anaṅga-gāyatrī to be recited in this is 'om clīm Manmathāya vidmahe Kāmadevāya dhīmahi ı tan-no gandharvaḥ pracodayāt ıı'; HV II. 453–55, VP (folio 72b), Skanda I. 2. 9. 23, PC 237.

Damanakāropaṇa—From 1st tithi to 15th of Cai.; worship of different deities with the damanaka plant in order from 1st to 15th viz. Umā, Śiva and Agni on 1st, on 2nd Brahmā, on 3rd Devī and Śaṅkara, from 4th to 15th respectively Gaṇeśa, Nāgas, Skanda, Bhāskara, Mātṛs, Mahiṣamardinī, Dharma, Ṛṣis, Viṣṇu, Kāma, Śiva, Indra with Śacī; HV II. 453–55, KR 31–95, SM 84–86.

Daśamīvratas—Vide HV I. 963–983, KN 230–233, PC 142–148, VR 352–361. Hemādri describes eleven, while KKV 309 only one viz. Sārvabhaumavrata.

Daśarathacaturthī—on 4th of K. kṛ.; image of king Daśaratha placed in an earthen vessel and Durgā to be worshipped; PC 94–95 (says it is also called Karaka-caturthī), NS 196.

Daśarathalalitā-vrata—on 10th of Āśv. śu.; tithi; ten days; pūjā of golden image of Lalitā-devī with silver images of Moon and Rohiṇī in front of Devī and image of Śiva to the right and of Gaṇeśa to the left; Daśaratha and Kausalyā performed it; different flowers on each of ten days; HV II. 570–574 (from Skanda).

Daśaharā—see pp. 90–91 above.

Daśādityavrata—on 10th of śu. with Sunday; pūjā of Bhāskara (Sun) in the form of a *doraka* with ten knots; removes *durdaśā* (distress, ill-luck) caused by ten acts; worship of image of *Durdaśā* in ten forms and of Lakṣmī in ten forms; HV II. 549–552 (from Br.)

Daśāphalavrata—on 8th of Śr. kr. (amānta reckoning); for ten years; Gopālakṛṣṇa is devatā; thread with 10 strands to be placed before Kṛṣṇa image, which thread was to be tied on one's hand; worship with ten Tulasī leaves the names of Hari; 10 *purīs* to each of 10 brāhmaṇas; Vratārka (folios 129a–132a from Bhaviṣyottara), VR 265–269.

Daśāvatāradina—Vide under 'Avatāra-dina' above pp. 262–63.

Daśāvatāravrata—(1) begin on 12th of Mārg. Śu; Viṣṇu appeared as Matsya that day; on every śu. 12th up to Bh. worship of Viṣṇu in the ten avatāras in each month in order; HV I. 1158–1161 (from Viṣṇupurāṇa); (2) begin on Bh. śu. 10; on same tithi and month for every year for ten years; each year different food to be offered (e. g. apūpa in first year, ghṛtapūraka in 2nd and so on); ten parts of food prepared for god, ten to brāhmaṇa and ten for himself; ten costly images of avatāras including Bhārgava, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Bauddha and Kalkin; VR 358–359 (from Bhav.), SmK 239.

Daṣṭoddharaṇa-pañcamī or nāgadaṣṭo—on 5th of Bh. śu.; for relative (such as son, brother, daughter) of one dying from snake bite was to be performed; worship of golden, silver, wooden or clay image of snake having five hoods with fragrant flowers, incense &c.; in each month different Nāga out of twelve to be named; reward that man dying from snake-bite was freed from lower regions where he was supposed to go and to have become a non-poisonous snake, and went to heaven; KKV 90–93, HV I. 560–562 (from Bhav. I. 32. 41–58), KR 273–275. For the names of twelve nāgas, vide p. 124 note 321 above. Garuḍa I. 129 describes this.

Dāna—gifts. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 837–888 for detailed treatment. After that volume was published two more extensive digests on dāna have been published viz. the Kṛtyakalpataru (dāna-kāṇḍa in 1941) and the Dānasāgara of Ballālasena composed in śake 1019 (1169 A. D.) in the B. I. series (ed. by Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya) in three parts). What dānas are to be made on the several nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī are described in Anuśāsana 64 which the Dānaśāgara pp. 628–638 and KR (549–555) quote. KR 95–102 sets out the rewards of dānas on the several tithis. The Vi. Dh. III. 317 also speaks of the results of dānas on seasons, months, week-days and nakṣatras.

Dānāphalavrata—from the last day of Āśv. śu. up to 7th of M. śu.; worship of Nārāyaṇa; for five years; in each year gift of rice, wheat, salt, sesame, māṣas measuring five *prasthas* in the order specified; Vratārka (folios 362b–365a, from Skanda).

Dāmpatyāṣṭamī—on 8th of K. kṛ.; tithi; for one year divided into four periods; worship of Umā and Maheśvara images made with darbhas; the flowers, naivedya, dhūpa and the names of the deities differ in each month; at end of the year a brāhmaṇa and his wife to be treated to a dinner, garments dyed red, two golden cows as dakṣiṇā to be donated; gets son, learning, goes to Śivaloka and even mokṣa if desired. KKV 254–258, HV I. 841–844 (from Bhav.).

Dāridryaharaṣaṣṭhī—on 6th of all months for a year; worship of Guha (Skanda); AK (folio 429–430) from Skanda-purāṇa.

Dinakṣaya—where on one and the same week-day two tithis end there is dinakṣaya; HK p. 676 (quoting Pad.), while KN 260 (quoting Vasiṣṭha) remarks where on one and the same civil day three tithis are touched there is dinakṣaya, on which a fast is forbidden, though it is said that gifts and the like made thereon yield a thousand-fold reward.

Divākaravrata—begin on a Sunday with Hasta nakṣatra; this to be on seven Sundays; vāravrata; Sun to be worshipped in a lotus with twelve petals drawn on the ground and twelve Ādityas are to be assigned separately to each of 12 petals in order viz. Sūrya, Divākara, Vivasvat, Bhaga, Varuṇa, Indra, Āditya, Savitṛ, Arka, Mārtaṇḍa, Ravi, Bhāskara, and Vedic and other mantras to be repeated; KKV 23–25, HV II. 523–533 (from Bhav.)

Dīpadānavrata—To light lamps fed with ghee or sesame oil at every puṇyakāla (such as) Saṅkrānti, eclipse, ekādaśī and particularly for one month from Āśvina paurṇamāsī to K. paurṇamāsī with Vedic mantras (like Ṛg. VIII. 11. 7, Vāj. S. 26. 6 and 33. 92) in temples, rivers, wells, trees, cowpens, roads, where four roads meet, in houses; yields great merit. Vide Anuśāsana 98. 45–54, Agni 200, Aparārka pp. 370–372, HV II. 476–482 (from Bhav. U), KR 403–405 and Dānasāgara pp. 458–462.

Dīpalakṣaṇa—Bṛ. S. (83. 1–2) deals with the prognostications from the flames of lamps.

Dīpavrata—Begin on Ekādaśī of Mārg. śu.; worship of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa with bath of Pañcāmṛta and Vedic mantras and salutations; lamp to be lighted before images of the two; Pad. VI. 31. 1–122.

Dīpapratiṣṭhāvrata—M. in Br. III. 47–61 as declared by Viṣṇu and performed by the earth.

Dīpānvitāmāvāsyā—KT 451; same as the amāvāsyā in Dīpāvalī.

Dīptivrata—Every evening for a year; performer avoids use of oil and donates at end of year lamps, golden disc and trident and a pair of garments; becomes brilliant here and goes to Rudraloka; it is a saṁvatsaravrata; KKV 445 = HV II. 866 (from Pad.).

Dugdhavrata—on 12th tithi of Bh. omitting milk altogether; NS 141 discusses several views whether pāyasa or curds should be taken though milk was to be avoided; vide VKD 77, SmK 254.

Durgandha-durbhāgyanāśana-trayodaśī—on Jy. śu. 13; worship of three trees, viz. white mandāra or *arka* plant, red karavīra and nimba, that are favourites of the Sun; every year; removes bad odours of the body and ill-luck; HV II. 14–16.

Durgānavamī—begin on 9th of Āśv.; for a year; the flowers, the incense, *naivedya* and the name of the goddess are different in each group of four months from Āśv.; Durgā (also called Maṅgalyā and Caṇḍikā); HV I. 937–939 (from Bhav.); (2) another variety on any 9th; HV I. 956–957, from (Bhav.), VKK 41; (3) on all 9th tithis, as on that day Bhadrakālī was made mistress over all Yoginīs; PC 140.

Durgāpūjā—Vide pp. 154–187 above.

Durgāvrata—begin on 8th of Śr. śu.; one year; different names of Devī employed in the twelve months; performer covers himself with mud from different places in 12 months; the naivedya is different (including flesh of deer and goat on Āśv. 8); HV I. 856–862; KR 238–244 (both quote Devīpurāṇa); same in KKV 225–233 (but called Durgāṣṭamī).

Durgāṣṭamī—Vide the preceding entry.

Durgotsava—Vide above pp. 154–187 and TT 64–103.

Dūrvā—8th of Bh. śu. is so called; NA 61, SM 56–57.

Dūrvāgaṇapativrata—(1) on 4th of Śr. or K. śu. for two years or three; worship of Gaṇeśa image with red flowers and with

leaves of bilva, apāmārga, śamī, dūrvā and tulasī and other upacāras; mantra containing ten names of Gaṇapati; HV I. 520-523, VR 127-129 (from Saurapurāṇa, where Śiva tells Skanda that Pārvatī performed it!!); (2) begin on any 4th śu. falling on Sunday; for six months; śiṣṭas practise it from Śr. śu. 4 to M. śu. 4; worship of Gaṇapati; VR 141-143 (from Skanda), Vratārka (folios 66-67); (3) worship of Gaṇapati for 21 days from Śr. śu. 5 to Śr. kṛ. 10 with 16 upacāras and 21 kinds of leaves such as dūrvā, bilva, apāmārga &c.; VR 129-141.

Dūrvātrirātravrata—for women; begin on Bh. śu. 13; three days up to Full Moon; fast on all three days; worship of image of Umā and Maheśvara, Dharma, Sāvitrī placed among dūrvās; jāgara with dance and music; recital of Sāvitrī's story; homa on 1st with sesame, ghee, and fuel sticks; confers happiness, wealth and sons; HV II. 315-318 (from Pad.); dūrvā is said to have sprung from Viṣṇu's hair and some drops of *amṛta* fell on it.

Dūrvāṣṭamī—(1) fast on 7th of Bh. śu; worship of Śaṅkara on 8th with *gandha*, puṣpa, dhūpa &c. and specially with dūrvā and śamī; HV I. 873-875, KKV 239-241 (both from Bhav.), HK 107 (not to be performed after Agastya becomes visible or when Sun is in Kanyā-rāśi; VKV 15, PC 120; (2) In this variety, Dūrvā alone is worshipped as if it were a deity with flowers, fruits, &c. and two mantras one of which is 'O Dūrvā! you are immortal, honoured by gods and *asuras*, give me *saubhāgya*, progeny and all happiness'; dinner to brāhmaṇas, relatives and friends of ground sesame and preparations of wheat flour; this is specially obligatory on women and one should not perform it, if Jyeṣṭhā or Mūla nakṣatra occurs on 8th of Bh. śu. nor when the Sun is in the sign of Virgo (Kanyā) nor when Agastya has risen; Bhav. U. 56, PC 127-129, SmK 228-230.

Dṛḍhavrata—giving up application of sandalwood paste in Cai.; gift of a conch shell full of unguents and two garments; Mat. 101. 44 q. by KKV 445, KR 183; same verses in Pad. V. 20. 91-92.

Devamūrtivrata—From 1st of Cai. śu.; worship of four images, viz. of Śiva, Agni, Virūpākṣa and Vāyu, on four days in order in every month for a year and homa with curds, sesame, yavas and ghee; this is a Caturmūrtivrata; HV II. 504-505 (from Vi. Dh.).

Devayātrotsava—Vide NM pp. 83–84 verses 1013–1017. In the temples of gods the Yātrotsava should be performed on certain tithis viz. on 4th in Vināyaka temple, on 6th in Skanda's, on 7th in Sun's, on 9th in Durgā's, on 5th in Lakṣmī's, on 8th or 14th in Śiva's, on 5th, 12th or Full moon in temples of all Nāgas, and on śukla 15th in temples of all gods; the RNP pp. 416–419 (quoting Brah.) provides for this for six months every year from Vaiśākha in the temples of gods, viz. on 1st for Brahmā, on 2nd for gods, on 3rd for Ganges and so on.

Devavrata—(1) When on 14th tithi there is conjunction of Maghā-nakṣatra and Jupiter one should fast on it and worship Maheśvara; increases life, wealth and fame; HV II. 64 (from Kālottara); (2) Nakta for eight days, gift of a cow, golden discus and trident and two garments with the words 'May Śiva and Keśava be pleased'; Saṁvatsara vrata; removes even grave sins; HV II. 862 (from Pad.); (3) worship of Ṛgveda (gotra Ātreya and presiding deity Moon), of Yajurveda (gotra Kāśyapa and deity Rudra who is terrific), of Sāmaveda (gotra Bhāradvāja, deity Indra); then their physiognomy is described and also of Atharvaveda; HV II. 915–16 (from Devīpurāṇa). Is it Vedavrata?

Devaśayanotthāna-mahotsava or vidhi—HV II. 800–817; vide above pp. 109–110 for the days on which Viṣṇu is supposed to sleep and to rise.

Devīpūjā—on Āśv. śu. 9; every year; RNP 439–44 (from Devīpurāṇa). Vide pp. 160 ff. above.

Devīvrata—(1) in K; performer to subsist on milk and take vegetables alone at night; worship of Devī (Durgā); homa with sesame; japa of the mantra 'Jayantī Maṅgalā Kālī Bhadrakālī Kapālinī । Durgā Kṣamā Śivā Dhātrī Sva dhā Svāhā namostu te ॥'; reward freedom from all sins, diseases and fears; HV II 775–776 (from Devīpurāṇa); (2) Miscellaneous vrata (prakīrṇaka); worship of images of Gaurī and Śambhu, Janārdana and Lakṣmī, the Sun with his queen; gifts of dhūpa, bell and lamp after honouring with white flowers; gives a divine body; HV II. 884 (from Bhav. U.); (3) on 15th (i. e. pūrṇimā) of any month; person su bsisting on milk alone and then donating a cow go es to the world of Lakṣmī; HV II. 239 (from Pad.), KKV 447–448 (quoting what is Mat. 101. 59).

Devyāndolana—on Cai. śu. 3; worship of image of Umā and Śaṅkara with saffron and the like and specially with *damana* plant; swinging the images in a swing and jāgara; PC 85.

Devyāḥ-rathayātrā—on 5th, 7th, 9th, 11th or 3rd tithis or on days of Śiva and Gaṇeśa, king to prepare a structure of bricks or stones and establish Devī image there; he should prepare a chariot decorated with golden threads and ivory staves, bells &c. and place the Devī therein and then take the image back to his residence in a procession of men and women; the city, streets, houses and gates should be decorated and illuminated; reward happiness, glory, prosperity and sons; HV II. 420–424 (from Devīpurāṇa).

Dolayātrā—Vide p. 240 above under Holikā; TT 140, PC 308, GK 179.

Dolāyātrā—same as above; GK 189–190.

Dolotsava—This was celebrated on different dates for different deities. Vide Pad. (IV. 80. 45–50) which says that in Kaliyuga Dolotsava on Phā. 14th at the 8th *prahara* or at the conjunction of pūrṇimā and 1st is prescribed for three or five days and on seeing once Kṛṣṇa facing the south in a swing people become free from the load of sins; Pad. VI. 85 contains eulogy and procedure of the Dolotsava of Viṣṇu. On Cai. śu. 3 was Dolotsava of Gaurī (PC 85, VR 84) and of Rāma (SM 35); Dolotsava of Kṛṣṇa on Cai. śu. 11 (Pad. VI. 85) and the mantra repeated as Gāyatrī was 'Om dolārūḍhāya vidmahe Mādhavāya ca dhīmahi । tan-no devaḥ pracodayāt ॥ *ibid.* verse 5). At Mathurā–Vṛndāvana, Ayodhyā, Dvārakā, Dākor and a few other places the Dolotsava of Kṛṣṇa is still celebrated.

Dauhitrapratipad—Āśv. śu. 1; VR 61. This is a śrāddha. Vide H. of Dh., vol. IV p. 533.

Dyūtapratipad—on K. śu. 1; vide above 'Balipratipad' under 'Divāli'.

Drākṣābhakṣaṇa—(partaking of first grapes). In Āśv.; KR (p. 303–304) quotes Brah. that when the ocean was churned by gods a beautiful woman rose up from the milky ocean and she became transformed into a charming creeper and the gods said 'who is this? we shall gladly see her' (hanta drakṣyāmahe vayam) and gave the creeper the name 'drākṣā' (popular etymology); worship of the plant when

grapes are ripe with flowers, incense, food &c. and then two boys and two old men to be honoured and then singing and dancing.

Dvādaśamāsarkṣavrata—begin vrata on the Full Moon of K. when it falls on kṛttikā; worship of Narasiṁha, gift of sandalwood and *tagara* flowers to a brāhmaṇa; on Mārg. Full Moon with Mṛgaśiras-nakṣatra worship of Rāma; on P. Full Moon with Puṣya worship of Balarāma; on Māghī and Maghā Varāha to be worshipped. On Phālgunī and Phālgunīs (nakṣatras) Nara and Nārāyaṇa and so on up to Śrāvaṇa Full Moon; Vi. Dh. III. 214. 1–26.

Dvādaśa-saptamīvratas—begin on Cai. śu. 7; for twelve months on each 7th tithi of śu. worship of the Sun under a different name; with the six letter mantra 'om namaḥ sūryāya'; freedom from various diseases (like leprosy, dropsy, dysentery) and secures health; HV I. 792–804 (from Āditya-purāṇa).

Dvādaśāditya-vrata—begin on 12th of Mārg. śu.; worship of 12 Ādityas (Dhātā, Mitra, Aryaman, Pūṣan, Śakra, Varuṇa, Bhaga, Tvaṣṭṛ, Vivasvat, Savitṛ and Viṣṇu); at end gift of gold; reaches world of Savitṛ; HV I. 1173, AK (folio 851), both quoting Vi. Dh. III. 182. 1–3, which call it Kāmadevavrata.

Dvādaśāhayajña-phalāvāpti-tṛtīyā—on each 3rd tithi (of śu. ?) for one year; worship of the 12 semi-divine beings called *Sādhyas* (names mentioned); HV I. 498 (from Vi. Dh. III. 181); (2) Anuśāsana 109 provides for fast beginning from 12th of Mārg. (śu. ?), worship of Viṣṇu under different names, viz. Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava &c.; the performer secures the same reward as an Aśvamedha, Vājapeya and other solemn vedic sacrifices confer.

Dvādaśāhasaptamī—begin on 7th of M. śu.; for one year; fast on 7th and Sun to be worshipped under different names on each 7th, Varuṇa in M., Tapana in Phā., Vedāṁśu in Cai., in Vai. Dhātṛ and so on; brāhmaṇas to be fed on following 8th; on 7th of dark half also fast &c.; HV I. 720–724 (from Bhav.).

Dvādaśīvratas—For reward of fast on Dvādaśīs of śu. *pakṣa* from Mārg, vide Vi. Dh. I. 159. 1–21 and on kṛ. Dvādaśī vide Vi. Dh. I. 160. There are about 50 Dvādaśī vratas. Vide KKV 310–369 (describes 26 dvādaśīvratas), HV I. 1162–

1222; HK 289–298, KN 275–277, TT 114–117, SM 92–95, PC 213–222, VR 475–495. The Var., chapters 39–49 deal with ten dvādaśīs named after ten avatāras from Matsya to Kalkin and also Padmanābha-dvādaśī. Most of these would be dealt with under their proper names. Agni 188 mentions many Dvādaśīvratas. Eight kinds of Dvādaśīs from Brahmavaivarta have been mentioned by HK 260–263; vide p. 119 above. The rewards of making gifts on dvādaśīs of the twelve months in conjunction with certain nakṣatras are treated in HK 634–637, KR 129–131. Dvādaśī mixed with ekādaśī is to be preferred acc. to Yugmavākya (KN 275).

Dvādaśīvrata—begin from Mārg. śu.; one year or for life; fast on 11th and worship of Vāsudeva on 12th with the upacāras from flowers &c.; if performed for one year, one becomes purified from sins; if for life he reaches Śvetadvīpa; if he performs vrata on dvādaśīs both in śu. and kṛ. he secures heaven, and if for life he goes to Viṣṇuloka. V. Dh. 49. 1–8, q. by KKV 310; Anuśāsana chap. 109 dwells on worship of Viṣṇu on dvādaśīs from Mārg.

Dvitīyāvratas—Vide Agni 177. 1–20, KKV 40–48, HV I. 366–393, KN 169–172, TT 29–30, PC 82–84, VR 78–81. The KKV describes only three viz. Puṣpadvitīyā, Aśūnyaśayana (two varieties), Kāntivrata, while HV speaks of eleven. NA speaks of only two viz. Aśūnyaśayana and Yamadvitīyā and remarks that no vrata on the 2nd tithis of other months is well-known. These will be found in their places in this list. The four dvitīyās of Śr., Bh., Āśv. and K. are respectively called Kaluṣā, Nirmalā, Pretasañcārā and Yamī. The general rule is that the second tithi of śu. mixed with third is to be preferred as the Yugmavākya indicates; KTV 30.

Dvidalavrata—in K.; avoid taking any kind of *dvidala dhānya* such as *tūr*, rājikā, māṣa, mudga, masūra, gram, kulittha; NS 104–105.

Dvitīyābhadrāvrata—This is a vrata on the Karaṇa called Viṣṭi; begin on Mārg. śu. 4; for a year; worship of Bhadrā-devī and repeat the mantra 'Bhadre bhadrāya bhadram hi cariṣye vratam-eva te । Nirvighnam kuru me devi kārya-siddhim ca bhāvaya ॥'; honour a brāhmaṇa; he should not partake of food while Bhadrā *karaṇa* is on; at the end an iron or stone or wooden or painted image of Bhadrā should

be established and worshipped; the reward is that the man's undertakings even when begun in Bhadrā succeed. HV II. 724–726 (from Bhav. U.), PC 52. Bhadrā or Viṣṭi is looked upon in most cases as a horror and inauspicious; vide SmK 565–566.

Dvirāṣāḍha—Viṣṇu is deemed to sleep on Āṣ. ś. 11; if two amāvāsyās end during the period when the Sun is in the sign of Mithuna, then there are two Āṣāḍha (lunar) months, there is an adhimāsa and Viṣṇu goes to sleep only after the 2nd amāvāsyā (i. e. in Karkaṭa or Śr.); KV 169–173, NS 192, Sm 83.

Dvīpavrata—begin on Cai. śu. and for seven days in each month, one should worship in order the seven dvīpas viz. Jambu, Śāka, Kuśa, Krauñca, Śālmali, Gomeda and Puṣkara for one year; one should sleep on the ground (not on a cot) and donate at the year's end silver, fruits; reaches heaven; HV II. 465–466 (from Vi. Dh.).

Dhanatrayodaśī–13th of Āśv. kṛ. Vide p. 195 above under 'Divāḷi'.

Dhanadapūjā—(worship of Kubera) on the *pradoṣa* of Āśv. pūrṇimā; TT 136–137.

Dhanadavrata—begin on 11th of Mārg. śu. with nakta; for one year; Kubera; vrata yields wealth; KKV 310, HV I. 1161–1162 (both quote Var.).

Dhanavrata—begin on Phā. śu. 13th with a fast; one year; worship of Kubera (called Mahārāja) with the upacāras from gandha, puṣpa &c.; at end of year gift of gold to brāhmaṇa; Vi. Dh. III. 184. 1–3 q. by HV II. 18–19 (but called Nandavrata).

Dhanasaṅkrānti-vrata—begin on a day of Saṅkrānti; Saṅkrānti-vrata; one year; Sun as deity; every month a jar full of water with a gold piece inside to be donated with the words 'May the Sun be pleased'; at end gift of golden lotus and a cow; the performer is endowed with health, wealth and long life for numerous lives; HV II. 736–737 (from Skanda).

Dhanāvāptivrata—(1) begin on 1st tithi after Śr. pūrṇimā; for a month; worship of Viṣṇu and Saṅkarṣaṇa with blue lotuses, ghee, naivedya of best food, fast for three days before Bh. Pūrṇimā; gift of cow at end of vrata; HV II. 759 (from Vi. Dh. III. 210 1–5); (2) worship of Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera) for a year; reward plentiful wealth; HV 155 (from Vi. Dh.);

(3) begin on Cai. śu. 1; worship of images of Viṣṇu, the Earth, the sky and Brahmā respectively on 1st tithi to 4th; for one year; secures wealth, beauty, happiness; HV II. 501–502 (from Vi. Dh. III. 139. 1–5). This is a Caturmūrtivrata.

Dhanyavrata or Dhanyapratipad-vrata—Mārg. śu. 1; nakta on that day and worship of Viṣṇu image (identified with Agni) on night; homa in a kuṇḍa placed before it; then partake of Yāvaka and food with ghee; the same in dark half also; for eight months from Cai.; at end of vrata a golden image of Agni donated; even an unlucky man becomes blessed with happiness, wealth and food and free from sin; KKV 38–40 (calls it Dhanyapratipad), HV I. 355–56, both quoting Var. 56. 1–16.

Dharaṇīvrata—begin fast on K. śu. 11; worship of image of Nārāyaṇa; place before the image four jars with some jewels inside and covered with copper vessels containing gold and sesame, which (jars) are to be deemed as the four oceans; the golden image is to be established in their midst; jāgara that night; five brāhmaṇas were to be invited on the next morning, dinner and dakṣiṇā to them; this vrata was performed by Prajāpati, by many famous kings and by the Earth itself and it is so called for that reason; HV I. 1041–44 (from Var. 50. 1–29), KR 426–430 (calls it Yogīśvara-dvādaśī).

Dharāvrata—for the whole of Uttarāyaṇa subsist on milk; make a gift of golden image of the earth over 20 *palas* in weight; Rudra devatā; goes to Rudraloka; Mat. 101. 52 q. by KKV 446, HV II. 906 (same verses from Pad.); KKV says it is a saṁvatsaravrata, while HV puts it under miscellaneous.

Dharmaghaṭa-dāna—From Cai. śu. 1 for four months one desirous of storing merit should make every day gift to a brāhmaṇa of a jar covered with a piece of cloth containing cool, pure water; PC 57–58; SmK 89–90.

Dharmaprāpti-vrata—begin on 1st tithi after Āṣ. Full Moon; worship of Viṣṇu in the form of Dharma; for a month; fast for three days including the Full Moon day at end of month and gift of gold; Vi. Dh. III. 209. 1–3.

Dharmarājapūjā—Worship of Dharma with damanaka. Vide Damanakapūjāvidhi above and SmK 101.

Dharmavrata—begin on 10th of Mārg. śu.; fast on that day and worship of Dharma; *homa* with ghee; even in dark half; for one year; at end gift of a milch cow; vrata confers health, long life, fame and destroys sins; HV I. 967–968 quoting Vi. Dh. III. 178. 1–8.

Dharmaṣaṣṭhī—on Āśv. kṛ. 6; worship of Dharmarāja; AK 419a.

Dharmāvāptivrata—begin on first tithi after Āṣ. Full Moon; for one month; worship of Hari in the form of Dharma; it secures all objects; HV II. 758 (from Vi. Dh.).

Dhātrīvrata—bath on Ekādaśī in both fortnights with Dhātrī (Āmalaka) fruit; Pad. V. 58. 1–11. Dhātrī fruit is dear to Vāsudeva; by eating it man becomes free from all sins.

Dhānya—(grāmya i. e. cultivated in a village)—Dhānyas are said to be ten in Bṛ. Up. Vi. 3. 13 and 17 or 18 in later works.

Dhānyasaṅkrānti-vrata—begin on *ayana* day or *viṣuva* day; for a year; draw a lotus of eight petals with saffron; on each petal worship Sun from the east onwards under eight different names; he should donate one *prastha* of corn to a brāhmaṇa (hence called Dhānyasaṅkrānti); every month this to be repeated; HV II. 730–32 (from Skanda).

Dhānyasaptaka—Seven kinds of corn are; yava, wheat, dhānya (coriander), sesame, kangu (Panic seed), śyāmāka and cīnaka (Panicum Miliacum); HV I. 48 (from Ṣaṭ-triṁśan-mata); KR 70 (notes that some read 'devadhānya' in place of 'cīnaka).' Gobhilasmṛti 3. 107 names the seven somewhat differently; Viṣṇupurāṇa I. 6. 21–22, Vāyu 8. 150–152 and Mārkaṇḍeya 46. 67–69 (Veṅk. ed.) name 17 dhānyas and VR p. 17 names 18.

Dhānyasaptamī—on śu. 7 worship the Sun, follow nakta method and donate seven dhānyas, household utensils and salt; he saves himself and seven ancestors; HV I. 787–788 (from Bhav.).

Dhāmatrirātra-vrata—HV II. 322 quoting Pad; the same as Dhāmavrata below.

Dhāmavrata—on the Full Moon of Phā. one should donate a fine house after fast for three days; he reaches the world of the Sun; Mat. 101. 79 q. by KKV 450–51, HV II. 322. The Sun is the deity here; dhāman means a 'house'. Vide Gar. I. 137. 3.

Dhāraṇapāraṇa-vratodyāpana—begin on 11th in Cāturmāsya or in the first month thereof or in the last month; upavāsa (dhāraṇa) in one month and pāraṇa (bhojana) in the next; worship of images of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa placed on a jar full of water at night with pañcāmṛta, flowers, Tulasī leaves, japa of mantra 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya' 108 times; arghya; *homa* of boiled sesame and rice with Ṛg. X. 112. 9 and of boiled rice and ghee with Ṛg. X. 155. 1; SmK 414-416, Vratārka 365a–366b.

Dhārāvrata—From beginning of Cai. while drinking water one should let fall a stream of water (in the mouth?); for one year; at end donate a new water vessel. This vrata removes all despondency, provides charm and blessedness; HV II. 853 (from Bhav. U.).

Dhūpa—incense (the burning of which is one of the upacāras); HV (I. 50–51) quotes from Bhav. the names of several mixtures of incense such as Amṛta, Ananta, Yakṣadhūpa, Vijayadhūpa, Prājāpatya, while it speaks also of a dhūpa of ten parts. KKV 13 gives the eight ingredients of a dhūpa called Vijaya. Bhav. I. 68. 28–29 state that Vijaya is the best of dhūpas, jātī the best of flowers, saffron the best of scents, red sandalwood paste is the best of unguents, *modaka* the best of sweetmeats. These are quoted by KKV 182–183. Vide Gar. I. 177. 88–89 for dhūpa destroying flies and fleas; KR 77–78, Sm. C. I. 203 and II. 435 for description of dhūpas. Kādambarī of Bāṇa (first part, para 52) mentions that in the temple of Caṇḍikā dhūpa consisting of plentiful *guggulu* was being burnt.

Dhūlivandana—bowing before the ashes the morning after the Holikā bonfire; PC 81, SmK 518 and p. 241 above.

Dhṛtivrata—bathing image (or liṅga) of Śiva with pañcāmṛta (curds, milk, ghee, honey and sugarcane or its juice) every day for a year; at end of year gift of a cow with pañcāmṛta and of conch-shell; saṁvatsaravrata; Śiva deity; reaches the place of Śaṅkara; Mat. 101. 33–34 q. by KKV 444, HV II. 865 (from Viṣṇupurāṇa) which makes a change in reading viz. bathing of the image of (Viṣṇu or Śiva.).

Dhenuvrata—gift with lot of gold of a cow that is on the point of being delivered of a calf; the performer who subsists only on milk that day reaches the highest world and is not born again. Mat. 101. 49 q. by KKV 446.

Dhvajanavamī—P. śu. 9; this tithi is called Śambarī (Śābarī?); worship of Caṇḍikā, who rides a lion, and is a kumārī, with banners, mālatī flowers and other upacāras and sacrifice of animals; the king should raise a banner in a temple of Devī, should feed maidens, should observe a fast or ekabhakta; HV I. 891-894 (from Bhav. U.).

Dhvajavrata—Garuḍa (eagle), Tāla tree (from which intoxicating liquor is made, Balarāma being fond of wine is called Tālāṅka in Amarakośa), Makara (a mythical animal like crocodile), and deer are the banners respectively of Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha; the colours of their garments and flags are respectively yellow, blue, white and red; in Cai., Vai., Jy., and Āṣ. every day in each month worship respectively of Garuḍa &c. with appropriately coloured garments, flowers; at end of four months brāhmaṇas to be honoured and appropriately coloured garments to be donated; three turns of four months in the same way; different worlds are reached acc. to the length of time; if performed for twelve years the performer attains *sāyujya* with Viṣṇu; this is a Caturmūrtivrata in Vi. Dh. III. 146. 1-14 and HV II. pp. 829-831.

Naktacaturthī—begin on Mārg. śu. 4; Vināyaka deity; performer to subsist on nakta food and pāraṇa with food mixed with *sesame*; one year; HV I. 522-536 (from Skanda).

Naktavrata—This is a *divārātrivrata* and therefore has to be performed on a tithi that covers both day and night (NA 16-17). For the meaning of *nakta* vide pp. 101-102 above. It consists in eating nothing by day and taking food only at night. Naktavrata may extend over a month, or four months or a year. Vide KR pp. 222, 255, 301-303, 406, 445, 477, 491-492 for Naktavrata on the months from Śr. to M; Liṅga (I. 83. 3-54) for naktavrata for one year. Vide also Nār. II. 43. 11-23.

Nakṣatratithi-vāra-graha-yoga-vratāni—HV II. 588-590 (from Kālottara) deals summarily with certain (about 16) special pūjās to be performed on the conjunction of certain nakṣatras with certain tithis and week-days. A few examples are given here: when on a Sunday there is 14th tithi and Revatī nakṣatra or when Aṣṭamī and Maghā-nakṣatra are joined, one should worship Śiva and partake of sesame food and this is Ādityavrata that yields health to the performer

and his sons and relatives. When there is conjunction of Rohiṇī and the Moon on 14th tithi, or of Aṣṭamī and the Moon, that is Candravrata in which Śiva may be worshipped and *naivedya* of milk and curds be offered and one may subsist on milk and secure fame, health and prosperity. When Revatī, Thursday and 14th tithi or Aṣṭamī and Puṣya are joined, that is Guruvrata, on which one should subsist on the milk of a *kapilā* cow mixed with the fluid extracted from Brāhmī plants ; the person becomes master of speech. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (chap. 90. 1–15) deals with what is to be done when the Full Moon days of Mārg. to K. are in conjunction with the nakṣatra which gives the name to the month and the rewards of the observances thereon; vide Dānasāgara pp. 622–626, where V. Dh. is quoted and explained.

Nakṣatrapuruṣavrata—begin in Cai.; worship of the image of Vāsudeva; several nakṣatras such as Mūla, Rohiṇī, Aśvinī are to be honoured in connection with the feet, the legs, the knees respectively (and so on with the nakṣatras and limbs specified). The ten avatāras and their limbs are to be respectively associated with Āśleṣā, Jyeṣṭhā, Śravaṇa, Puṣya, Svātī and so on; at end of vrata golden image of Hari placed in a jar filled with jaggery is to be donated to a worthy brāhmaṇa as also bed-stead and its gear; he should pray for the continuous life of his wife and on all the days should partake of food without oil and salt. Mat. 54. 3–30 q. by KKV 400–404, HV II. 699–703, KR 87–91; vide Bṛ. S. chap. 104.

Nakṣatra-pūjā-vidhi—worship of gods as lords of nakṣatras with the fruits reaped, such as of Aśvins, Yama, Agni (as lords of Aśvinī, Bharaṇī, Kṛttikā in order), that leads respectively to long life, freedom from accidental death, prosperity: Vā. 80. 1–39, HV II. 594–597 (from Bhav.) = KR 557–560. These relate the lords of nakṣatras to the flowers or substances with which they are to be worshipped and the rewards thereof. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 247 n. 563 for the lords of Nakṣatras in Vedic times and Vi. Dh. I. 83. 13–21.

Nakṣatraviśeṣe padārthaviśeṣa-niṣedhaḥ—(prohibition of doing certain things on certain nakṣatras). A few examples may be given here. VKK 87–88, TT 28 quote a verse 'one should give up the use of sesame oil on the nakṣatras Citrā, Hasta,

and Śravaṇa, shaving on Viśākhā and Abhijit, flesh on Mūla, Mṛgaśiras and Bhādrapadā, sexual intercourse on Maghā, Kṛttikā and Uttarā'. This is Vā. 14. 50–51 (with some variations).

Nakṣatravidhi-vrata—begin on Mṛgaśiras; worship of Pārvatī, identifying her feet with Mūla, her lap with Rohiṇī, Aśvinī with her knees and so on with other limbs; on each nakṣatra he fasts and at end of that nakṣatra there is pāraṇā; he offers different food to the brāhmaṇas on each nakṣatra; the flowers and naivedya offered to the deity are different on each nakṣatra; the reward is beauty and *saubhāgya*; KKV 411–414, HV II. 696–698 (from Devīpurāṇa).

Nakṣatravratāni—Agni 196, KKV 399–417, HV II. 593–706. KKV deals with only ten, while HV speaks of 33. Vratas connected with the nakṣatras from Aśvinī onwards are set out in HV. HK 126–128 and KN 327–328, NA 18 deal with question as to what should be done when a fast is to be observed in a vrata which is concerned with both tithi and nakṣatra. The rule is that the nakṣatra for fast must be existing at the time of sunset or at the time when there is a conjunction of the Moon with midnight (i. e. there is the required nakṣatra at midnight). The first of these two is the principal matter, the 2nd is only next best (anukalpa). Vide Vi. Dh. I. 60. 26–27 for this rule q. by KN 327, HK 126, VKK 8.

Nakṣatrahomavidhi—HV (II. 684–688) quotes Garga in prose for the procedure of offering worship and *homa* to 27 nakṣatras from Aśvinī to Revatī detailing how many days an illness or danger will last, the deity to be worshipped, the flowers, naivedya, dhūpa, the tree of which fuel sticks are to be offered to Agni, the pūjā mantra, the main material to be offered into fire. One illustrative example is given here. In the case of Rohiṇī, eight days, Prajāpati is devatā, the naivedya is rice boiled in milk, lotus flowers, dhūpa is the one extracted from the Sarala tree (a kind of pine), the pūjā mantra is 'namo brahmaṇe' (Tai. Ār. II. 13, quoted in H. of Dh. II. p. 703 n. 681); all *dhānyas* may be offered in fire. The āhutis are to be 108; the reward is ārogya (health).

Nakṣatrārthavrata—same as Nakṣatravidhi-vrata above.

Nadītrirātravrata—When a river is full of flood in Āṣ., a person should collect the water in a dark jar, take it home, then next morning he should bathe in the river and worship the jar, observe fast for three days or one or only ekabhakta, keep a lamp continuously burning, take the name of the river and Varuṇa, offer arghya, fruits, naivedya &c. and pray to Govinda; this vrata for three years; then donate cow etc.; he secures progeny and saubhāgya. Pad. VI. 71.

Nadīvrata—(1) begin on Cāi. śu.; for seven days he should subsist in the nakta method and worship the seven rivers Hrādinī (or Nalinī, v. l.), Hlādinī, Pāvanī, Sītā, Ikṣu, Sindhu, Bhāgīrathī; this to be continued for seven days in every month for a year; offer milk in water and make gifts of water pots filled with milk; at end of year donate to brāhmaṇas one *pala* of silver in Phā.; HV. II. 462 quoting Vi. Dh. III. 163. 1-7; vide Mat. 121. 40-41, Vāyu 47. 38-39 for the seven streams of the Ganges; (2) HV I. 792 (quoting one verse from Vi. Dh.); by worshipping Sarasvatī one secures seven kinds of knowledge.

Nadīsnāna—for the effects of baths in holy rivers, vide H. of Dh. IV p. 560, under Daśaharā above pp. 90-91 and TT 62-64. PC 144-145, GK 609.

Nandavrata—Vi. Dh, III. 184. 1-3 q. by HV II. pp. 18-19. Same as Dhanavrata above p. 320.

Nandā—(tithis) 1st, 6th and 11th tithis are so called.

Nandādividhi—Sunday has twelve names viz. Nanda, Bhadra &c.; the Sunday that falls on 6th of M. śu. is called Nanda; observe nakta that day and bathe Sun image in ghee and offer Agasti flowers; feast to brāhmaṇa with wheat *apūpa*; KKV 10-12, HV II. 522-23 (both quote Bhav.).

Nandādivratavidhi—worship of Sun always on a Sunday; one should on the day of solar eclipse fast and mutter Mahāśvetā mantra and then give a dinner to brāhmaṇas; the reward of bath, gifts and japa on the day of solar eclipse is endless; HV II. 527-28 (from Bhav. U.) = KKV 21-23.

Nandānavamīvrata—the 9th of Bh. kṛ. 9 (acc. to KKV) and śu. 9 (acc. to HV) is called Nandā. Worship of Durgā for a year in three periods; ekabhakta on 7th, fast on 8th and worship of Śiva with Jātī and Kadamba flowers and Durgā's image to be placed on dūrvās; *Jāgara* and various dramatic

representations and japa 108 times of Nandā mantra (om Nandāyai namaḥ); on morning of 9th worship of Caṇḍikā and dinner to maidens; KKV 303–305, HV II. 952–954 (from Bhav.).

Nandāpadadvaya-vrata—worship of golden *pādukās* of Durgā with mango leaves, dūrvā, akṣatās, bilva leaves; for a month; gift of *pādukās* to a devotee of Devī or to maidens; he becomes free from all sins; KKV 429, HV II. 885–86 (from Pad.).

Nandāvrata—begin in Śr. on 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 11th or pūrṇimā; for one year; performer to subsist by nakta method; worship of Devī with different flowers and naivedya under twelve different names in the twelve months; *japa* of mantra ('om Nande Nandini sarvārthasādhini namaḥ') 100 or 1000 times; performer is freed from sins and becomes a king; KKV 424–429, HV II. 832–836 (from Devīpurāṇa), KR 288–293.

Nandāsaptamī—Begin on 7th of Mārg. śu.; tithivrata; for a year: worship of Sun in three periods of 4 months with different flowers, naivedya, dhūpa and names; ekabhakta on 5th, nakta on 6th and fast on seventh; KKV 136–137, HV I. 669–671 (from Bhav. Brāhmaparva, 100. 1–16).

Nandinīnavamīvrata—on 9th of Mārg. śu.; tithi; worship of Durgā; one year divided into two parts; fast for three days; in each period of six months different flowers, different names; performer goes to heaven and returns as a powerful king; KKV 302–303. Vide Tritayapradānasaptamī above p. 308.

Narakacaturdaśī—Vide above p. 196–198.

Narakapūrṇimā—begin on every Full Moon or on Full moon of Mārg.; one year; he should fast that day and worship Viṣṇu and repeat his name or he should repeat in order the twelve names Keśava to Dāmodara in the twelve months from Mārg.; should donate every month water jar with dakṣiṇā and sandals, umbrella and a pair of garments or, if unable, at the end of the year; he secures happiness and remembers Hari's name at time of death and goes to heaven; HV II. 166–167 (from Vi. Dh.).

Narasiṁhacaturdaśī—on 14th of Vai. śu.; tithi; if there be Svātī nakṣatra, Saturday, Siddhi Yoga and Vaṇija-karaṇa the reward is a crore of times; Narasiṁha (avatāra) is deity;

HV II. 41–49 (from Narasiṁhapurāṇa); PC 237–238 (It is called Nṛsiṁhajayantī by SM 98, PC and others); SmK 114. If it is mixed with 13th or 15th, the day on which 14th exists at sunset should be accepted; VKD (pp. 145–152) gives a long procedure of pūjā; it occurs in Tamil Pañcāṅgas also. Nṛsiṁha appeared on Vai. śu. 14 in the evening when there was Svātīnakṣatra.

Narasiṁhatrayodaśī—on Thursday falling on 13th tithi; one should bathe and worship Narasiṁha in the afternoon and fast on that day; KKV 369, HV II. 14 (from Narasiṁha-purāṇa).

Narasiṁhadvādaśī—on 12th of Phā. kṛ.; fast on that day and worship of Narasiṁha image; a jar covered with white cloth is to be established and on it a golden or wooden or bamboo image was to be placed; gift of the image to a brāhmaṇa on that day; HV I. 1029–30 (quoting Var. 42. 1–7 and 14–16). The printed Var. provides that the vrata is to be performed in śukla-pakṣa, whereas in HV I. 1029 the kṛṣṇapakṣa is mentioned.

Narasiṁhāṣṭamī or *Narasiṁhavrata*—King or prince or a person desirous of destroying enemy should perform this; on 8th tithi he should make a lotus figure of eight leaves with rice-grains or flowers and place an image of Narasiṁha thereon and worship it and also worship Śrīvṛkṣa (Bilva or Aśvattha?); HV I. 876–880 (from Gar.).

Navanakṣatraśānti—a propitiatory rite and worship of nine nakṣatras; the nakṣatra of a man's birth is called *Janana*-nakṣatra, the 4th, 10th, 16th, 20th, 23rd are respectively called Mānasa, Karma, Sāṅghātika, Samudaya and Vaināśika; an ordinary man has to consider these six nakṣatras, while a king has to consider three more, viz. the nakṣatra of coronation, the nakṣatra that rules over his country and the nakṣatra of his varṇa; if these nakṣatras are affected by evil influences of planets &c. evil results follow in the matters denoted by these six or nine, e. g. if *janana*-nakṣatra is affected he may lose his life and wealth, if the coronation nakṣatra is affected the king may lose his kingdom; appropriate rites and worship may avert or lessen evil effects e. g. in case of janana-nakṣatra he should bathe with water in which kuśas are dipped and in which the dung and urine of a white bull and white cow's milk are mixed;

HV II. 688–691 (from Vi. Dh.); it may be noted that the Vaikhānasa-gṛhya-sūtra IV 14, Vi. Dh. II. 166, Nār. I. 56. 358–59 and Yogayātrā of Varāhamihira 9. 1–2 differ about what nakṣatras from birth bear the above names.

Navanītadhenudāna—on K. amāvāsyā; worship of Brahmā and Sāvitrī; gift of *dhenu* of butter with various fruits, gold and garments; PC 315. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 883 for Navanīta-dhenu and Dhenus of other materials.

Navamīrathavrata—fast on Āśv. kṛ. 9th and worship of Durgā; worship of the car (of Devī) decked with cloth, banners, *chowries*, mirrors, garlands, and paintings of lions; place in the car a golden image of Durgā with her trident on the demon Mahiṣa; taking the car by the public road bring it to the Durgā temple; jāgara with torches, theatricals, dancers; the next morning bathe the image and dinner to devotees of Devī; rewards of offering to Durgā bedstead, a bull, a cow &c; KR 314–315 (from Bhav.).

Navamīvratas—KKV 273–308, HV I. 887–962, KN 229–230, TT 59–103, PC 139–142, VR 319–352 ; Navamī mixed with 8th is to be preferred, TT 59, DS 15. On Cai. Śu. 9 Bhadrakālī was crowned queen over all Yoginīs; therefore on all navamīs one should fast and worship her; KKN 383, KR 127–128.

Navamyādi-upavāsavrata—fast on 8th, 9th, 14th and pūrṇimā; the person becomes lord of Śiva's gaṇas; HV II. 509 (from Mat.).

Navarātravrata—Vide above under Durgāpūjā.

Navavyūhārcana—observe fast on any 11th of śu. or of Āṣ. or Phā. or on a saṅkrānti or eclipse and offer a sacrifice to Viṣṇu after constructing a *maṇḍapa* on a plot of land inclined towards north-east; maṇḍapa to have doors and in its midst the figure of a lotus; the eight weapons of the lords of eight quarters to be drawn viz. vajra, śakti, club (of Yama), sword, noose (of Varuṇa), banner, mace (of Kubera), śūla (of Śiva); drawings of Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Nārāyaṇa, Vāmana that are the forms (vyūhas of Viṣṇu); homa; HV I. 1125–1131 (from Vi. Dh.).

Navānnabhakṣaṇa—(partaking of the fresh crops) in Mārg. before the Sun reaches the 14th degree of the zodical sign Scorpion; KSS 27; the NM (p. 72, verses 880–988) des-

cribes the ceremony; song and music were employed and Vedic texts loudly recited and Brahmā, Ananta (snake), guardians of quarters were worshipped.

Nāgacaturthī—on K. śu. 4; PC 95.

Nāgadaṣṭoddharaṇavrata—same as Daṣṭoddharaṇavrata p. 312 above.

Nāgapañcamī—Vide pp. 124 ff above.

Nāgapūjā—(worship of snakes) on Mārg. śu. 5; SmK 429 (says it is well-known among dākṣiṇātyas).

Nāgamaitrīpañcamī—one should give up (*kaṭu* pungent or bitter) and sour things and should bathe Nāga images with milk; he thus makes friends with nāgas. Pad. V. 26. 56-57 q. by KKV 96, HV I. 566 (same verses from Bhav.).

Nāgavrata—(1) on 4th of K. śu.; fast on this; worship of Śeṣa, Śaṅkhapāla and other *nāgas* with flowers, sandalwood paste and satiating them with milk in the morning and noon; result-snakes do not harm him; HV. I. 530 (from Kūrma), KN 184-185, PC 95; (2) worship of Nāga image on 5th tithi on lotus leaves with mantras, flowers &c. and streams of ghee, milk, curds, honey; *homa*; freedom from poison and secures son, wife and prosperity; HV I. 572 (from Bhav.).

Nāmatṛtīyā—begin on Mārg. śu. 3; tithivrata; one year; every month worship of Gaurī with one of twelve names, viz. Gaurī, Kālī, Umā, Bhadrā, Durgā, Kānti, Sarasvatī, Maṅgalā, Vaiṣṇavī, Lakṣmī, Śivā, Nārāyaṇī; he would go to heaven; or worship the Ardhanārīśvara form of Maheśvara; he would suffer no separation from his wife; or worship an image of Harihara with one name each month out of the twelve from Keśava to Dāmodara; HV I. 477-478 (from Bhav.), KKV 55-56.

Nāmadvādaśī—begin on Mārg. śu. 12; fast on that day; tithivrata; he should take one of the twelve names of Viṣṇu, viz. Nārāyaṇa in Mārg. and P., Mādhava in M. and so on up to Dāmodara in K.; donate at year's end a cow with calf, sandals, garments &c. to twelve brāhmaṇas; goes to Viṣṇuloka; HV I. 1097-1101, KKV 347 (in prose and less elaborate).

Nāmanavamī—begin on Āśv. śu. 9; for a year; worship of Durgā under different names, different flowers in each month; Brāhmaṇa maidens to be feasted; at end, gift of cow and

sumptuous dinner to brāhmaṇa devotees of Durgā: becomes free from all sins, reaches Durgā-loka; KKV 283–298, HV I. 928–933 (from Bhav.).

Nāmasaptamī—(1) on 7th tithi a devotee should contemplate on the Sun and observe certain restrictions viz., not touching oil, not wearing dark-blue garment, no bath with āmalaka fruit, nor quarrel with any one, not to drink wine, not to speak with a cāṇḍāla, nor with a woman in her monthly illness, not to gamble, not to shed tears, nor to eat *kanda*, *mūla*, fruits, flowers and leaves; (2) from Cai. śu. 7: worship sun for a year under different names in each month (such as Dhātā, Aryaman, Mitra in Cai., Vai., Jy.); feed on each 7th Bhojakas (Magas) with ghee and donate red clothes; in KKV 121–123, HV I. 726–728; KR 124–126 (all from Bhav., Brāhmaparva 65. 1–7 and 19–34).

Nāraḷī or Nāraḷīpūrṇimā—on Śrāvaṇa śu. 15. Vide above p. 128.

Nāsatyapūjācakṣur-vrata—Vide 'Netravrata'.

Nikumbhapūjā—(1) on Cai. śu. 14 fast and on pūrṇimā worship of Hari; Nikumbha goes out to fight with *piśācas*; a clay or grass effigy should be made and worship should be offered to piśācas in the noon in each house with flowers, naivedya &c. and with drums and lutes; worship again at moonrise; and then dismiss; the performer should observe a great festival with song and music and the din of people; people should play with a serpent made of grass surrounded by sticks and it should be cut up into pieces after three or four days and pieces kept for one year; HV II. 241–242 (from Āditya-purāṇa); NM (p. 64 verses 781–790) calls this 'Caitrapiśāca-varṇanaṁ'; (2) on Āśv. pūrṇimā; people (except women, children or old men) should not take food by day and keep Agni near the house door and worship it and so also Full Moon, Rudra and Umā, Skanda, Nandīśvara, Revanta; worship of Nikumbha with sesame, ricegrains and *māṣas*; brāhmaṇas to be fed at night and people should take food (but no meat); music, dance and songs that night; next day they should take easy and in the morning after that they should besmear themselves with mud and play like *piśācas* without feeling shame, smear their friends with mud and employ lascivious words and prattle obscene words; in the afternoon they should bathe; if a person does not indulge in this *saturnalia* he is

affected by piśācas; KKN 411–413, KR 375–378 (both quote Brah.); (3) on Cai. kṛ. 14; worship of Śambhu and Nikumbha who is accompanied by piśācas; on that night people to protect their children from piśācas and to see the dance of *veśyās*; KKN 446, KR 534–536.

Nikṣubhārkacatuṣṭayavrata—Niṣkubhā is wife of the Sun; fast on kṛ. 7th; tithivrata; for a year; worship of image of Sun and his wife; woman observer would go to Sūryaloka and secures a king as husband; male also goes to Sun's world; a reader of Mahābhārata should be engaged for a year and honoured at the end with gift of the golden image of Sun and Nikṣubhā and with ornaments (for reader's wife) and garments &c.; KKV 156–159, HV I. 676–679 (from Bhav.).

Nikṣubhārkasaptamī—begin on 6th or 7th tithi or on Saṅkrānti or on Sunday; one year; golden or silver or wooden image of Sun and Nikṣubhā (Sun's wife) to be bathed with ghee &c.; fast and homa; dinner to devotees of Sun and Bhojakas; reward is that performer secures all desired objects, goes to Sūryaloka and various other worlds; KKV 153–156, HV I, 674–676 (from Bhav. Brāhmaparva 166); AK (folio 457a–459b) notes that there are several varieties of this vrata; (1) from Saurasaṁhitā; for one year from M. śu. 7; (2) from Bhav.; (3) from M. kṛ. 7; (4) from Bhaviṣyottara.

Nimbasaptamī—begin on 7th tithi of Vai. śu.; for one year; worship of Sun; draw a figure of lotus and Sun called Khakholka to be established thereon; the Mūlamantra is 'om Khakholkāya namaḥ'; twelve Ādityas, Jaya, Vijaya, Śeṣa, Vāsuki, Vināyaka, Mahāśveta and queen Suvarcalā to be placed in front of Sun image and also several other deities; eating of nimba leaves on 7th and sleeping before Sun image; on 8th again worship Sun; performer freed from all diseases; KKV 198–203, HV I. 697–701 (from Bhav.), NA 52.

Nirjalaikādaśī—on Jy. śu. 11; fast from morning of one day to next day morning; no water to be drunk the whole day except what one may take in for obligatory *ācamana* (such as in sandhyā adoration); next day donate jar full of water and sugar and some gold and break the fast; reaps reward of twelve dvādaśīs and reaches Viṣṇuloka; HV I. 1089–91 (from M. B.); SmK 122–123, and p. 109 above.

Niṣiddha—Forbidden matters and actions on certain months, tithis, week-days, Saṅkrāntis and vratas are numberless. KV (pp. 333–345) sets out a very long list, but ultimately (on p. 345) has to say 'Actions forbidden by those who know the Vedas, smṛtis and purāṇas at several times and occasions are innumerable; how can I, a single man, speak about all of them unless I live a thousand years; therefore I have said what I understood from a few texts in authoritative works and contained in digests; others will write about the rest.'

Nīrājana-dvādaśī—on K. śu. 12; to be performed at beginning of night when Viṣṇu rises from sleep; waving lamps before image of Viṣṇu and several deities such as Sun, Śiva, Gaurī, one's parents, cows, horses, elephants; the king should also worship all symbols of royalty collected in the court of his palace; a chaste woman or a handsome veśyā should wave lamps thrice over the king's head; this is a great śānti (propitiatory rite) and drives diseases and brings in plenty; it was first introduced by king Ajapāla and should be performed every year; HV I. 1190–1194 (from Bhav. U.).

Nīrājananavamī—on kṛ. 9th tithi (of Āśv.?); worship of Durgā and of arms at night; next day at sunrise this nīrājana-śānti be performed, NM (p. 76 verses 931–933).

Nīrājanavidhi—From K. kṛ. 12 to K. śu. 1 (by pūrṇimānta reckoning); performed in the case of a king; the king to erect to the north-east of the capital a large pavilion with banners &c. and three toraṇas (arched gates); worship of deities and homa; the rites begin when the Sun passes from Citrā-nakṣatra to Svātī and continue till Sun is in Svātī; jars full of water and decked with leaves and threads of five colours; to the west of toraṇa elephants were to be bathed to the accompaniment of mantras and horses also, and food to be offered to elephant by the *purohita*; if elephant joyfully accepted it, it foretold victory; if he rejected it great danger foreboded; various forebodings from other actions of the elephant; worship of arms and royal symbols such as umbrella and banner; till Sun is in Svātī, horses and elephants should be honoured; no harsh words to be addressed to them nor should they be beaten; the pavilion to be guarded by armed men and the astrologer, purohita and the chief veterinary doctor and elephant

doctor should always be in the pavilion; on the day when the sun leaves Svātī and enters Viśākhā, horses and elephants to be decked and on them, on sword, umbrella, drum &c. mantras to be recited; the king to ride his horse first and then mount his elephant and should come out from under the toraṇa and accompanied by his army and citizens march to the palace, honour the people and take leave of them; this rite is a śānti and should be performed by kings for prosperity and welfare of horses and elephants; HV II. 675-680 (from Vi. Dh. II. 159). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 230-231 for further details gathered from Kauṭilya, Bṛ. S. chap. 44, Agni 268. 16-31 and other sources and also RM (folio 79a and verses 1333-1335 in ABORI vol. 36 p. 328), KR 333-336, SmK 334-341. Nīrājana is a śānti; vide RNP pp. 433-437 (quoting Viṣṇudharmottara).

Nīlajyeṣṭhā—on 8th of Śr. when there is Sunday and Jyeṣṭhā nakṣatra; sun deity; here the weekday is the most important thing, next comes nakṣatra; KN 198 (quoting Skanda).

Nīlavṛṣa-dāna—on Full Moon in K. or Āśv. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV pp. 539-542 for the letting loose of a nīla bull; Anuśāsanaparva 125. 73-74, V. Dh. 85. 67, Mat. 207. 40, Vāyu 83. 11-12, Vi. Dh. I. 144. 3 and 1. 146. 58, PC 305 ff, SmK 405-406.

Nīlavrata—eating only by nakta method on every other day for a year; saṁvatsaravrata; at end donate a golden blue lotus with a vessel full of sugar and a bull; performer reaches the world of Viṣṇu; Mat. 101. 5 q. by KKV 440 (3rd ṣaṣṭivrata), HV II. 865 (same verses from Pad. V. 20. 47-48). Mat. calls it Līlāvrata.

Nṛsiṁha-jayantī—Vide Narasiṁha-caturdaśī above and GK 155.

Nṛsiṁha-dvādaśī—Same as Narasiṁha-dvādaśī.

Nṛsiṁhavrata—on śu. 8th, KN 196; vide Narasiṁhāṣṭamī above.

Netravrata—on 2nd tithi of Cai. śu.; same as Cakṣur-vrata above.

Pakṣa—the two halves of a month, respectively called śukla and kṛṣṇa and also pūrva and apara. The general rule is that the śukla pakṣa is recommended for rites in honour of gods and rites for prosperity; while the dark half is recommended for rites for deceased ancestors and for magic rites meant for a malevolent purpose. VKK 236-237 (quoting Manu

III. 278–9), SM 145, PC 31–32. Further details will be added in the next section on 'Kāla'.

Pakṣavardhinī-ekādaśī—when pūrṇimā or amāvāsyā extends over the following pratipad, it is pakṣavardhinī; similarly 11th tithi is so called when it extends over (on to 12th tithi); worship of golden Viṣṇu image; *Jāgara* with dance and music; Pad. VI. 38.

Pakṣasandhivrata—(lit. vrata on the joint between two pakṣas); (1) subsisting by ekabhakta method on *pratipad;* for one year; at end of year donate a *kapilā* cow; reaches world of Vaiśvānara; HV I. 355–57; Mat. 101. 82 calls it Śikhivrata and VKK 29 quotes Mat.; (2) eating food served on bare earth on 1st tithi; reaps reward of Trirātra sacrifice; HV I. 357 (from Pad.).

Pañcaghaṭa-pūrṇimā—worship of image of pūrṇimā-devī; on five Full Moon days follow ekabhakta; at end donate five jars respectively filled with milk, curds, ghee, honey and white sugar; he secures all desired objects; HV II. 195–96 (quoting Bhav. U.).

Pañcapiṇḍikā-gaurīvrata—on Bh. śu. 3; fast on that day; at advent of night four images of Gaurī to be made of wet clay and an additional one with five lumps of clay; at each *prahara* worship of the images with a mantra, dhūpa, camphor, lamp fed with ghee, flowers and naivedya and arghya; in the following three *praharas* different mantras, dhūpa, naivedya, flowers &c.; next morning honour a brāhmaṇa and his wife; and the four images of Gaurī are carried on the back of a she-elephant or a mare, cast into a river, tank or well; HV I. 485–497 (from Pad. Nāgarakhaṇḍa).

Pañcabhaṅgadala—the leaves of the five trees, mango, aśvattha, vaṭa, plakṣa and udumbara (Kṛtyakalpataru on Śāntī, folio 7a).

Pañcamahāpāpanāśanadvādaśī—In the beginning of Śr.; on 12th and on Full Moon of Śr. one should perform worship of twelve forms of Kṛṣṇa (such as Jagannātha, Devakīsuta) and on amāvāsyā offer a meal of sesame, *mudga*, jaggery and rice; five *ratnas* (see below) to be donated; one becomes free from the results of five grave sins, as Indra, Ahalyā, Soma and Bali became free; HV I. 1201–1202 from (Bhav.).

Pañcamahābhūta-vrata—begin on Cai. śu. 5; fast and worship of Hari in the form of the five *bhūtas* viz. the earth, water, fire, wind and *ākāśa*; one year; at year's end gifts of garments; HV I. 552–553 (from Vi. Dh. III. 152. 1–11).

Pañcamīvrata—on Mārg. śu. 5th at sunrise undertake the restrictions about vrata; an image of Lakṣmī made of gold, silver, brass, copper or wood prepared or Lakṣmī be painted on strip of cloth; worship with flowers &c. from feet to head of Lakṣmī, honour women (whose husbands are alive) with flowers, saffron and sweet dishes; donate a *prastha* of rice and vessel full of ghee with 'may the heart of Śrī be pleased;' for a year with different names of Lakṣmī in each month; donate the image to brāhmaṇa; Bhav. U. 37. 38–58.

Pañcamīvratas—KKV 87–97 (7 vratas), HV I. 537–576 (28 vratas), KN 186–188, TT 32–34, PC 95–100, VR 192–220. The fifth mixed with 4th tithi is to be preferred for all pañcamī upavāsas and vratas except Nāgapañcamī and Skanda-upavāsa; KN 188, NA 44–45, PC 96.

Pañcamūrtivratas—begin on 5th tithi of Cai. śu.; fast on that day and worship of conch, discus, mace, lotus and the earth drawn in a circle with sandalwood paste; homa; for a year on 5th every month; five garments of different colours to be donated at year's end; same reward as Rājasūya; HV II. 466–67 (from Vi. Dh. III. 155. 1–7).

Pañcaratnas—acc. to KKN 366, HK 413 and KR 493 (all quoting Kālikā) the five jewels are gold, diamond (*hīraka*), sapphire, *Padmarāga* (ruby), and pearl; while HV I. 47 quoting Ādityapurāṇa says they are gold, silver, pearl, coral and rājāvarta (Lapis Lazuli).

Pañca-lāṅgala-vrata—mentioned in the plate of Śilāhāra king Gaṇḍarāditya (dated *śake* 1032, 1110 A. D.) made on Moon eclipse in Vaiśākha; JBBRAS vol. 13. p. 33. Mat. chap. 283 describes it at length; on a holy tithi or eclipse or yugādi tithi gift of land along with five ploughs made of hard wood and five golden ploughs and ten bulls-all these are to be donated.

Patravrata—Saṁvatsaravrata; for a year a woman should give every day betel leaf with betel-nut and lime to a woman or a man; at year's end gift of a golden or silver betel leaf and

lime of pearls; she never has ill-luck or evil mouth odour. HV II. 864 (from Bhav. U.).

Patrikāpūjā—Vide above under Durgāpūjā p. 161.

Padadvayavrata—Vide Nandāpadadvayavrata above p. 328.

Padārthavrata—begin on 10th of Mārg. śu.; fast on that day and worship of the ten quarters and guardians; one year; at end donate a cow; secures desired object; HV I. 967 (from Vi. Dh.).

Padmakayoga—(1) if Sunday falls on 6th tithi mixed with 7th, it is Padmakayoga equal to one thousand solar eclipses; PC 105, VR 249; (2) when the Sun is in Viśākhā-nakṣatra and the Moon is in Kṛttikā, that is Padmakayoga; HK 679 (from Śaṅkha), KV 390 (from Pad. and Viṣṇupurāṇa), KR 430, SmK 400; KV explains that Sun must be in third pāda of Viśākhā and Moon in first pāda of Kṛttikā.

Padmanābhadvādaśī—on 12th of Āśv. śu; a jar should be established in which a golden image of Padmanābha (Viṣṇu) should be cast; worship of that image with sandalwood paste, flowers &c.; donate next day to brāhmaṇa; KKV 333–335, HV I. 1039–41; KR 373–375 (all quote Var. 49. 1–8 and a few more verses).

Payovrata—(1) subsisting on milk alone for a dīkṣita. Vide Śatapatha Br. IX. 5. 1. 1; (2) on each amāvāsyā subsist on milk; for one year; at year's end perform śrāddha and donate five cows, garments and jars of water; HV II. 254 (from Pad.); (3) from Phā. śu. 1 to 12 subsist on milk for pleasing Govinda; SmK 513–514 quoting Bhāgavata VIII. 16. 22–62.

Paraśurāmajayantī—Vide under Akṣayya-tṛtīyā above pp. 88–89 and PC 89.

Paraśurāmīyāṣṭamī—on Āṣ. śu. 8; one of the 14 yātrās at Puruṣottama-kṣetra; GK 193.

Parvatāṣṭamī-vrata—worship on 9th the mountains Himavat, Hemakūṭa, Niṣadha, Nīla, Śveta, Śṛṅgavat, Meru, Mālyavat, Gandhamādana and also the *varṣas* of Kimpuruṣa, Uttara-kuru; fast on 9th from Cai. śu.; for a year; gift of silver at year's end; Vi. Dh. III. 174. 1–7.

Parvanaktavrata—observe nakta method on each 15th of a month for one year; miscellaneous vrata; Śiva deity; at

year's end give dinner to Śiva devotees with the words 'May the Lord be pleased'; reaches Śiva-loka and never again becomes a human being; HV II. pp. 905–6 (from Bhav.). For *parvan*, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 737 n. 1425.

Parvabhūbhājana-vrata—one should take his food served on bare earth on parva days; Śiva deity; reaps the fruit of Atirātra-sacrifice; HV II. 906 (one verse from Pad.).

Pallavas—the five auspicious pallavas are those of mango, aśvattha, vaṭa, plakṣa and udumbara, acc. to Durgābhakti-taraṅgiṇī p. 27; HV I. 47 (quoting Bhav.) says they are also called 'pañcabhaṅgāḥ'.

Pavanavrata—(one of the Ṣaṣṭivratas) on 8th of M. one should wear wet garments whole day and donate a cow; goes to heaven for a kalpa and then becomes a king. KKV 450 (from Mat. 101. 78). Māgha is a very cold month.

Pavitrāropaṇa-vrata—(investing the image of a deity with a sacred cord), HV II. 440–453, HK 881–890; Īśānaśivaguru-devapaddhati, 21st paṭala, SM 81–90, PC 235–239 deal at great length with this. Pavitrāropaṇa is supposed to make good all defects and mistakes committed in all pūjās and he who does not perform this every year does not secure what he desires and meets with obstacles; the putting on of *pavitra* in the case of the several gods is done on different tithis. In the case of Vāsudeva it may be done on the 12th of Śr. śu. when the Sun is in Karkaṭaka (Crab sign) or on the 12th when the Sun is in Siṁha (Leo) or Kanyā (Virgo) but not when Sun is in Tulā (Libra or Balance). The several tithis for Pavitrāropaṇa in the case of gods are: 1st for Kubera, 2nd–three gods, 3rd Bhavānī, 4th gaṇeśa, 5th Moon, 6th Kārtikeya, 7th Sun, 8th Durgā, 9th Mātṛs, 10th Vāsuki, 11th sages, 12th Viṣṇu, 13th Kāmadeva, 14th Śiva, 15th (pūrṇimā) Brahmā; vide HV II. p. 442 and PC p. 238. If one puts on a pavitra on Śiva every day, it may be made of the leaves of certain trees or flowers or kuśas but the fixed yearly pavitra for Śiva is on the 8th or 14th of any of the pakṣas of Āṣ. (the best), Śr. (middling), Bh. (lowest), but only those who desire mokṣa should do this in dark fortnight, others only in bright one. The pavitra may be made of gold, silver, copper or silk, of lotus threads or with kuśas or cotton; the threads should be spun and cut by brāhmaṇa maidens (best), or kṣatriya or vaiśya maidens

(middling), or by śūdra ones (lowest). The pavitra should have from 100 knots (best) up to eight. Pavitra means Yajñopavīta and is applied to any string or garland like it put on images of gods. In Mahārāṣṭra it is called 'Poṁvateṁ'.

Pātālavrata—begin on Cai. kṛ. 1; for a year; worship of seven Pātālas (nether regions) in order one after another; taking food by nakta method; at end of year light lamps in brāhmaṇa houses and donate white garments; HV II. 506–507 (quoting Vi. Dh. III. 158. 1–7).

Pātravrata—M. śu. 11 and 15; fast on 11th; on 15th place in a pure spot a golden vessel full of ghee on which a pair of new garments is put; *jāgara* with music and song; take the vessel to a Viṣṇu temple in the morning; bathe Viṣṇu image with milk &c., worship the image, offer the vessel and utter 'may Viṣṇu be pleased', offer substantial naivedya, return home and gratify the *ācārya*; sumptuous dinner to ācārya, the blind and poor; KKV 390–91, HV II. 381–82 (from Narasiṁhapurāṇa).

Pādodakasnāna—fast on Uttarāṣāḍhā-nakṣatra, bathe the feet of the image of Hari on Śravaṇa-nakṣatra and prepare four jars of gold, silver, copper or clay; similarly bathe the feet of the images of Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha; repeat mantras over the four jars filled with water from a well, a spring, a tank, a river and bathe with it; removes ill-luck, all obstacles, diseases and gives fame and progeny; HV II. 650–653 (from Vi. Dh.).

Pāpanāśinī-dvādaśī—When śu. 12th has Puṣya-nakṣatra, it is very holy and is so called; GK 143.

Pāpanāśinī-saptamī—when śu. 7th falls on the Hasta nakṣatra, that is a very holy saptamī; worship the Sun on that day; performer is freed from all sins and goes to Devaloka; KKV 145–146, HV I. 740–41 quoting Bhav., Brāhmaparva 106. 4–14. This *yoga* occurs in Śr. dark half (says HV.).

Pāpanāśinyekādaśī—in Phā. when ekādaśī has Puṣya nakṣatra and Jupiter and when Sun is in Kumbha or Mīna or when ekādaśī is conjoined with Puṣya-nakṣatra, that tithi is pāpanāśinī; GK 607 (quoting Vāyu and Var.).

Pāpamocana-vrata—one who stays under a Bilva tree for twelve days without food is freed from the sin of bhrūṇahatyā

Śiva deity; HV II. 396 (from Saurapurāṇa). For bhrūṇahatyā, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 148, n. 334 and vol III. p. 612 n. 1161.

Pūraṇā or *Pūraṇa*—Vide above pp. 120–121.

Pālīcaturdaśī-vrata—on 14th tithi of Bh. śu.; tithi; Varuṇa is the deity; draw picture of Varuṇa in a maṇḍala; all varṇas and women may offer arghya, worship with fruits, flowers, all corns, curds &c. in the noon; performer becomes free from all sins and secures prosperity; HV II. 130–132 (from Bhav. U.).

Pāśā—is 12th tithi; VKK 242, SmK 114.

Pāśupatavrata—(1) Begin on Cai., make a small *liṅga* and bathe it with sandalwood water; make a golden lotus and place the liṅga thereon and worship with bilva leaves; lotus flowers (white, red, blue) and other upacāras; this Śivaliṅga-vrata to be observed in all months from Cai.; but in months from Vai. liṅgas may be respectively made of diamond, emerald, pearl, sapphire, ruby, gomeda (a gem brought from the Himālaya and Indus), coral (in K. and Mārg.), Sūryakānta (Sun-stone), crystal; at end of year gift of a cow and the letting loose of a bull; or it may be performed only for a month, if performer poor; many verses (pp. 202–211 in HV) ending with 'sa me pāpam vyapohatu' or 'vyapohantu malam mama' or 'Devī pāpamāśu vyapohatu' (may he or she remove my sin), addressed to several forms of Śiva, Skanda and others; HV II. 197–212 (from Liṅga); (2) on Cai. Full Moon; on preceding 13th honour a worthy ācārya, make a saṅkalpa about Pāśupatavrata for life, 12 years, 6, 3 or one year or for one month or 12 days; *homa* with ghee and fuel sticks; fast on 14th; on 15th homa; then apply holy ashes to body with six mantras "Agniriti bhasma" &c. (Atharvaśiras Up. 5); HV II. 212–222 (from Vāyu-saṁhitā); (3) on 12th of kṛ. the performer subsists by *ekabhakta* method, on 13th by *ayācita* method, on 14th by *nakta* and on amāvāsyā fast, gift of golden bull on 1st tithi after amāvāsyā; HV II. 455–457 (from Vahnipurāṇa).

Pāṣāṇacaturdaśī—on śu. 14 when the Sun is in Scorpion (Zodiacal sign); Gaurī to be propitiated by taking as food after evening lumps of flour resembling stones; KV 470, VKK 483, TT 124 (from Bhav.).

Pithorī Amāvāsyā—Śr. kṛ. 30.

Pitṛvrata—(1) on each amāvāsyā for a year; performer subsists on milk alone, performs at end of year śrāddha and donates five cows or garments with jars full of water; saves 100 ancestors and goes to Viṣṇuloka; KKV 443 (16th Ṣaṣṭivrata from Mat. 101. 29–30); (2) from Cai. kṛ. pratipad; for seven days worship of seven groups of pitṛs called Agniṣvātta, Barhiṣadaḥ &c.; for a year or 12 years; HV II. 505–506 (from Vi. Dh. III. 157. 1–7, which is a Saptamūrtivrata); (3) Vi. Dh. III. 189. 1–5; (4) from Cai. kṛ. 15; fast and śrāddha of seven groups of pitṛs; for a year; HV II. 255 from Viṣṇupurāṇa); (5) on amāvāsyā offering to pitṛs of sesame and water in which kuśas are dipped and fast for performer; HV II. 253 (from Var.); (6) worship of pitṛs with piṇḍas; *homa* with streams of ghee and fuel-sticks and curds, milk, food &c.; pitṛs confer progeny, wealth, long life &c.; HV II. 254 (from Bhav.).

Pipītaka-dvādaśī—on Vai. śu. 12; image of Keśava should be bathed in cold water and worship with upacāras of *gandha*, flowers &c.; gift of four jars filled with water in the first year, of eight jars in the 2nd, of 12 jars in the 3rd year and of 16 jars in the 4th; dakṣiṇā of gold; so named after a brāhmaṇa called Pipītaka; VKV 19–20, VKK 252–258, TT 114.

Piśācacaturdaśī—on Cai. kṛ. 14th; worship of Śaṅkara and *utsava* at night; Nikumbha worships Śaṅkara on that day, therefore Nikumbha should be honoured and bali (offering) should be made to piśācas in cowpens, rivers, roads, peaks &c.; NM 55–56, verses 674–681.

Piśāca-mocana—(1) on Mārg. śu. 14, bath near Kapardīśvara in Kāśī and worship; distribution of food there; every year; performer becomes free from liability to become a piśāca; PC 247–48. (2) SmK 108; on bathing in the Ganges and giving dinner to brāhmaṇas on Cai. śu. 14th, when it falls on Tuesday; person is freed from being a piśāca.

Piṣṭāśanavrata—on every 9th tithi to subsist only on flour; begin on Mahānavamī; for nine years; Gaurī deity; secures all desires; TT 59, VKK 40–41.

Puṇḍarīkayajñaprāpti—worship Varuṇa, lord of waters, on 12th; he secures fruit of Puṇḍarīka sacrifice; HV I. 1204 (only one verse). Vanaparva 30. 117 shows it was a great yajña

like Aśvamedha and Rājasūya. Vide Āśvalāyana Śrauta-sūtra (uttaraṣaṭka IV. 4) for Puṇḍarīkayāga.

Puṇyakavrata—described in Harivaṁśa II. 77–79, Brahmavaivarta III. chap. 3 and 4; begin on M. śu. 13; for one year: worship of Hari.

Putrakāmavrata—(1) on Bh. pūrṇimā; a sonless man should after performing putreṣṭi sacrifice in his house enter a cavern where Rudra is supposed to have dwelt, should offer *homa* to Rudra, Pārvatī, Nandī and worship and observe fast; feed his helpers and then himself and his wife, and circumambulate the cave and make his wife listen to divine legends (about Rudra), should make his wife subsist for three days on rice and milk; even a barren wife may then get a son; he should then prepare a golden, silver or iron image of Śiva, about a prādeśa in length (the distance between the thumb and forefinger fully stretched), worship it, heat it in fire, place it in vessel and perform *abhiṣeka* over it with a *prastha* of milk and make his wife drink that milk; KKV 374–376 (from Brah.), HV II. 171–72 (same verses from Pad.); (2) on Jy. paurṇamāsī; tithivrata; a jar filled with white rice grains, covered with white cloth, marked with white sandal-wood paste and with gold inside should be established; on it a copper vessel with jaggery should be placed; on the vessel image of Brahmā and Sāvitrī should be placed and worshipped with *gandha* &c.; next morning donate the jar to a brāhmaṇa; brāhmaṇas should be fed and he himself may take food but without salt; this should be done every month for a year; in the 13th month donate *ghṛtadhenu* with bedstead and golden and silver images of Brahmā and Sāvitrī respectively; homa with white sesame and repeat names of Brahmā; the performer (man or woman) becomes free from sins, secures excellent sons; KKV 376–378 (calls it Putrakāmyavrata), HV II. 173–74 (same verses from Padma), KR 193–195 (from Pad.). For ghṛtadhenu, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 880.

Putradavidhi—Sunday when it falls on Rohiṇī or Hasta nakṣatra is called Putrada; fast on that day; worship of the Sun with flowers &c.; performer to sleep in front of Sun's image; he should mutter Mahāśvetā mantra (*Hrīm Krīm saḥ*); next day he should offer arghya with karavīra flowers and red *candana* to the Sun and to Sunday and perform *pārvaṇa* śrāddha and should eat the middle piṇḍa (out of

three); KKV 15-16, HV II. 524 (calls it Purā-putrada-vidhi). In HV it is not so elaborate as in KKV.

Putraprāptivrata—(a) on 6th of Vai. śu. worship of Skanda after fast on 5th; tithi; for a year; Skanda has four forms (or names) viz. Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Guha; one desirous of son, wealth or health secures his desire; HV I. 628 (from Vi. Dh.); (2) on Śr. Pūrṇimā; tithi; Śāṅkarī (Durgā) is devatā; one desirous of sons, learning, kingdom, fame should perform this; manufacture a sword or *pādukās* or image of Devī of gold or silver and on an auspicious nakṣatra place it on a vedī (altar) on which barley shoots have grown and homa has been performed; various fruits and flowers be offered to her; Vidyāmantra set out in HV II. 232; HV II. 230-233 (from Devīpurāṇa).

Putravrata—(1) same as 'Putra-kāmavrata' (1); HV II. 171-72; (2) after bath in the morning twilight, touch a *pippala* tree and donate a vessel full of sesame; destroys all sins; HV II. 883 (from Bhav. U.)

Putrasaptamī—(1) on 7th of M. śu. and kṛ.; worship of the Sun on both saptamīs after fast on 6th and homa; one year; secures son, wealth, fame and health; KKV 166-67, HV I. 738-739 (both quote Ādityapurāṇa), VR 255; (2) on Bh. śu. and kṛ. 7; *saṅkalpa* on 6th and fast on 7th; worship of Viṣṇu with mantras containing name of Viṣṇu; on 8th worship of Viṣṇu with Gopāla mantras and homa with sesame; one year; at year's end donate a pair of dark cows; secures son and freedom from all sins; KKV 224-225, HV I. 724-25 (same verses from Var. 63. 1-7).

Putrīyavrata—on 8th tithi of kṛ. after Bh. Full Moon; fast on that day; bathe image of Govinda in one *prastha* of ghee, then with honey, curds, milk one after another and bathe it with water mixed with *sarvauṣadhi*; then apply to the image unguents such as sandalwood paste, saffron, camphor; worship image with flowers and other *upacāras*; homa with Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90); then one who wants a son or a daughter should make a meal of fruits denoted by words in the masculine or feminine gender respectively; for one year; performer secures all objects; HV I. 844-45 (from Vi. Dh. II. 55. 1-12).

Putrīya-saptamī—on 7th of Mārg. śu.; worship of Sun; he should subsist on *haviṣya* food that day; on next day worship Sun

with upacāras from *gandha* and follow nakta that day; for one year; HV I. 789–90 (from Vi. Dh.). Putrīya means 'that confers a son'.

Putrīyānantavrata—begin in Mārg.; for a year in each month on the nakṣatra which gives a name to the month, the performer should fast and worship Viṣṇu, specially his twelve limbs one after another in twelve months e. g. left knee in Mārg., left side of waist in P. and so on; in each group of four months flowers of different colours and bath with cow urine, milk and curds in the three periods of four months from Mārg.; japa of the name of Ananta in all months and same name in homa; at end dinner and dakṣiṇā to brāhmaṇa; he secures his desire such as for son, wealth, means of subsistence &c.; Vi. Dh. I. 173.

Putrotpattivrata—This is a nakṣatra vrata; bath in Yamunā on each Śravaṇa-nakṣatra for a year; this confers a son as Parāśara, son of Śakti and grandson of Vasiṣṭha, got; KKV 409 (from Brah.), HV II. 649–50 (same verses from Ādityapurāṇa).

Puraścaraṇa-saptamī—on M. śu. 7, when there is Sunday and the Sun is in Makara (Capricorn); worship of Sun's image with red flowers, arghya and *gandha* &c.; drinking of pañcagavya; for one year; in each month, flowers, dhūpa and naivedya different; he becomes free from the effects of all sins; HV I. 805–810 (from Skanda, Nāgarakhaṇḍa). Puraścaraṇa contains five elements, viz. japa, worship and homa, tarpaṇa (satiating with water), abhiṣeka (sprinkling or pouring water) and honouring brāhmaṇas; vide Smk 74.

Purāṇaśravaṇavidhi—HV II. 997–1002.

Puruṣottamayātrā—The twelve *yātrās* of Puruṣottama at Jagannāthapurī are described in GK pp. 183–190, viz. Snāna, Guṇḍicā, Hariśayana, Dakṣiṇāyana, Pārśvaparivartana, Utthāpanaikādaśī, Prāvaraṇotsava, Puṣyābhiṣeka, Uttarāyaṇa, Dolāyātrā, Damanakacaturdaśī, Akṣayyatṛtīyā.

Pulika-bandhana—Puṣkara fair on K. śu. 15; KSS 7.

Puṣpadvitīyā—Begin on 2nd tithi of K. śu; tithivrata; for a year; Aśvins are deity; one should subsist on flowers fit for divine worship on each 2nd śu. tithi; at end donate flowers made of gold and a cow; performer enjoys happiness with

wife and sons; KKV 40–41, HV I. 381–82 (both quote Bhav. I. 19. 81–89).

Puṣpāṣṭamī—on 8th of Śr. śu.; tithivrata; Śiva deity; for a year; in each month different flowers, different naivedya and different names of Śiva; KKV 235–238, HV I. 837–839 (both from Bhav).

Puṣyavrata—It is a nakṣatravrata; in the northern passage of the Sun in a bright fortnight a person desiring prosperity should fast at least one night and should cook a *sthālīpāka* (dish of barley or rice cooked in milk) and worship Kubera (the god of riches) and should give a dinner to a brāhmaṇa from the remnants of the boiled food mixed with clarified butter and should induce the brāhmaṇa to pronounce a benediction 'May there be prosperity'; this should be repeated every day till the next coming of the puṣya-nakṣatra; he should feed two, three and four brāhmaṇas on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th coming of Puṣya; this increase (in the number of brāhmaṇas to be fed in each month) should be carried on for a year; the performer should fast on the first Puṣya and not on every recurring Puṣya; the result is that the performer is endowed with great prosperity; Āp. Dh. S. II. 8. 20. 3–9 and sūtras 10–22 lay down certain restrictive rules of conduct. This is q. and explained by KKV 399–400, HV II. 628.

Puṣyasnāna—is a śānti described in HV II. 600–628, Bṛ. S. 47. 1–87, Kālikāpurāṇa 89. The Ratnamālā (VI. 70) says 'As the lion is the most powerful among quadrupeds, so is Puṣya most powerful of all nakṣatras and all undertakings begun on it succeed even though the moon be unfavourable.

Puṣyadvādaśī—When Puṣya nakṣatra occurs on Dvādaśī, the moon and Jupiter are in conjunction and the Sun is in the sign of Kumbha (Aquarius), one should offer worship to Brahmā, Hari and Śiva or Vāsudeva alone. RM verses 1375–1377, folio 80b (vide ABORI vol. 36 p. 333 for these).

Puṣyābhiṣeka—is one of the twelve yātrās of Puruṣottama performed every year when in P. the Full Moon tithi has Puṣya nakṣatra; GK 189.

Puṣyārkadvādaśī—when the Sun is in Puṣya-nakṣatra on a dvādaśī, worship Janārdana; this removes all sins; even if Puṣya-nakṣatra is not there on 12th tithi, the procedure should be followed; fast on 11th and donate a vessel full

of ghee on 12th; KKV 351, HV I. 1176–77, S. Pr. folio 22a (all quote Devīpurāṇa).

Pūrṇāhuti—to be offered standing (and never sitting) with the mantra 'Mūrdhānam divo' (Ṛg. VI. 701, V. S. 7.24, Tai. S. I. 4. 13. 1). Vide TT 100 and Kṛtyakalpataru (on Śāntika, folio 8a).

Pūjā—vide above pp. 34–36 for the upacāras; in most vratas five upacāras are enjoined viz. gandha, puṣpa, dhūpa, dīpa and naivedya. There are many rules about certain flowers &c. not being employed in the worship of certain gods and goddesses such as no dūrvā in worship of Durgā, no bilva leaves for the Sun. In mahābhiṣeka water should be poured with a conch except in the worship of Śiva and Sūrya. For general pūjāvidhi common to all vratas, vide VR 47–49.

Pūrṇimāvrata—(1) all pūrṇimās should be honoured with flowers, sandalwood paste, dhūpa &c. and the house-wife should take a meal only at night; if unable to observe the vrata on all pūrṇimās, it should be done at least on K. śu. 15th: Umā to be worshipped; HV II. 243 (from Vi. Dh.); (2) on Śr. Full Moon one should fast, control senses and go through a hundred prāṇāyāmas; one becomes free from all sins; HV II. 244; (3) on K. Full Moon a woman should draw on the house or park wall Umā and Śiva; worship of these two with *gandha* &c. and offer particularly sugarcane or products of sugarcane juice; she should eat in nakta way without sesame oil; she would enjoy *saubhāgya*; HV II. 244 (from Viṣṇudharma). 'Pūrṇimā' is derived by Kṣīrasvāmin as 'pūraṇam pūrṇiḥ, pūrṇim mimīte pūrṇimā.' Vide HK 311 quoting Mat. and Br. for derivation.

Pūrṇimāvratas—Vide under Paurṇamāsīvratas.

Pūrvāhṇa—Vide p. 267 under 'ahan' for what should be done on it and Manu IV. 152, Anuśāsana 104. 23 (almost same as Manu), Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 11. 22.

Pṛthivīvrata—worship of Earth as goddess; HV. I. 574 (only one verse).

Paurandaravrata—on 5th a person should make the figure of an elephant from sesame cake, deck it with gold and also a rider with a goad, cover elephant with red garments and rest its tusk on a copper vessel or kuṇḍa and donate it to a brāhmaṇa and his wife with garlands and ornaments, ear-

rings and unsullied garments; the person would long dwell in Indraloka; HV 567–568 (from Bhav. U.).

Puruṣapratipad-vrata—begin on Cai. śu. 1st tithi; tithi-vrata; the performer standing in holy water should contemplate on Viṣṇu, should offer worship with *gandha* and the rest and recite Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90. 1–16); for a year on both *pakṣas*; HV I. 344 (from Vi. Dh. III. 128. 1–7).

Paurṇamāsī—Many grants on the Full Moon days of M., K., Jy., and Āṣ ; vide E. I. vol. VII, Appendix Nos. 26–28, 30, 32, 33, 36 from *śake* 608 to 635 (686 to 723 A. D.). The word 'paurṇamāsī' is derived as 'pūrṇo māḥ (' mās' means 'moon') pūrṇamāḥ, tatra bhavā paurṇamāsī (tithiḥ)' or 'pūrṇo māso vartate asyām-iti paurṇamāsī'; HV II. 160 says 'pūrṇamāso bhaved yasyām pūrṇamāsī tataḥ smṛtā' (quoting Bhav. U.). Vide above p. 66 (pūrṇamāsad-aṇ &c.). When the Moon and Jupiter are seen together (in the same nakṣatra) on a Full Moon day, that Paurṇamāsī is called great (Mahā), gifts and fasts on such a paurṇamāsī yield inexhaustible merit (V. Dh. 49. 9–10 q. by KR pp. 430–431 and KKN 373); vide KV 346–347, HK 640, VKK 77 and Vi. Dh. I. 60. 21 for a similar verse. Such a paurṇamāsī is called mahā-caitrī, mahā-kārtikī, mahā-pauṣī &c. Vide Cintra praśasti of Sāraṅgadeva (of 20–1–1287 A. D.) for provision made for festival of Caitra full Moon and Bhādrapada Full Moon, in E. I. vol. I. p. 271 at p. 279. When Paurṇamāsī or Amāvāsyā is *viddhā* the tithi mixed with 1st tithi is to be accepted except in case of Vaṭasāvitri; KN 300–301, KTV 59–61, PC 281.

Paurṇamāsī-kṛtya—Vide KN 300–307, VKK 77–81, TT 133, SM 104–116, SmK 270–71.

Paurṇamāsī-vratas—Vide Agni 194, KKV 374-385 (only five), HV II. 160–245 (about 38), SmK 432–439, PC 211–314, VR 587–645. Some unimportant matters about Full Moon tithi are mentioned here. On Āṣ. pūrṇimā, ascetics (*yatis*) are to shave their heads and not to shave during *cāturmāsya*, they are to stay in one place for four or two months from Āṣāḍhī and perform Vyāsapūjā (PC 284); on Śr. pūrṇimā *Upākarma*; on Bh. Full Moon śrāddha to be performed for *Nāndīmukha* pitṛs; on M. pūrṇimā donate sesame; in Phā. theft of firewood allowed to boys from śu. 5th to 15th and fire is to be set to such wood on 15th (PC 309); V. Dh. (90.

3–5) provides that if on Full Moon of P. there is Puṣya-nakṣatra and a man bathes Vāsudeva image in ghee and himself applies white mustard paste to his body and bathes with water mixed with *sarvauṣadhi* and fragrant things and worships the image with mantras of Viṣṇu, Indra and Bṛhaspati he prospers (q. by KR 484).

Pauṣavratas—KR 474–486, VKK 487–490, NS 211–12, SmK 432–439; some matters are briefly mentioned here. Stream of clarified butter in P. on Śiva (liṅga) from a vessel with song, dance and instrumental music and with illuminations makes the performer free from all sins and takes him to Śivaloka (KR 478); on P. śu. 8th with Wednesday, bath, japa, homa, feeding brāhmaṇas in worship of Śiva yields merit thousands of times (NS 211); fast on P. 9th of both *pakṣas* and worship of Durgā thrice in the day, nakta for whole month and bathing Durgā image in ghee, feeding eight maidens and worship of Durgā image made of flour, lead a man to Durgā-loka (KR 477 from Bhav.).

Pauṣṭika—Bṛ. S. 2 enumerates among the qualifications of the sāṁvatsara (astrologer) that he should be well-versed in the śāntika and pauṣṭike rites. The difference between the two is: Pauṣṭika rites are homa and the like performed for longevity, while Śāntika rites are homa and the like performed for averting threatened evil influence of planets and danger foreboded by unusual occurrences like comets, meteor showers &c.; NA 48. KKN 254 states that Śānti means the removal of worldly calamities by means of acts in accordance with Dharma (or Dharmaśāstra).

Prakīrṇaka—(miscellaneous) vratas—Vide KKV 452–468, H V II. 868–1002, KR 540–593, KN 326–358, VKK 533–564. Most of these will be dealt with separately.

Prakṛtipuruṣa-vrata—on Cai. śu. 1 fast, on 2nd worship of Agni with Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90) with *gandha* &c.; Puruṣa and Prakṛti are identical with Agni and Soma and the same are Vāsudeva and Lakṣmī; worship Lakṣmī with Śrīsūkta; gifts of gold, silver and copper; performer to subsist on milk and ghee; for a year; secures all desires and the road to *mokṣa*; HV I. pp. 391–92 (from Vi. Dh. III. 129. 1–6).

Prajāpativrata—in the Śāṅkhāyana Br. VI. 6 it is said 'he should not see the Sun rising or setting'. These rules are called Prajāpativrata by Śabara on Jai. IV. I. 3 and he

declares that they are 'puruṣārtha' and not 'kratvartha'; (2) In the Praśnopaniṣad I. 13 and 15 it is said 'day is the prāṇa and the night the food of Prajāpati and those who have sexual intercourse by day attack prāṇa while those that have it by night are observing brahmacarya; that those who observe the Prajāpati-vrata produce children (a son and a daughter).' In Praśna I. 15 Prajāpativrata means indulging in sexual intercourse only at night; this meaning is different from that given by Śabara.

Pratipad-vratas—Agni 176 (only two vratas), KKV 35-40, HV I. 335-365; KN 140-149, PC 56-81, VR 49-78, HK 614 (quoting Bhav.) say the 1st tithis of Cai., K. and Āśv. are the holiest (also HV II. 350). If Pratipad is *viddhā* all dānas should be performed on 1st mixed with 2nd (KN 140).

Pratimāvrata—begin on 14th of K. śu; tithi; for one year; Umā and Śiva deities; images should be made of rice flour; hundreds of lighted lamps, saffron to be applied to the images, dhūpa to be *guggulu*; 108 offerings of milk and ghee; HV II. 57-58 (from Kālottara).

Prathamāṣṭamī—This is the first of the 14 yātrās of Bhuvaneśvara; on Mārg. kṛ. 8; for increase of the life of the first child; Gaṇeśa and Varuṇa are worshipped and then bowing to Bhuvaneśvara; GK 115-116, 191.

Pradīptanavamī—on 9th of Āśv. śu.; tithivrata; for a year; worship Devī with mantra of 16 syllables (om mahābhagavatyai Mahiṣāsuramardinyai hum phaṭ) and worship Śiva by offering in fire a lump of guggulu; one should take on that day as much food as can be eaten while a grass firebrand, only one cubit in length held between the thumb and forefinger being lighted, does not go out; HV I. 899-900 (from Devīpurāṇa).

Pradoṣa—Vide p. 102 above on Nakta.

Pradoṣavrata—in the first quarter of the night of 13th tithi, he who sees (image of) Śiva with an offering (or present) becomes free from all sins. HV II. 19 (from Bhav; one verse).

Prapādāna—begin on Cai. Śu. 1; distribute to all for four months water; pitṛs become satiated; PC 57, SmK 89 (quoting Aparārka).

Prabodha—rising of Viṣṇu and other gods from sleep in K. Vide pp. 109-111 above.

Prabhā-vrata—one who fasts for a half month and then donates two Kapilā cows goes to Brahmaloka and is honoured by gods; Mat. 101. 54 q. by KKV 447, HV II. 884–85 (from Pad.). This is 33rd Ṣaṣṭivrata in KKV.

Prātaḥ-snāna—(bath in early morning) BB (p. 350 verse 1530) and RM (verse 1361, ABORI vol. 36 p. 33) state that one should always bathe early morning when the Sun is in Tulā (Balance), Makara (Capricorn) and Meṣa (Ram). This is quoted by KR 149 from RM and by VKK 240 (from Bhav.); V. Dh. 64. 8 directs that one who undertakes prātaḥ-snāna must bathe when he sees eastern quarter suffused with the rays of Aruṇa.

Prājāpatyavrata—one who at the end of Kṛcchra penance donates a cow and feeds brāhmaṇas acc. to ability goes to the place of Śaṅkara; Mat. 101. 66 q. by KKV 448, HV II. 883 (from Pad.). This is 44th Ṣaṣṭivrata in KKV.

Prāptivrata—one who follows ekabhakta way for a year and then donates a jar full of water and food goes to Śivaloka for the period of a *Kalpa;* Mat. 101. 55 q. by KKV 447 (34th Ṣaṣṭivrata); HV II. 866 (from Pad.).

Prāvaraṇaṣaṣṭhī—on Mārg. śu. 6, one should offer to gods and brāhmaṇas some thing (such as a blanket) as protection against cold; GK 84.

Prāvaraṇotsava—one of the twelve yātrās of Puruṣottama on Mārg. śu. 6; GK 189.

Prītivrata—one who omits taking oil bath for four months from Āṣāḍha and then donates food with condiments goes to Viṣṇuloka; Mat. 101. 6 q. by KKV 40.

Pretacaturdaśī—on 14 of K. kṛ., the vrata is begun to be performed at night; if in addition there is Tuesday and Citrā nakṣatra, the merit is far greater; Śiva is deity; if 14th is viddhā, the day on which 14th exists at night is to be preferred; fast on 14th and worship of Śiva and dinner to devotees of Śiva and gifts; by bath in Ganges on this tithi, one becomes free from all sins; one should whirl over one's head a twig of apāmārga plant and engage in tarpaṇa of Yama uttering his names (14 in all); one should light rows of lamps on a river, in temples of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, houses where four roads meet; the performer reaches Śivaloka together with 21 generations of his family; on this tithi

firebrands are lighted for persons of the family that died by wounds from arms and for others on amāvāsyā; the performer listens to the story called Pretopākhyāna (of five *pretas* which a brāhmaṇa met in a desert) set out from Saṁvatsarapradīpa (in VKK 461–467) which was narrated by Bhīṣma to Yudhiṣṭhira about the actions by which a man is reduced to the condition of a *preta* (a disembodied spirit, a ghost), and the actions which relieve him from that condition; the performer should also partake of 14 vegetables that are enumerated in Kṛtyacintāmaṇi set out in Introduction (p. XIII) to Vivāda-cintāmani (G. O. S.); RM 1338–1345, ABORI vol. 36 pp. 328–329, VKK 459–467 (which quotes on p. 460 two verses viz. 1343–1344 from RM), KT 474, SM 100, SmK 371, PC 242–243, TT p. 124 and KT 45, set out the fourteen vegetables. This was probably named Pretacaturdaśī because Pretopākhyāna was to be recited on it.

Phalatṛtīyā—begin on 3rd tithi of śu.; for one year; Devī (Durgā) is deity: for all, but mostly for women; donate fruits, while performer gives up fruits and follows nakta method and mostly partakes of wheat and several kinds of pulse (such as gram, *mudga*, māṣa, &c.); result no lack of wealth and foodgrains and no ill-luck, HV I. 500 (from Pad. Prabhāsakhaṇḍa).

Phalatyāga-vrata—Begin in Mārg. śu. on 3rd, 8th, 12th, or 14th tithi for a year; Śiva deity; performer to avoid taking all fruits a year except 18 dhānyas; should prepare golden image of Rudra with his bull and of Dharmarāja; should make golden replicas of 16 kinds of fruits (such as kūṣmāṇḍa, mango, badara, banana), 16 silver ones of other smaller ones (such as āmalaka, udumbara, cardamom); 16 copper ones of other fruits (such as tamarind, inguda); should place on a heap of *dhānya* two jars full of water covered with cloth and prepare a bed-stead; all these together with a cow should be donated to a brāhmaṇa and his wife at year's end; if unable to give all he may donate only the metal fruits, the jars and golden images of Śiva and Dharma; performer remains in Rudraloka for thousands of yugas; Mat. 96. 1–25 (q. by HV II. 906–909, KKV 436–439.)

Phalavrata—(1) give up partaking of big fruits (like jack fruit and kūṣmāṇḍa) for four months from Āṣ. and donate in K. same fruits made of gold with a pair of cows; Sun

deity; performer is honoured in the world of Sun; Mat 101. 62 (one of the Ṣaṣṭīvratas) q. by KKV 448, HV II. 818 (from Pad., one half verse being different from Mat.); (2) KN 140 quotes Brah. (2½ verses); on Bh. śu. 1 the performer observing silence should cook three kinds of fruits (16 in each group) and offer them to god and donate to a brāhmaṇa.

Phalaṣaṣṭhīvrata—begin observing niyamas on 5th of Mārg. śu.; on 6th prepare a golden lotus and one golden fruit; on 6th at midday he should place the lotus and fruit with sugar on a vessel of clay or copper and offer worship with flowers &c. and observe fast; on 7th all these should be donated with the words 'May the Sun be pleased with me'; he should give up one fruit till the next 5th of dark half; this should be repeated for a year (viz. gift of golden lotus and fruit and giving up one fruit till kṛ. 5th); in each month on 7th one of twelve names of the Sun to be repeated; performer is freed from all sins and is honoured in Sun's world; HV I. 602–604 (from Bhav. U. 39. 1–12).

Phalasaṅkrāntivrata—on a saṅkrānti day worship after bath the Sun with flowers &c. and donate to a brāhmaṇa a vessel filled with sugar and eight fruits; then worship a golden image of the Sun placed on a jar with flowers &c.; HV II. 736 (from Skanda).

Phalasaptamī—(1) on Bh. śu. 7th fast and worship of the Sun; on 8th morning worship the Sun and donate to brāhmaṇas dates, cocoanut fruits and *mātuluṅga* fruits and say 'May the sun be pleased'; performer to eat (on 8th) one small fruit with the mantra 'May all my desires be fulfilled' and he may eat only fruits to his heart's content but nothing else; this to be done for a year; the vrata endows performer with sons and grandsons; KKV 204–205, HV I. 701–702 (both quote Bhav. I. 215. 24–27); (2) on Bh. śu. 4th, 5th and 6th the performer should respectively observe ayācita, ekabhakta and fast, worship Sun with gandha &c. and should sleep at night in front of the altar on which sun image is placed; on 7th after sun worship offer naivedya of fruits, feed brāhmaṇas and eat food himself; if unable to procure fruits he should cook flour of rice or wheat mixed with ghee and jaggery and nutmeg bark and nāgakesara as naivedya; this to be carried on for a year; at end he may,

if able, donate golden fruits, a cow with calf, a field, a a mansion, clothes, copper vessel and coral; if poor feed brāhmaṇas on fruits and powdered sesame and donate silver fruits; performer is freed from poverty and hardship and goes to world of Sun; KKV 117–121, HV I. 731–734 (from Bhav. I. 64. 36–61; (3) on Mārg. śu. 5 observe niyamas, on 6th fast, donate a golden lotus and a fruit with sugar with 'may the Sun be pleased with me'; on 7th feed brāhmaṇas on meal with milk; he should give one kind of fruit from this day to kr. 5th; do this for a year using different names of Sun in each month; at year's end honour a brāhmaṇa and his wife with clothes, jar, sugar, golden lotus and fruit; performer becomes free from sins and goes to sūryaloka; Mat. 76. 1–13 q. in KKV 213–214 (without name), HV I. 743–44 (from Pad. V. 21. 249–262).

Phalāhāraharipriyavrata—Vi. Dh. III. 149. 1–10 (This is a caturmūrtivrata); begin fast for three days on Viṣuva day in Vasanta and worship Vāsudeva; for three months Vāsudevapūjā every day; then for three months subsist on fruits; then in śarad Viṣuva fast for three months, and Pradyumna worship; subsist on yāvaka; at end of year gifts to brāhmaṇas; goes to Viṣṇuloka.

Phālguna-kṛtya—HV II. 797–799, KR 515–531; VKK 506–517; NS 222–229; SmK 513–519.

It may be noted that generally all the grand annual festivals in big and small temples in South India are celebrated in Phālguna.

A few minor matters are noted here; On Phā. śu. 8 worship of Lakṣmī and Sītā with gandha &c. (KKN 441–443, KR 527, quoting Brah.) On Phā. pūrṇimā if there be Phalgunī-nakṣatra one should donate a bedstead with good coverlets and thereby one secures a beautiful wife that brings a fortune (V. Dh. 90.); as Aryaman was born of Aditi and Kaśyapa and the Moon from Atri and Anasūyā on Phā. pūrṇimā, both the Sun and Moon should be worshipped at moonrise and songs, dance and music should be indulged in; KR 530, quoting Brah. and KKN 443; on this pūrṇimā a temple festival is held in South India called Uttira.

Phālgunaśravaṇadvādaśī—when Dvādaśī has śravaṇa-nakṣatra, fast and worship Hari; NM p. 52, verses 626–627.

Bakapañcaka—The five days from K. śu. 11 when Viṣṇu rises from sleep up to K. pūrṇimā are so called and it is stated that even a crane would not eat a fish in these days; therefore men should abstain from meat-eating during these days; KV 338, KR 425, VKK 479, KT 454.

Bakulāmāvāsyā—on P. amāvāsyā, the pitṛs are to be satiated with bakula flowers and milk boiled with rice grains and sugar; GK 446.

Balipratipad—vide pp. 201–204 above. The Junagad Inscription of Skanda-gupta refers to Viṣṇu's bringing back Lakṣmi for Indra from Bali (vide Gupta Inscriptions pp. 59,62).

Balipratipad-rathayātrā-vrata—on K. śu. 1; fast on preceding amāvāsyā, Agni and Brahmā are the deities; on a ratha (car) Agni should be worshipped, the ratha should be drawn by learned brāhmaṇas at the instance of a brāhmaṇa performer and should be taken round the town; to the right side of Brahmā image of Sāvitrī; car should be stopped at different places and waving of lights should be done; all those who take part in this yātrā, who draw the car, who light lamps, who look at it with devotion–all reach the highest place; K. śu. 1 is Balipratipad and so this rathayātrā is so called; HV I. 345–347 (from Bhav.)

Bastatrirātra-vrata—In Cai. offer to the sun for three days three white lotuses on each day and observe nakta every day for three days; donate five milk-yielding she-goats with some gold to a brāhmaṇa; this removes all diseases and the performer is not born again; HV II 323 (from Bhav. U.).

Bahulā—Bh. kṛ. 4 is so called in Central India; cows to be honoured and one should partake of cooked yavas; NS 123, VKD 67.

Bālavrata—giving a bull and kūṣmāṇḍa, gold and garment; Pad, III. 5. 14 and 31–32; man or woman that killed a child in a former life or did not save a child though able becomes childless and should donate a kūṣmāṇḍa with garments and a bull with gold.

Bālenduvrata or *Bālendudvitīyā-vrata*—on Cai. śu. 2; bath in evening in a river, draw a figure to represent the moon's crescent, worship it with white flowers and *naivedya* of best food and products of sugarcane juice; after worship performer himself to eat food; he should give up food fried in oil; one

year; he secures blessedness and goes to heaven; HV I. 380–82 (quoting Vi. Dh. III. 131. 1–7), SmK 90.

Bilvatrirātravrata—on Jy. pūrṇimā with Jyeṣṭhā-nakṣatra one should bathe with water mixed with mustard seeds, then sprinkle water on bilva tree and worship it with *gandha* &c.; for one year one should subsist by ekabhakta way; at year's end one should approach bilva tree with bamboo vessel full of sand or full of barley, rice, sesame &c. and worship images of Umā and Maheśvara with flowers &c., address bilva tree with a mantra praying for absence of widowhood and for wealth, health, sons &c.; homa with a thousand bilva leaves; make a bilva tree of silver with golden fruits; *jāgara* for three days from 13th to pūrṇimā with fast; bath next morning and honouring the ācārya with garments, ornaments &c. and feeding 16, 8 or 4 householders with their wives; by this vrata Umā, Lakṣmī, Śacī, Sāvitrī and Sītā respectively secured as husbands Śiva, Kṛṣṇa, Indra, Brahmā and Rāma; HV II. 308–312 (from Skanda), SmK 123–124 (simply copies HV).

Bilvaroṭaka-vrata—see Roṭakavrata.

Bilvalakṣavrata—a man or a woman may begin in Śr., Vai., M. or K. and burn every day three thousand bilva wicks (wicks of cotton thread spun by the woman herself and dipped in ghee or sesame oil) placed in a copper vessel in honour of Śiva in a temple or on the Ganges or in cowpen or near a brāhmaṇa; a *lakh* or crore of wicks may be prepared; all may be burnt in a single day if possible; *Udyāpana* on a pūrṇimā; VKD 398–403.

Bilvaśākhāpūjā—on Āśv. śu. 7; SM 23 and VR 248; vide p. 160 under Durgotsava.

Buddhajanmamahotsava—on Vai. śu. when the Moon is in Puṣya-nakṣatra an image should be established with texts uttered by Śākya and the temple should be white-washed; for three days *naivedya* and gifts to poor people; NM pp. 66–67, verses 809–816. It should be noted that in NM also Buddha is declared to be an avatāra of Viṣṇu in Kaliyuga. Buddha's Parinirvāṇa took place in Kārtika according Sarvāstivādins and in Vaiśākha according to Ceylonese tradition. Vide Bajaur casket inscription of Menander's reign in E. I. vol. 24 p. 6.

Buddhadvādaśī—in Śr. śu. 12; tithi; worship of golden image of Buddha with *gandha* &c; donate it to a brāhmaṇa; Śuddhodana did this vrata and so Viṣṇu himself was born to him as Buddha; KKV 331–332, HV I. 1037–1038 (as a Dharaṇī-vrata from Var.), KR 247–248. The printed Var. (47. 1–24) which contains only the first half verse occurring in KKV and HV narrates the story of Nṛga. In Var. 55. 37 reference is made to avatāras from Nṛsiṁha to Rāma and it proceeds 'namostu te Buddha Kalkin vareśa'. Vide Buddhapūrṇimā Vai. śu. 15 and Bṛ. S. 57. 44 for directions as to image of Buddha.

Budhavrata—When planet Budha (Mercury) comes to Viśākhā nakṣatra one should observe for seven days nakta way; a golden image of Budha should be placed in a bell metal vessel with white garlands and *gandha* &c. and donated to a brāhmaṇa; Budha sharpens intellect and conveys real knowledge; HV II. 578 (from Bhav. U.)

Budhāṣṭamī—Begin when there is Wednesday on śu. 8; follow ekabhakta way and donate on eight aṣṭamīs respectively eight jars full of water with a gold piece inside and with different edibles at each aṣṭamī; then at end donate a golden image of Budha; HV I. 866–873 (from Bhav. U. 54. 1–59); stories of Aila Purūravas and of Mithi and his daughter Urmilā were to be heard at the time of each aṣṭamī. VKK (39–40) quotes three verses from RM on this vrata which are also quoted in Vratatattva p. 151. VR (256–265) deals with this vrata and its udyāpana.

Buddhyavāpti—begin on the day after Cai. pūrṇimā; one month; worship of Nṛsiṁha; homa with mustard every day; dinner to brāhmaṇas containing *trimadhura* and gift of gold on Vai. pūrṇimā; Vi. Dh. III. 206. 1–5.

Bṛhattapo-vrata—begin on Mārg. śu. 1 called Bṛhattapā; Śiva deity; for one year or 16 years; destroys sin even of brāhmaṇa murder; HK 105–106, PC 80; vide Bhav. U. 12 for details.

Bṛhad-gaurīvrata—on Bh. kṛ. 3 (amānta reckoning) to be performed when moon rises; only for women; a plant called Dorli or Riṅgaṇī (in Marathi) should be brought together with its roots, water should be sprinkled over it when placed on an altar of sand; on seeing the moon rise the woman performer should bathe, should worship Varuṇa in a jar and

then Gaurī with various *upacāras*; a thread should be put round one's neck in the name of Gaurī; five years; VR 111–114 (from Bhav. U.), Vratārka folio 53 b–56 a (from Bhaviṣyottara. Both say it is well-known in Karṇāṭaka.

Brahmakūrcavrata—(1) on K. kṛ. 14; fast and drink pañcagavya, the five ingredients of which (urine, dung, milk, curds, ghee) are to be taken from cows of different colours; on next day worship gods and brāhmaṇas and then take food; all sins destroyed; HV II. 147 (from Bhav. U.); (2) fast on 14th and drink on pūrṇima pañcagavya and then subsist on *haviṣya* food; for a year every month; HV II. 238 (from Vi. Dh.); (3) the same as No. 2 but twice every month on amāvāsyā and pūrṇima; HV II. 937 (from Brah.).

Brahmagāyatri-candrarohiṇī-vrata—KKV 417, HV II. 694 (from Pad.). No details.

Brahmadvādaśī—begin from P. śu. 12 when there is Jyeṣṭhā-nakṣatra; tithi; Viṣṇu deity; for one year every month worship Viṣṇu and observe fast on that day; in each month gift of different things such as ghee, rice and barley. Vi. Dh. III. 220. 1–6.

Brahmaputrasnāna—bath in the Brahmaputrā river (also called Lauhitya) on Cai. śu. 8; removes all sins, as, on that day all holy rivers and the sea are supposed to be present in that river. VKK 522 (quoting Kālikā and Bhav. U. 77. 58–59.)

Brahmavrata—(1) on any auspicious day; it is prakīrṇaka; make a golden image of the *brahmāṇḍa* (universe); for three days one should donate sesame; worship Agni and make a gift of the image and sesame to a householder and his wife; performer reaches the world of Brahmā and is not born again; KKV 445–446 (27th Ṣaṣṭivrata) = HV II. 886 (from Pad.). Mat. 101. 46–48 has the same verses; (2) on 2nd honour Vedic student (brahmacārin) with a dinner; make an image of Brahmā and place it on a lotus leaf and offer worship with *gandha* &c.; homa with ghee and fuel-sticks; HV I. 377 (from Bhav.).

Brahma-sāvitrī-vrata—on Bh. śu. 13th one should make a resolve to observe fast for three days; if unable, observe nakta on 13th, *ayācita* on 14th and fast on Paurṇamāsī; worship golden, silver or clay images of Brahmā and Sāvitrī; *jāgara* and *utsava* at night on pūrṇimā; donate next morning

images with dakṣiṇā of gold; HV II. 258–272 (from Bhav.U.); it is just like the Vaṭasāvitrīvrata except the date and the story of Sāvitrī is set out at length here in HV.

Brahmāvāpti—begin on 10th of śu. in any month; tithivrata; fast on it and worship of ten gods (named) called Aṅgirasaḥ; for a year; HV I. 966 (from Vi. Dh.).

Brāhmaṇyāprāpti—begin on 1st to 4th tithis of Cai. śu.; worship in order of tithis images of four gods, Indra, Yama, Varuṇa and Kubera who are four forms of Vāsudeva with *gandha* &c.; homa; the garments to be offered on the four days should be red, yellow, dark and white; one year; performer secures heaven till end of world; HV II. 500–501 (from Vi. Dh.). It is a *caturmūrti* vrata.

Brāhmaṇyāvāpti—on Jy. paurṇamāsī give dinner to brāhmaṇa and his wife and donate garments and honour them with gandha &c.; performer secures birth in brāhmaṇa-varṇa for seven lives; HV II. 245 (from Prabhāsakhaṇḍa); KR 278–279.

Brāhmīpratipad-lābha-vrata—begin on Cai. śu. 1; fast thereon; make a lotus of eight petals with coloured powders; on pericarp worship image of Brahmā; on the four main quarters from the east place the Ṛgveda and the other Vedas; on the four intermediate points from south-east place the Aṅgas, Dharma-śāstras, Purāṇas and Nyāyavistara; he should worship these on 1st tithi of every month for a year and donate at end a cow; performer would be learned in Veda and if he performs for 12 years he would reach Brahmaloka; Vi. Dh. III. 126. 1–12 of which verses 6–12 are q. by HV I. p. 343. The arrangement of works reminds one of Yāj. I. 3.

Bhadrakālīnavamī—fast on Cai. śu. 9 and worship Bhadrakālī with flowers &c., or on all 9th tithis of all months Bhadrakālī may be worshipped; NM 63, verses 762–63.

Bhadrakālīpūjā—prescribed in RNP p. 438 for a king; the same as Bhadrakālīvrata (2).

Bhadrakālīvrata—(1) begin on 9th of K. śu.; fast on that day; Bhadrakālī (or Bhavānī) deity; worship her every month on 9th for a year; at year's end donate two garments to a brāhmaṇa; performer obtains what he desires such as freedom from disease, sons, fame; HV I. 960 (from Vi. Dh.

III. 175. 1-5); (2) on 9th of Āśv. śu.; draw Bhadrakālī on the wall of a mansion or on a piece of cloth; worship her and her weapons and shield; observe fast on 9th and worship Bhadrakālī; one secures great prosperity and success; HV I. 960-62 (from Vi. Dh. II. 158. 1-8), KR 350, VR 337-338. Vide Brah. 181. 46-53 for Bhadrakālī and offerings of wine and meat to her.

Bhadracatuṣṭayavrata—there are four Bhadras viz. three months (called Tripuṣkara or Tripuṣpa) from 2nd of Phā. śu., three months (called Tri-puṣpaka) from 2nd of Jy. śu., three months from Bh. śu. (called Trirāma) and three from 1st of Mārg. śu. (called Viṣṇupada); on first tithi he should eat by nakta way, on 2nd he should after bath offer tarpaṇa to gods, pitṛs and human beings and should not laugh nor talk till the moon rises and repeat the names Kṛṣṇa, Acyuta, Ananta, Hṛṣīkeśa on the four tithis respectively from 2nd to 5th; in evening offer arghya to moon, take his meal on bare ground or on a stone; for one year for all varṇas and women also; the performer secures fame, success and remembers his former births (*jātismara*); HV II. 383-392 (from Bhav. U. 13. 1-100).

Bhadravidhi—Sunday if on Bh. śu. 6th is called Bhadra; observe nakta on that tithi or fast; mālatī flowers to be offered and white sandal-wood, Vijaya-dhūpa, and pāyasa as *naivedya* in worship of the Sun at noon; it is a vāravrata; then dakṣiṇā to brāhmaṇa; performer goes to Bhānu-loka; KKV 12-13, HV II. 523-524 (calls it Bhadrāvidhi from Bhav.), KR 278.

Bhadrāvrata—on 3rd of K. śu. a person should subsist by *nakta* method after taking in cow urine and yāvaka (food prepared from barley); this should be continued for a year every month; at end donate a cow; he will dwell in world of Gaurī for a *kalpa*; HV I. 483 (from Pad.), KN 330.

Bhadrāṣṭami—GK 116.

Bhadrāsaptamī—when on 7th śu. there is Hasta-nakṣatra, that tithi becomes Bhadrā; tithivrata; Sun deity; a person should follow from 4th to 7th tithis respectively ekabhakta, nakta, ayācita and fast; one should bathe the image with ghee, milk and sugarcane juice and offer *upacāras* and arrange near image various precious stones in the several directions; the performer goes to Sun's world and then to

the world of Brahmā; KKV 138-141, HV I. 671-673 (from Bhav.), HK 625, PC 105.

Bhadropavāsavrata—the same as Bhadra-catuṣṭayavrata.

Bhartṛdvādaśīvrata—on Cai. śu. 12; fast on 11th and worship of Viṣṇu on 12; every month different name of Viṣṇu out of 12 from Keśava to Dāmodara to be taken; one year; KR 131-134 (from Var.), KKV 339-340.

Bhartṛprāpti-vrata—Nārada told this to a bevy of Apsarases who desired Nārāyaṇa should be their husband; on 12th of Vasanta śu.; fast thereon and worship of Hari and Lakṣmī; silver images of both and *nyāsa* of the god of love under different names on the several limbs of the image; next day gift of the images to brāhmaṇa: HV I. 1198-1200 (from Bhav.).

Bhavānīyātrā—on Cai. śu. 8; 108 pradakṣiṇās; *jāgara*; next day worship of Bhavānī; SmK 94, PC 109, VKD 43.

Bhavānīvrata—(1) on 3rd a person should apply unguents in Pārvatī temple to the image of Pārvatī; for a year; at end donate a cow; HV I. 483 (from Pad.); (2) when for a year a man (or woman) observes a fast on each paurṇamāsī and amāvāsyā and at year's end donates an image of Pārvatī with all fragrant things, he secures the world of Bhavānī; HV II. 397 (from Liṅ.); (3) nakta in temple of Pārvatī on 3rd; for a year; at end gift of cow; KKV 450 (from Mat. 101. 77). Mat. reads 'vitānakam' (canopy).

Bhāgyarkṣadvādaśī—on 12th tithi with Pūrvāphalgunī-nakṣatra a man should worship image of Harihara, half of the image represents Hara (Śiva) and the other half Hari; the result is same even if the tithi is dvādaśī or saptamī and nakṣatra may be Pūrvāphalgunī, Revatī or Dhaniṣṭhā; he secures sons, kingdom &c.; KKV 352-354, HV I. 1175-76 (from Devīpurāṇa); Pūrvāphalgunī is called Bhāgya, as Bhaga is its presiding deity; 'ṛkṣa' means 'nakṣatra'.

Bhādrapada-kṛtya—NM 71, verses 868-874 (about śu. only), KR 254-301, VKK 298-343, NS 123-144, KT 438-444, SmK 201-287, GK 24.

Bhānuvrata—begin on 7th tithi: subsist by nakta that day; Sun deity; for one year; at end donate cow and gold; goes to sūryaloka; KKV 448 (quoting Mat. 101. 60), HV I. 786 (same verse from Pad.).

Bhānusaptamī—when 7th tithi falls on a Sunday it is so called; GK 610.

Bhārabhūteśvara-yātrā—on Āṣ. pūrṇimā; worship of Bhārabhūteśvara in Kāśī; PC 284.

Bhāskarapūjā—It is said that the sun should be worshipped as a form of Viṣṇu and that the sun is the right eye of Viṣṇu, that the sun should be worshipped in a maṇḍala resembling a chariot wheel and that the flowers offered to a sun image and later removed should not be worn by a person on his own body; TT 36, PC 104; Bṛ. S. (57. 31–57) gives directions as to how the images of certain gods were to be made and verses 46–48 describe the image of Sūrya, one characteristic being that the body from the feet to chest should not be shown but covered with a jacket.

Bhāskarapriyā-saptamī—when the sun passes from one Zodiacal sign into another on śu. 7, then it is called mahājayā, is very dear to the Sun and bath, gifts, *tapas*, homa, worship of gods and pitṛs performed on that tithi yield merit a crore of times; KV 416, VKK 35 (from Bhav.), TT 145 (from Brah.).

Bhāskaravrata—fast on 6th (of kṛ. ?) and on 7th śrāddha with the words 'may the Sun be pleased'; tithivrata; Sun deity; performer freed from diseases and goes to heaven; HV I. 788 (from Bhav.).

Bhīmadvādaśī—(1) It was first imparted to Bhīma, one of the Pāṇḍavas, by Vāsudeva and came to be known by his name; this was formerly called Kalyāṇinī. It is elaborately described in Mat. 69. 19–65 (which also occur in Pad. V. 23), most of which are q. by KKV 354–359 (from Mat.) and HV I. 1044–1049 (from Pad.); on 10th of M. śu. bath with ghee applied to the body and worship of Viṣṇu with the words (namo Nārāyaṇāya), the various limbs of Viṣṇu being honoured with different names (Kṛṣṇa, Dāmodara &c.), worship of Garuḍa, of Śiva, Gaṇeśa; total fast on 11th; on 12th bathe in a river and raise maṇḍapa in front of house; hang a jar full of water from a *toraṇa* with a small hole at the bottom and take the drops on one's hand the whole night; *homa* through four priests learned in Ṛgveda, Rudra-japa by four Yajurvedins and *sāmans* to be sung by Sāmavedins; these twelve priests to be honoured with rings, garments &c.; on next tithi donate 13 cows;

after priests go he should say 'May Keśava be pleased, and Viṣṇu is the heart of Śiva and Śiva is the heart of Viṣṇu'; should listen to *itihāsa* and *purāṇa*; vide Gar. I. 127 for this; (2) on M. śu. 12; this was imparted by Pulastya to Bhīma, king of Vidarbha and father of Damayantī wife of Nala: arrangements as in the preceding; performer freed from all sins; this vrata is superior to Vājapeya and Atirātra &c. HV. 1049–1056 (from Bhav. U.).

Bhīmavrata—one who having fasted for a month donates at end a fine cow reaches the world of Viṣṇu; Mat. 101. 51 q. by KKV 446, HV II. 884 (from Pad.).

Bhīmaikādaśi—M. śu. 11th joined with Puṣya or without it is very sacred and dear to Viṣṇu. Dhaumya describes to Bhīma in Pad. VI. 239. 28 ff.

Bhīṣmapañcaka—For five days from 11th tithi of K. śu.; performer bathes three times applying pañcāmṛta, pañcagavya and water mixed with sandalwood paste; *tarpaṇa* of pitṛs with yava, rice and sesame; 108 times repeat the mantra 'om namo Vāsudevāyā' at worship and when performing homa offer sesame, yava and rice mixed with ghee with mantra of six letters 'om namo Viṣṇave'; this procedure to be followed for five days; on the 1st to 5th day the feet, knees, navel, shoulders and head of Hari should respectively be worshipped with lotuses, bilva leaves, bhṛṅgāraka, (on 4th day) *bāṇa, bilva* and Jayā, Mālatī; on 11th to 14th he should respectively partake of cow-dung, cow urine, milk and curds for purifying the body; then on 5th day performer to feast brāhmaṇas and give gifts; the performer's sins are all wiped out; HV II. 336–341 (from Nār. and Bhav. U., the first saying that Bhīṣma learnt it from Kṛṣṇa, while the latter makes Kṛṣṇa declare that he learnt it from Bhīṣma when the veteran hero was lying on his bed of arrows); Bhav. U. allows the performer to eat vegetables and the food of ascetics. KV 324 cites the last verse occurring in HV II. 34 from Bhav. U. Later medieval works like NS 204, SM 158–159, SmK 386 add (from Pad.) that *arghya* and water should be offered to Bhīṣma by men of all varṇas and the tarpaṇa mantra is note-worthy 'Vaiyāghra-padya-gotrāya Sāṅkṛtyapravarāya ca। Gaṅgā-putrāya Bhīṣmāya pradāsyeham tilodakam ॥ aputrāya dadāmyetat salilam Bhīṣmavarmaṇe।'. These occur in BB p. 364 verses 1714–15 and the verse 'Vaiyāghra' occurs in RM (vide ABORI

vol. 36 p. 332) and in HK 628. By doing this a man becomes free from sins. Vide Agni 205. 1–9, Gar. I. 123. 3–11, Pad. VI. 125. 29–82 that contain a very elaborate description of this vrata.

Bhīṣmāṣṭamī—on M. śu. 8; offer water and śrāddha every year to Bhīṣma who died a bachelor; he who does so becomes free from sins committed in one year and secures progeny; HK 628–29, VKK 503, TT 58, NS 221, SM 61. One whose father is alive also can offer water to Bhīṣma (SM 61). This tithi is probably based on Anuśāsanaparva 167. 28 (Māghoyaṁ samanuprāpto ... tribhāgaśeṣaḥ pakṣoyam śuklo bhavitumarhati). With great respect to Prof. P. C. SenGupta I must say that his interpretation of 'samanuprāpta' as 'samanupraviṣṭa' is quite wrong and unwarranted and it is not possible to accept his conclusion that Bhīṣma died on 8th of dark half of Māgha and not on 8th of bright half. Vide his paper in JASB vol. XX No. 1 (Letters) pp. 39–41 (1954). The Bhujabalanibandha p. 364 has two verses, which are quoted in TT, NS and other works 'शुक्लाष्टम्यां तु माघस्य दद्याद् भीष्माय यो जलम्। संवत्सरकृतं पापं तत्क्षणादेव नश्यति ॥ वैयाघ्रपद्यगोत्राय सांकृतिप्रवराय च। अपुत्राय ददाम्येतत्सलिलं भीष्मवर्मणे ॥'. Even brāhmaṇas were called upon to offer water to the noble kṣatriya warrior Bhīṣma.

Bhuvaneśvara-yātrās—The fourteen *yātrās* of Bhuvaneśvara are enumerated and described (such as Prathamāṣṭamī, Prāvārāṣaṣṭhī, Puṣyasnāna, Ājyakambala) in GK 190–194.

Bhūtacaturdaśī—Same as Pretacaturdaśī pp. 351–52 above; vide KT 450–451.

Bhūtamahotsava—The same as Udasevikā pp. 275–76 above; HV II. 359-365 (from Skanda).

Bhūtamātryutsava—From 1st to pūrṇimā of Jy.; HV II. 365–370. Same as Udasevikā. The Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa of Bhoja (V. 94) on Poetics mentions it among *krīḍās*. Bhrātṛbhāṇḍā, Bhūtamātā and Udasevikā are three names of one utsava (HV II. 367).

Bhūbhājanavrata—It is a sāṁvatsara vrata; the man who for one year takes his food on bare ground (not in a plate or on a leaf like that of plantain) after presenting it to pitṛs becomes sole ruler of earth; HV II. 687 (from Pad.).

Bhūmivrata—on śu. 14th; worship of Sun acc. to procedure of Liṅgavrata and fast in honour of Śiva; offer saffron,

flowers, pāyasa with ghee and gifts of land to a devotee of Śiva; performer secures position of king; this vrata should be performed by a king; HV II. 63–64 (from Kālottara).

Bhṛguvrata—begin on Mārg. kṛ. 12; tithi; worship of twelve gods called Bhṛgus to whom *yajña* is offered (names set out are somewhat peculiar and unusual); for one year (on each kṛ. 12); at end donate a cow; Vi. Dh. III. 180. 1–5 q. by HV I. 1172.

Bhaimī-ekādaśī—when on M. śu. 11 there is Moon in Mṛgaśīrṣa-nakṣatra, one should observe fast and on 12th the performer should be *saṭtilī* i. e. he should bathe with water mixed with sesame, rub sesame paste on his body, offer sesame in fire, drink water mixed with sesame, make gift of sesame and eat them; if a person fasts on this ekādaśī called 'Bhīma-tithi' he reaches Viṣṇuloka; Ekādaśītattva p. 101, TT 113–114, VKK 504.

Bhairavajayantī—K. kṛ. 8 is known as Kālāṣṭamī; fast on that tithi and jāgara; worship of Bhairava for four praharas of the night and jāgara in listening to and narrating legends about Śiva; the performer becomes free from sins and becomes a good devotee of Śiva; this is obligatory on persons dwelling in Kāśī; SM 60–61, SMK 427–429, PC 138.

Bhogasaṅkrāntivrata—on Saṅkrānti day call together women and give them saffron, lampblack collyrium, vermilion, flowers, scents, *tāmbūla* and camphor, fruits and also to their husbands; feed them and present pair of garments; on each saṅkrānti for one year, at end worship the Sun and donate a cow to brāhmaṇa who has a wife; performer secures happiness; HV II. 733 (from Skanda).

Bhogāvāptivrata—worship Hari for three days from the 1st tithi after Jy. pūrṇimā and donate a bedstead; performer enjoys pleasures and goes to heaven; Vi. Dh. III. 212. 1–3 q. by HV II. 752.

Bhaumavāravrata—Mars is the son of the Earth and fine in appearance; on each Tuesday one should donate a copper vessel filled with jaggery for one year; at end donate a cow; performer secures beauty and wealth; HV II. 567.

Bhaumavrata—(1) when Tuesday has Svātī-nakṣatra a man should eat by nakta way; this is to be repeated seven times; he should place in a copper vessel golden image of Mars covered

with red cloth and saffron used as unguent; offer flowers and naivedya and donate to a brāhmaṇa householder with a mantra 'though you are *Kujanmā* still the wise call you Maṅgala'. There is a pun on Kujanmā that has two senses (1) 'born on an inauspicious day', (2) 'born of the earth'. As Mars is red in appearance, copper, red cloth and saffron are used to match his colour; HV II. 567 (from Bhav. U.); (2) worship Mars on Tuesday; repeat in the morning the several names of Mars (21 in all, such as Maṅgala, Kuja, Lohita, favouring Sāmavedins, Yama); draw a triangular figure with a hole in the middle and draw three names (Āra, Vakra, Kuja) with saffron and red sandalwood paste on each angle; Mars was born in Ujjayinī in a Bhāradvāja family and rides a ram; if a man performs this vrata throughout life he becomes prosperous, has sons and grandsons and reaches the world of the planets; HV II. 568-574 (from Pad.); VKD 443-451 has a far more elaborate procedure of Bhaumavāra-vratapūjā.

Bhrātṛdvitīyā—on K. śu. 2; it is also called Yamadvitīyā because in ancient times Yamunā treated her brother Yama to a dinner on this day; some works like KT 453, Vratārka, VR 98-101 combine the two viz. worship of Yama and dining at one's sister's house. Vide pp. 209-210 above for the latter.

Maṅgala—Acc. to Ātharvaṇapariśiṣṭa q. by HV II. 626 brāhmaṇa, cow, fire, land, mustard, clarified butter, śamī, grains of rice and barley are eight auspicious things. Droṇaparva 127. 14 speaks of eight maṅgalas; Droṇa 82, 20-22 contains a much longer list. Vā 14. 36-37 enumerate several things as auspicious which should be touched when going out of one's house viz. dūrvā, clarified butter, curds, jar full of water, cow with calf, bull, gold, clay, cowdung, svastika, akṣata grains, oil, honey, brāhmaṇa maidens, white flowers, śamī, fire, Sun's disc, sandalwood and aśvattha tree (q. by Sm. C. I. p. 168) Vide Parāśara XII. 47, Viṣṇudharmottara II. 163. 18 ff. for other lists of maṅgala objects.

Maṅgala-caṇḍikāpūjā—VKK (552-558) gives an elaborate procedure; Maṅgalacaṇḍikā is called Lalitakāntā; the mantra (i. e. Lalitā-gāyatrī) for her worship is: Nārāyaṇyai vidmahe tvām Caṇḍikāyai tu dhīmahi | tan-no Lalitakānteti tataḥ paścāt pracodayāt ||); worship on 8th and 9th tithis; she may be worshipped on a piece of cloth or as an

image or on a jar; whoever worships her on Tuesday secures desired objects. Vide TT 41 also.

Maṅgalacaṇḍī—on Tuesday; worship of Caṇḍī who was first worshipped by Śiva, then by Mars, by king Maṅgala and by beautiful women on Tuesday and then by all men desiring good fortune; Brahmavaivarta, Prakṛti-khaṇḍa 44. 1–41 (specially 32, 37–38).

Maṅgalavrata—begin on kṛ. 8th of Āśv., M., Cai., or Śr. and carry it on till next śu. 8th; on 8th ekabhakta, dinner to maidens and devotees of Devī, nakta on 9th, ayācita on 10th, fast on 11th; repeat this; every day gifts, homa, japa, pūjā and dinner to maidens; sacrificing a *paśu*; jāgara with dance and drama; japa of 18 names of her; HV II, 332–335 (from Devī-purāṇa),

Maṅgalāgaurīvrata—on all Tuesdays in Śr. by married girls for five years after marriage; prevalent in Mahārāṣṭra; the worshipping women take noon dinner silently; 16 kinds of flowers; 16 suvāsinīs are required; *nīrājana* of Devī with 16 lamps; *jāgara*; Gaurī is deity; prayer to Maṅgalā for freedom from widowhood, for sons and for fulfilment af all desires; leave is taken of Gaurī next mornning; VR 787–795 (from Bhav.)

Maṅgalāṣṭaka—The eight substances to be distributed to women when invited in a vrata like Saubhāgyasundarī are saffron, salt, jaggery, cocoanut, tāmbūla leaf, dūrvā, vermillion, collyrium; VR p. 119.

Maṅgalyasaptamī or Maṅgalya-vrata—on 7th; on square maṇḍala Hari and Lakṣmī should be invoked and worshipped with flowers &c., four vessels of clay, copper, silver and gold should be got ready and four clay jars covered with cloth and full of salt, sesame, turmeric powder; eight young chaste women whose husbands are alive and who have sons should be honoured and given dakṣiṇā and in their presence performer should pray to Hari for 'maṅgalya' (auspicious life); then the women should be dismissed; on the 8th again worship Hari and *pāraṇa* with honouring eight young women and feeding brāhmaṇas; every one, male or female, prince or peasant, secures his desired objects; HV I. 768–770 (from Gar.).

Matsyajayantī—on Cai. śu. 5; image of Viṣṇu in the Fish *avatāra* to be worshipped; AK folio 360 b. It is also called *Haya-pañcamī.*

Matsya-māṁsa-bhakṣaṇa-niṣedha—Vide above under Kārtika and Bakapañcaka and TT 146, GK 32

Matsyadvādaśī—on Mārg. śu. 10 take up the niyamas, on 11th fast, on 12th he should bring some clay with a mantra, present it to Āditya, apply it to his body and bathe; tithi vrata; worship Nārāyaṇa; four jars filled with water and flowers and covered over with plates of sesame to be looked on as four oceans; make a golden image of Viṣṇu as Fish and offer worship; *jāgara*; donate the four jars to brāhmaṇas; even grave sins are destroyed; KKV 311–317, HV I. 1022–26 (both from Var. chap. 39. 26–77), KR 462–466 (same verses from Brah.)

Mathurā-pradakṣiṇā—(circumambulating Mathurā, one of the seven holy cities of Bhārata)—on K. śu. 9; SmK 378 (from Var.).

Madancaturdaśī—also called Madanabhañjī—on Cai. śu. 14; tithi; worship of Madana (god of love) with songs and music and utterance of lascivious words for pleasing him. KT 466, TT 133.

Madanatrayodaśī—vide Anaṅgatrayodaśī and Kāmadevatrayodaśī above pp. 257, 282. KR 137 quotes Brah. that on all 13th tithis Kāma should be worshipped by people.

Madanadvādaśī—on Cai. śu. 12; tithivrāta; draw on a copper plate full of jaggery and edibles and gold placed on a jar containing water with white rice grains and fruits, the figure of Kāma and Rati his wife, place food in front of them and sing songs and love music; bathe image of Hari calling it Kāma and worship it; donate the jar next morning and feed brāhmaṇas and performer should take food without salt and utter after giving dakṣiṇā the mantra 'May god Janārdana in the form of Kāma who is the joy in the hearts of all be pleased'; fast on 13th tithi and worship Viṣṇu and sleep on bare ground after eating a single fruit on 12th; go on for a year; at end donate a cow and garments and perform homa with white sesame; performer becomes free from sins, gets sons and prosperity and becomes one with Hari; KKV 367–368, HV I. 1194–98 (from Mat.), KR 135–136.

Madanapūjā—Vide Anaṅgatrayodaśī p. 257 above.

Madanabhañjī—Same as Damanabhañjī p. 310 above.

Madanamahotsava—on Cai. śu. 13; tithivrata; worship image or painting of God of love at mid-day with the mantra 'namaḥ Kāmāya devāya devadevāya mūrtaye । Brahma-Viṣṇu-sureśānām manaḥ-kṣobha-karāya vai ॥'; sweet edibles to be placed before the figure of Kāma; donate a pair of cows; wife should worship her husband thinking 'this (husband) is Kāma'; at night *jāgara* and dance festivals, illuminations and theatricals; this to be repeated every year; the performer becomes free from sorrow and disease and secures welfare, fame and wealth; HV II. 21–24 (from Bhav. U. which contains the story of the burning of Madana by Śiva and his re-birth on this tithi.).

Madanotsava—is called Suvasantaka in Kāmasūtra I. 4. 42.

Madhusravā—Śr. śu. 3; NS 111, VR 96 (both say it is well-known in Gurjaradeśa).

Madhuśrāvaṇī—KSS p. 10. Śr. śu. 3 is so called.

Madhusūdanapūjā—on Vai. śu. 12; worship of Viṣṇu; performer secures the fruit of Agniṣṭoma and goes to Moon's world; SmK 114.

Madhuratraya—(three things called 'Madhura') —Vide Trimadhura (p. 309); VR 16 says that ghee, milk and honey are called 'Madhuratraya'.

Madhūkavrata—on Phā. śu. 3; fast by women on that day and next day worship of Gaurī on Madhūka tree and prayer to her to confer *saubhāgya*, sons, freedom from widowhood; honour brāhmaṇa women whose husbands are alive with flowers, fragrant substances, garments and edibles; confers health, beauty; HV I. 413–415 (from Bhav. U.). The printed Bhav. U. (16. 1–16) calls it Madhūkatṛtīyā, places it on 3rd of dark half of Phā. and is somewhat different in details, though some verses are identical with those in HV. Madhūka is a tree from the blossoms and seeds of which an intoxicating drink is distilled.

Manasāvrata—on Jy. śu. 9 with Hasta nakṣatra or on even 10th without Hasta; Manasādevī is to be worshipped on a twig of *snūhī* plant; vide above p. 125 for worship of Manasā in Śr. (KR 233 and KT 437). HK 621 (quotes Bhav.) says that Manasā is to be worshipped on Āś. kṛ. 5. Vide A. C. Sen's 'Bengali Language and Literature' pp. 257–276 for story of Manasādevī and Manasā-maṅgala, Manasā being worshipped on 11th tithi of dark half of Śrāvaṇa.

I. 775–777 from Vi. Dh. (III. 166. 1–22). The Maruts are said to be seven or seven times seven. Vide Ṛg. V. 52. 17 (sapta me sapta śākina), Tai. S. II. 2. 11. 1 (saptagaṇā vai marutaḥ).

Malamāsakṛtya—for actions to be done in intercalary month and forbidden therein, vide 'adhimāsa' and the next section on Kāla &c.

Malladvādaśī—on Mārg. śu. 12; on the banks of Yamunā Kṛṣṇa sported at the foot of Bhāṇḍīravaṭa on Govardhana hill in the midst of cowherds (who were wrestlers) and Gopīs; the wrestlers worshipped him with flowers, with milk, curds and edibles; for one year on each 12th; the mantra is 'may Kṛṣṇa be pleased with me'; this was also called Araṇyadvādaśī since cowherds and wrestlers gave edibles to each other in a forest; reward is health, strength, prosperity and Viṣṇuloka; HV I. 1115–1117 from Bhav. U.

Mallārimahotsava—on Mārg. śu. 6; the wife of Mallāri is Mhālasā (probably a corrupt form of Madālasā); in worship of Mallāri the principal ingredient is turmeric powder, which is called *Bhaṇḍārā* in Mahārāṣṭra; the worship is either on each Sunday or Saturday or on each 6th; the procedure of the worship is taken from Brahmāṇḍa, Mallāri-māhātmya of Kṣetrakhaṇḍa; AK folio 421.

Mahattamavrata—on Bh. śu. 1; tithi; worship of golden or silver image of Śiva with three eyes, matted hair and five faces by placing it on a jar; bathing it with pañcāmṛta, offering flowers &c.; performer to observe silence; 16 fruits to be offered: at end gift of cow; performer secures long life, kingdom &c.; SmK p. 201 (quoting Skanda from Madanaratna); NA calls it Maunvrata, but that is wrong.

Mahākārtikī—See p. 284 under Kārtika. Vide I. A. vol. III. 305 and vol. VI. 363 (inscription of the 12th year of Cālukya king Maṅgaleśvara in *Śake* 500, 578 A. D.) that mention that the king made a Mahāṅga dhūpa described in KKV 172, HV I 730 (quoting Bhav. I. 105) and to be employed in Kāmadā saptamī; *Mahādāna* to brāhmaṇas on Mahākārtikapaurṇamāsī.

Mahācaturthī—Bh. śu. 4 falling on a Sunday or Tuesday is so called; by worshipping Gaṇeśa on it, man secures his desires; SmK 210.

Mahācaitrī—Cai. Pūrṇimā with Jupiter in conjunction with Moon and Citrā-nakṣatra; PC 313, GK 599.

Mahājayāsaptamī—When the Sun enters a Zodiacal sign on śu. 7th that tithi is called Mahājayāsaptamī; bath, japa, homa, worship of gods and Manes yield rewards a crore of times; if the image of the sun is bathed on that tithi with ghee or milk, the man goes to Sūryaloka; if a man fasts on it he goes to heaven; KKV 135-136 = HV I. 669 (from Bhav. I. 199. 1-7). KKV is, as often, silent about the source. HK 414 quotes all these from Brah.; TT 145 does the same.

Mahājyaiṣṭhī—If Jy. Pūrṇimā has Jyeṣṭhā-nakṣatra and the Moon and Jupiter are in conjunction and the Sun is in Rohiṇī it is so called and *dāna*, japa &c. yield great reward; PC 313, GK 600.

Mahātapovratāni—numerous little actions are dealt with under this head in several works on vratas. They are not separately entered in this list. Vide KKV 453-469, HV II. 917-931, KR 540 ff, VKK 533 ff.

Mahātṛtīyā—on 3rd tithi in M. or Cai.; Gaurī is deity: one should offer *guḍadhenu* and himself abstain from eating jaggery: it causes great happiness and leads to Gaurī-loka; HV I. 484 (from Pad.). For a detailed description of Guḍadhenu, vide Mat. 82 and H. of Dh. vol. II. 880.

Mahādvādaśī—the 12th tithi of Bh. śu. with Śravaṇa-nakṣatra is so called; fast on it and worship of Viṣṇu leads to great rewards; KR 286-287. Vide Vi. Dh. I. 161. 1-8 in one verse of which it is stated that if Bh. śu. 12 falls on a Wednesday and has Śravaṇa nakṣatra, it is 'atyanta-mahatī' (greater than great). Vi. Dh. I. 162 (1-71) dilates upon the *māhātmya* of Śravaṇa-dvādaśī. Besides this there are eight very holy dvādaśīs for which see p. 119 above.

Mahānandānavamī—9th of M. śu. is called Mahānandā; tithivrata; for a year; Durgā is deity; year divided into three periods of four months; in each period flowers, *dhūpa*, naivedya and the names of the goddess are different; performer secures all desires and Brahma-loka; KKV 306-307, HV I. 955-56 (from Bhav.).

Mahānavamī—(1) This is the same as Durgapūjā-utsava, for which see pp. 174-175 above and Kṛtya-kalpataru (on Rājadharma) pp. 191-195 and RNP pp. 439-444 (both quoting

Devīpurāṇa), HV I. 903-920, NS 161-185, KR 349-364; (2) begin on 9th of Āśv. śu. or K. śu. or Mārg. śu.; tithivrata; Durgā deity; for one year; flowers, dhūpa, material for bath different in several months; dinner to maidens; performer goes to Deviloka; KKV 296-299, HV I. 937-939 (calls it Durgānavamī and quotes Bhav.), PC 134; HK p. 107 quotes Skanda, Prabhāskhaṇḍa, that Mahānavamī is 8th tithi in Āśv. śu. with Mūlanakṣatra or the same tithi with Mūla when the Sun is in the sign of Kanyā (Virgo) and Gar. I. chap. 133. 3-18 and chap. 134; Kālikāpurāṇa (chap. 62) speaks of Mahānavamī and pūjā thereof; and also Gar. I. 133. 3-18 and chap. 134; E. I. p. 260 mentions a grant by Pulakeśi Mahārāja of 800 nivartanas of land on Kārtika-Mahānavamī on Thursday.

Mahaniśā—Vide p. 117 n. 302 above for the meaning.

Mahāpaurṇamāsīvrata—on all paurṇamāsīs with the prefix Mahā; worship Hari for a year; even a small gift on it yields great reward; HV II. 196-197 (from Bhav.).

Mahāpauṣī—GK 600. Vide explanation of Mahākārtikī under Kārtika.

Mahāphaladvādaśī—On P. kṛ. 11th with Viśākhā-nakṣatra; Viṣṇu deity; for a year; use certain things for purification of the body in the several months and donate on *dvādaśī* each month one out of the several things in order, such as ghee, sesame, rice; on death reaches Viṣṇuloka; HV I. 1095-96 (from Viṣṇurahasya).

Mahāphalavrata—for a *pakṣa*, four months or a year; the performer has to subsist on certain things only from the first to the 15th tithi in the following order; milk, flowers, all food except salt, sesame, milk, flowers, vegetables, bilva fruit, flour, uncooked food, fast, ghee, milk boiled with rice grains and sugar, *yavas*, cow's urine and water in which kuśas are dipped. On all these days a certain procedure has to be followed; on day previous to vrata three times bath, fast, japa of Vedic hymns and of Gāyatrī &c.; various rewards promised and ultimately he goes to Sūrya-loka; HV II. 392-394 (from Bhav.).

Mahāphala-saptamī—When on Sunday there is 7th tithi and Revatī-nakṣatra worship Durgā with Aśoka buds and eat the latter; PC 105.

Mahāphālguni—Vide rule under Kārtika about prefixing 'Mahā'; GK 599, PC 314.

Mahābhadrāṣṭami—P. śu. 8 when falling on Wednesday is called Mahābhadrā and is very holy; Śiva deity; SmK 438, GK 605–606, PC 138.

Mahābhādri—Vide under Kārtika for rule about ' Mahā '.

Mahāmāghi—When the Sun is in Śravaṇa nakṣatra and the Moon in Maghā it is called Mahāmāghī, acc. to R. M. 1366 (vide ABORI. vol. 36 p. 331 for three verses on Māghīsnāna) and it adds that in Māgha waters exclaim when the Sun is just risen ' what great sinner, whether a drinker of *surā* or murderer of a brāhmaṇa, shall we purify '. This verse is q. by VKK 490 from Bhav. and by SmK 439 (from Pad.); PC (313–314) says that when Saturn is in Meṣa (Ram), the Moon and Jupiter in Siṁha (Lion) and the Sun is in Śravaṇa-nakṣatra then it is Mahāmāghī. Vide NS 221 for other views. This verse emphasizes the importance of Māghasnāna at Prayāga and other holy rivers and in holy tanks in early morning for the removal of sins. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV p. 617 for Māghasnāna. In Tamil country ' Makha ' is an annual temple festival and Mahāmakha occurs once in twelve years, when a great *meḷā* is held at Kumbhakoṇam for a bath in a tank there called mahāmagha tank, the meḷā being comparable to the Kumbhameḷā at Prayāga. This festival is popularly known as ' Mamangam ' and takes place when the Full Moon is in Maghānakṣatra and Jupiter is in Maghā or in the sign of Lion. It fell on 25th February in 1955 according to south Indian Almanacs. It is reported that about a million people took a bath this year in eight to ten hours from 2 A. M. in the Mahāmakham tank at Kumbhakoṇam from which muddy water was pumped out and in which fresh water from the Kāverī river was made to flow.

It is surprising that hardly any medieval digest refers either to the Mahāmakham festival or the Kumbhameḷā. The great emperor Harṣa used to hold once every five years a great meḷā at Prayāga on the great sandy plain to the west of the *saṅgam* on the site where the Kumbhameḷā is held in modern times and distributed the accumulations in his treasury.

Mahāmārgaśirṣi—Vide above under Kārtika for prefixing 'Mahā'.

Mahārājavrata—When 14th tithi (of śu. or kṛ.) falls on Ārdrā-nakṣatra or when it is joined to Pūrvābhādrapadā and Uttarābhādrapadā or both, that tithi gives pleasure to Śiva; saṅkalpa on preceding 13th, on 14th bath one after another with sesame, cow's urine and dung, clay, pañcagavya and then with pure water; then *japa* 1000 times of Śivasaṅkalpa mantra (' Yaj-jāgrato dūram ', Śivasaṅkalpo-paniṣad, 8) for three varṇas and ' om namaḥ Śivāya ' for śūdras; bath of images of Śiva and Umā with pañcāmṛta, pañcagavya, sugarcane juice and applying to the images unguents like musk, saffron &c.; rows of lamps; *homa* with thousands of bilva leaves while repeating Śivasaṅkalpa or the mantra ' Tryambakam yajāmahe' (Ṛg. VIII. 59. 12, T. S. I. 8. 6 2); arghya to Śiva with mantras (set out); jāgara whole night; gift of five or two cows or one; after partaking of pañcagavya the performer should dine in silence; all obstacles are removed and he reaches highest goal; HV II. 1039–1047 (from Skanda).

Mahālakṣmīpūjā—There are varying views about this vrata. KSS p. 19 and A. K (folio 535b–539b) say—begin on Bh. śu. 8 and finish on Āś. kṛ. 8 (by Pūrṇimānta reckoning) and that it is to last for 16 days, on each of which Mahālakṣmī was to be worshipped and stories about her were to be listened to. Vide N. S. pp. 153–154, where a similar period is prescribed but it is said that one should, if beginning this vrata for the first time, avoid four *doṣas*, viz. there should not be avamadina, the tithi should not be tryahaspṛk, should not be mixed with 9th tithi, nor should the Sun be in the half of Hasta nakṣatra. In Mahārāstra the pūjā of Mahālakṣmī is performed on Āś. śu. 8th by young married women at noon and at night all married women join in worship and hold big empty jars in their hands, breathe into them and bend their bodies in various ways; P.C. (pp. 129-132) has a long discussion on this. According to it, this vrata is for both men and women.

Mahālakṣmīvrata—begin on Bh. śu. 8 before the Sun passes into Kanyā sign (Virgo) the worship of Mahālakṣmī and finish it on 8th tithi (following) while the Sun is in the first half of Kanyā (i. e. in 16 days); begin if possible when the Moon is in Jyeṣṭhā-nakṣatra; for 16 years; for men and women number 16 is predominant here as to flowers and fruits &c.; the performer should wear on his right hand a

doraka with 16 threads and 16 knots; Lakṣmī never leaves the performer for three lives, he secures long life, health &c.; HV II. 495–499, NS 153–154, SmK 231–239, PC 129–132, VR 300–315.

Mahālaya—latter half (dark half) of Bh. is so calld and pārvaṇa śrāddha is to be performed on all or one of these tithis; TT 166, VKD 80; vide H. of Dh. IV p. 532.

Mahāvaiśākhī—Vide under Kārtika for rule about 'Mahā' being prefixed to a tithi. The Khanapur plate of Mādhavavarman records the grant of villages in Satara District on Mahāvaiśākhī; vide E.I. vol. 27 p. 312 (Prof. Mirashi infers that it was between 510–560 A.D.).

Mahāvrata—(1) In M. or Cai. a person may donate *guḍadhenu* and should subsist only on jaggery on 3rd tithi; he reaches *goloka*; Mat. 101. 53 q. by KKV 446 (32nd Ṣaṣṭivrata), KR 118; for *Guḍadhenu* vide Mat. 82 and H. of Dh. II. 880; (2) begin with fast on 14th or 8th śu., when in conjunction with Śravaṇa-nakṣatra; tithivrata; Śiva deity; to be performed by kings; HV I. 864–865 (from Kālottara); (3) on K. amāvāsyā or pūrṇimā a person should take up niyamas, eat by *nakta* way pāyasa with ghee, use sandalwood and sugarcane juice; on following *pratipad* he should fast and invite eight or sixteen Śaiva brāhmaṇas (for dinner); Śiva deity; should bathe Śiva image with pañcagavya, ghee, honey and other things and lastly with warm water; offer naivedya, donate to ācārya and brāhmaṇas with their wives gold, garments &c.; this vrata to be performed for 16 years with some different arrangements of nakta and upavāsas on different tithis acc. to the year; it confers long life, beauty, saubhāgya on male or female performer; HV II. 377–391 (from Kālikā-purāṇa); (4) fast on each paurṇamāsī and worship Hari as *sakala* Brahma and on amāvāsyā as *niṣkala* (partless) Brahma; for one year; all sins are destroyed and he reaches heaven; if performed for 12 years, reaches Viṣṇuloka; Vi. Dh. III. 198. 1–7, q. by HV II. 461; 'Sakala' means 'sāvayava' (with parts) i. e. in an anthropomorphic form (such as Viṣṇu with four arms), while 'niṣkala' Brahma would be without parts as described in Muṇḍakopaniṣad II. 2. 9; (5) on 8th or 14th tithi in both fortnights observe nakta way and worship Śiva; one year; reaches the highest goal; HV II. 398 (from Liṅ.).

Mahāśvetāpriyavidhi—on a Sunday if there is a solar eclipse, one should worship Mahāśvetā (and the Sun) after observing ekabhakta or nakta or fast; he reaches the highest place; KKV 21-23, HV II. 527-528. Mahāśvetā is the mantra ' Hrīm Hrīm saḥ ' (KKV 9 and HV II. 521.)

Mahāṣaṣṭhī—When on K. śu. 6 the Sun is in Vṛścika (Scorpion) and there is Tuesday that is called Mahāṣaṣṭhī; a person should fast the previous day, worship Agni on 6th and celebrate *mahotsava* of Agni and feed brāhmaṇas; all sins are destroyed; SmK 378, PC 102.

Mahāṣṭamī—Āśv. śu. 8 in Navarātra is so called; vide VKK p. 428 ff, NS 178, SM 59.

Mahāsaptamī—on M. śu. 5 ekabhakta, on 6th nakta and on 7th fast; worship Sun with Karavīra flowers and red sandalwood paste; for one year divided into three groups of four months from Māgha; in each group flowers of different colours, different naivedya, different *dhūpa*; at end gift of a chariot; HV I. 659–660 (from Bhav. I. 51. 1–16).

Mahiṣaghnīpūjā—on Āṣ. śu. 8; tithi; Durgā deity; bathe the image of Durgā that killed Mahiṣāsura with water mixed with turmeric powder, apply sandalwood paste and camphor; feed maidens and brāhmaṇas and give dakṣiṇā; illuminations; all one's desires are fulfilled; PC 109–110, SmK 138.

Mahendra-kṛcchra—from K. śu. 6 subsisting on milk alone and worship of Dāmodara; HV II. 769–770.

Maheśvaravrata—(1) begin on Phā. śu. 14; fast on that day and worship of Śiva; at end of vrata donate a cow; if carried on for a year he gets the fruit of Pauṇḍarīka sacrifice; if he performs for a year this vrata on the two caturdaśīs of every month, he secures all desires; HV II. 152; (2) one should offer to Dakṣiṇā-mūrti every day for a year pāyasa and ghee; at end a fast, *jāgara*, gift of land, cow and bedstead; performer attains the position of Nandin (the Bull of Śiva); HV I 867 (from Skanda). Dakṣiṇāmūrti is a form of Śiva and there is a Dakṣiṇā-mūrtistotra ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya in 19 verses.

Maheśvarāṣṭamī—begin from Mārg. śu. 8.; worship Śiva in Liṅga form or image or on lotus and bathe it with ghee and milk; give cow at end; if done for a year he secures the same rewards as an Aśvamedha and goes to Śivaloka; HV I. 747–748 (from Vi. Dh.).

Mahotsavavrata – on 14th of Cai. śu. every year worship Śiva by bathing image with milk &c. and applying unguents, offering damanaka, bilva leaves; wave before image lighted lamps made of rice flour; *naivedya* of various edibles; drums to be beaten; rathayātrā of Śiva; performer should say 'may Śiva be pleased' and observe nakta; HV II. 148–149 (from Skanda).

Mahodadhi-amāvāsyā—by bathing anywhere in the sea on Mārg. amāvāsyā mixed with 14th one reaps rewards of Aśvamedha; GK 603.

Mākarī-saptamī—7th tithi, while sun is in the Makara-rāśi; VKK 500–501, VK p. 203, No. 902.

Māgha-kṛtya—KR 487–514, VKK 490–514, NS 213–221, SmK 439–513, GK 37–41. There are several important vratas in Māgha such as Tilacaturthī, Rathasaptamī, Bhīṣmāṣṭamī which would be separately mentioned in this list. A few small matters may be briefly disposed off here. M. śu. 4 is called Umācaturthī because Gaurī is to be worshipped by men and specially by women with Kunda and other flowers, with offerings of jaggery, salt, *yāvaka* and one should honour women who are not widows, brāhmaṇas and cows (KKN 437–38, KR 503); on M. kṛ. 12th Yama produced sesame and Daśaratha brought them to the earth and sowed them and Viṣṇu was made lord of sesame by the gods, hence one should fast on that day and worship Hari with sesame, offer homa with sesame, donate them and eat them (V. Dh. 90. 19, KKN 435–6, KR 495–96); on M. amāvāsyā, if it is present on Monday morning, men and particularly women in Tamil country circumbulate the *aśvattha* tree and make gifts.

Māghasaptamī—on M. śu. 7; one should bathe at *aruṇodaya* in a river or other running water after placing on his head seven leaves of the *badara* tree and seven of the *arka* plant; then offer arghya to the Sun with water mixed with seven *badara* fruit, *arka* leaves, rice, sesame, dūrvā, *akṣatas* and sandalwood, bow to Saptamī as Devī, then to the Sun. Some held that this snāna and Māghasnāna were not separate, while others held that the two were quite separate; KR 509, VKK 499–502, KT 459, RM (ABORI vol. 36 p. 332, three verses).

Māghasnāna—bath in Māgha in the Ganges or in any other fine stream in the early morning is highly eulogised from

early times. The best time is dawn when the nakṣatras are still visible, next best is the time when stars are visible but the Sun is not actually risen and the inferior time is after the Sun rises. The beginning for the month's bathing should be made on the 11th of P. śu. or on P. pūrṇimā (according to the pūrṇimānta reckoning) and the vrata (for one month) is to be finished on the 12th of M. śu. or pūrṇimā; some bring it in line with the *Saura* reckoning by providing that bath when the Sun is in Makara (Capricorn) in Māgha in the morning leads sinners to heaven (VKK 491 quoting Pad.); all men and women are entitled to engage in it. The most meritorious Māghasnāna is at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā. Vide for details, Pad. VI (in which about 2800 verses are devoted from chap. 219 to 250 to the māhātmya of Māghasnāna), HV II. 789–794, VKK 490–91, RM 1368 (ABORI vol. 36 p. 332), NS 213–216, SmK 439–441 and H. of Dh. vol. IV. 617; Pad. VI. 237. 49–59 and KT 455–57 describe the procedure of the gifts and *niyamas*. V. Dh. 90 last verse eulogises morning bath in M. and Phā. Vide I. A. vol. XI p. 88 on 'Māghameḷā'.

Mātṛvrata—(1) on 8th; tithi; Mātṛs (mother goddesses) are the deity; one should fast on this day and ask their pardon with devotion; they bestow welfare and health; HV I. 876 (from Vai.); (2) on Āśv. 9th a king and members of all castes should worship the Mātṛs (many enumerated) and attain success; a woman whose children don't live or who has a single child is blessed with progeny; HV I. 951–52.

Mārgapālī-bandhana—on K. śu. 1; vide p. 205 above.

Mārgaśīrṣakṛtya—Vide KR 442–474, VKK 482–487, NS 209–211, SmK 427–432. The whole of the month is held sacred in the Tamil country and *bhajan* parties go round the whole morning; the Gītā (X. 35) avers that Mārg. is the best among months and identifies it with Lord Kṛṣṇa. Some of the less important matters may be noted here. In Kṛtayuga the gods began the year on the first tithi of Mārg. and the sage Kāśyapa created the beautiful Kāśmīra country; therefore celebration should be held on it (KR 452); Mārg. śu. 12–a person should fast on the 12th tithi on each dvādaśī for a year from Mārg. to K. and should on each dvādaśī dwell on one of the twelve names of Viṣṇu from Keśava to Dāmodara and offer worship; he becomes *jātismara* (one

who recollects actions of previous lives) and reaches that place from which there is no return to this mortal world (Anuśāsana, chap. 109, Bṛ. S. 104. 14–16); on Mārg. pūrṇimā the Moon should be specially worshipped as the Moon was sprinkled with nectar on that day, cows should be given salt, one's mother, sister, daughter and female relatives in one's family should be honoured with a pair of new garments, a festival with dance and songs should be held, those who drink wine should taste fresh wine that day; KKN 432–33, KR 471–72. For Dattātreyajayantī on Mārg. Full Moon, vide above p. 310.

Mārtaṇḍasaptamī—begin on P. śu. 7; fast on that day, worship of the Sun and muttering the word 'Mārtaṇḍa'; performer to partake for purifying himself of cow's urine or dung or curds or milk; on next day worship of the Sun under the name 'Ravi'; in this way for a year he should proceed for two days each month and give grass and the like for feeding a cow one day; he reaches the world of the Sun; Bhav. I. 109. 1–13 q. by HV I. 754–55, KKN 147–148.

Māsavrata—during the 12 months from Mārg. to K. the performer should respectively donate the following; salt, ghee, sesame, seven dhānyas, coloured or charming garments, wheat, jar full of water, sandalwood paste with camphor, butter, umbrella, *laḍḍukas* enriched with sugar or jaggery, lamps; at end of year donate a cow and worship Durgā, Brahmā, the Sun, or Viṣṇu; HV II. 853–54 (from Devīpurāṇa), KR 442–443.

Māsavratāni—Vide Agni 198, KKV 418–432, HV II. 744–799, Dānasāgara 589–621.

Māsopavāsavrata—This is the greatest among all vratas. This is a very ancient vrata. Inscriptions in Nāṇeghāt mention that queen Nāyanika (Nāganikā) in the 2nd century B. C. had performed it; vide ASWI. vol. V p. 60. This is described by Agni (204. 1–18), Gar. (I. 122. 1–7), Pad. VI. 121. 15-54. Agni being the briefest is summarised here. The performer should have performed all Vaiṣṇava vratas (such as dvādaśī), take the permission of his *guru*; considering his own strength should begin on 11th of Āśv. śu. and make a *saṅkalpa* to carry it on for 30 days; a forest hermit or a *yati* or a widow should enter upon it (but not a householder); he should offer worship to Viṣṇu thrice in the day with flowers &c.; should sing hymns of praise of Viṣṇu and

contemplate on Viṣṇu, should avoid all idle talk, give up desire for wealth, should not touch any one who does not observe *niyamas*; he should stay in a temple for 30 days; on the 12th after 30 days he should feed brāhmaṇas, give them dakṣiṇā and perform *pāraṇa* by inviting thirteen brāhmaṇas, donate pairs of garments, *āsana* (seat), vessels, umbrella, pair of sandals, worship golden image of Viṣṇu on a bed and his own image should be given garments &c.; donate the bedstead to his guru; the spot where the performer stays becomes holy; he takes himself and members of his family to Viṣṇuloka; if the performer faints during the vrata, he should be made to drink milk, clarified butter and fruit juice; the partaking of these with the consent of brāhmaṇas does not nullify the vrata; vide HV II. 776-783 (from Viṣṇurahasya).

Māsarkṣapaurṇamāsī-vrata—Begin on K. śu. 15th; performer to subsist by *nakta* way; on a circle made with salt and pasted with sandalwood paste, he should worship the Moon along with ten nakṣatras i. e. in K. when combined with Kṛttikā and Rohiṇī, in Mārg. with Mṛgaśiras and Ārdrā and so on up to Āśv.; women whose husbands are alive should be honoured by giving them jaggery, rich food, ghee, milk &c.; then he should himself eat *haviṣya* food; at end he should donate garment coloured with gold; Vi. Dh. III. 192. 1-15, NM p. 47 (verses 573-579).

Mitrasaptamī—the 7th of Mārg. śu. is so called; tithivrata; Mitra (Sun) deity; on 6th image of Mitra should be bathed in the way in which Viṣṇu is bathed on K. śu. 11th; fast on 7th (fruits may be eaten); jāgara at night; worship of Sun with various flowers, edibles of flour; feed brāhmaṇas, the poor and helpless; on 8th distribute money among dancers and actors; NM pp. 46-47 (verses 564-569), KR 460-461, KKN 432, VKK 483, PC 104.

Muktābharaṇavrata—on Bh. śu. 7th; tithivrata; Śiva and Umā deities; place a doraka (string of threads) before Śiva image; worship Śiva with 16 upacāras from āvāhana; the seat is to be of gold studded with pearls and precious stones; after upacāras tie the doraka on the wrist; donate 1100 maṇḍakas (Marathi 'māṇḍe') and veṣṭakas (Marathi 'jilebi'); secures long-lived sons; NS 134, VR 241-247.

Muktidvāra-saptamī—When 7th tithi has Hasta nakṣatra on it or Puṣya nakṣatra, this vrata should be undertaken; he

should brush his teeth with a twig of Arka plant with 'salutation to Arka'; offer homa; draw in his courtyard swept with cowdung with red sandalwood paste a lotus with 16 petals on each of which he should assign several deities from the eastern one onwards; then engage in the upacāras from āvāhana onwards; he should fast on that day; he should partake only one of the six *rasas* (sweet, salt, sour, pungent, astringent, and bitter) for two months in rotation for one year; in the 13th month there is to be pāraṇa and he should donate a *kapilā* cow; this leads on to *mokṣa*; HV II. 780-86.

Mukhavrata—giving up *tāmbūla* (mukhavāsa) for a year; at year's end donate a cow; he becomes lord of Yakṣas; HV II. 865 (from Pad.)

Mūlagaurīvrata—on Cai. śu. 3; bath with sesame and water; worship of Śiva and Gaurī with golden fruits and from feet to head; different flowers to be offered in the twelve months; different substances to be drunk or eaten by performer in the twelve months and different names of Gaurī also; he should give up one fruit; donate at end bedstead, a golden bull and cow; Śiva married Gaurī on Cai. śu. 3; Agni 178. 1-20.

Mṛgaśirṣavrata—on Śrāvaṇa kṛ. 1 Śiva pierced the three mouths of the *yajña* that had assumed the form of a deer by an arrow with three prongs; the performer should prepare a clay Mṛgaśīrṣa in the form of the deer and should worship it with different kinds of *naivedya* of vegetables and of flour mixed with linseed. HV I. 358-59, SmK 146.

Meghapālītṛtīyā—On Āśv. śu. 3 men and women should worship the creeper called Meghapālī, that has leaves like betelnut plant and that grows in gardens, hills and rural paths, with fruits of various kinds and the sprouts of seven *dhānyas*; destroys all sins, particularly of traders with false weights and measures; HV I. 416-417 (from Bhav. U. 17. 1-14).

Maunavrata—(1) after Śrāvaṇa ends (acc. to pūrṇimānta reckoning) from Bh. 1st for 16 days; performer should take Dūrvā tendrils made into 16 knots and place on the right hand (on left hand of women); on 16th day silence to be observed in bringing water, grinding wheat, preparing *naivedya* therefrom and at time of eating; worship of Śiva by bathing image or *liṅga* with water, milk, curds, ghee and

honey, sugar; then offer flowers &c. and say 'May Śiva be pleased'; bestows progeny and all desires; HV II. 482–492, NA 26–27; (2) to be practised for 8, 6 or 3 months or for one month, for half a month or for 12, 6 or 3 days or one day; the vow of silence is said to be capable of securing all objects ('maunaṁ sarvārthasādhakam' p. 880); the performer should not even make the sound 'hum' while eating, he should give up *hiṁsā* in thought, word and deed; when the vrata ends he should make a liṅga of sandalwood and offer worship to it with *gandha* and other upacāras and offer golden bell and bell-metal bells in different directions of the temple; offer rich food to devotees of Śiva and brāhmaṇas; placing on his head a copper vessel in which the liṅga is deposited he should silently go by the public road to Śiva temple and place the liṅga to the right of the temple image and worship it again and again; the performer reaches Śivaloka; HV II. 879–883 (from Śivadharma).

Yakṣakardama—(an unguent dear to *yakṣas*) is constituted by five fragrant substances; vide p. 38, note 88 above.

Yajñasaptamī—on śu. 7th when there is an eclipse and specially when there is saṅkrānti, the performer should eat once *haviṣya* food, bow to Varuṇa, should lie down on a bed of *darbha* grass on the ground; in the morning next day he should in the beginning as well as at the end sacrifice to Varuṇa. An elaborate procedure is prescribed; on M. 7th the sacrifice is addressed to Varuṇa, on Phā. 7th to Sūrya, on Cai. 7th to Aṁśumālin (a name of the Sun) and so on under different names of the Sun till Pauṣa; at end of a year a golden chariot to which seven horses are yoked and in the midst of which a golden image of the Sun is placed and is surrounded by twelve brāhmaṇas representing the twelve names of the Sun in the twelve months is to be honoured and present of the chariot and a cow to be given to *ācārya*; a poor man should make a copper chariot; the performer becomes a king of wide regions; KKV 107-112, HV I. 757–760 (from Bhav. I. 50. 1–42). HV explains that Varuṇa means the Sun here.

Yamacaturthī—Worship Yama on 4th tithi falling on Saturday and Bharaṇī nakṣatra; frees from sins of seven lives; HV I. 523–24, PC 95 (from Kūrma). Yama is the lord of Bharaṇī-nakṣatra.

Yamatarpaṇa—offering *añjalis* (handfuls) of water mixed with sesame thrice to each of the names of Yama (such as Yama, Dharmarāja, Antaka); sin committed in one year is destroyed at once.

Yamadīpadāna—on 13th of K. kṛ., lighting lamps outside the house at night-fall; this prevents accidental death; PC 231, SmK 368.

Yamadvitīyā—Vide above pp. 207–208.

Yamadvitīyāyātrā—one of the 14 Yātrās of Bhuvaneśvara; GK 193.

Yamavrata—(1) He who fasts on 5th, 6th, 8th or 14th of śu. and gives dinner to brāhmaṇas becomes free from disease and secures handsome form ; KKV 389 = HV II. 377 (from MB.); (2) fasting on 14th tithi of kṛ. one may give seven añjalis of water mixed with sesame to each of the names of Yama (viz. Yama, Dharmarāja, Mṛtyu, Antaka, Vaivasvata, Kāla and Sarvabhūtakṣaya); one is freed from all sins; HV II. 151 (from Kūrma); (3) bath on 14th of dark half of K, and *tarpaṇa* to Yama; offer añjalis of water to Yama's names (given under 2) with the addition of a few more (such as Citra, Citragupta) and donate a vessel full of sesame and gold to a brāhmaṇa; the performer would not have to lament over death; HV II. 151; (4) If king Yama is worshipped on 10th tithi, that removes all diseases; HV I. 982 (from Bhav.); (5) when the 4th tithi falls on Saturday and is joined to Bharaṇī–nakṣatra, donate a he-buffalo and gold for securing Yama's favour; AK folio 357 (from Kūrma).

Yamādarśana-trayodaśī—on 13th of Mārg. when it falls on an auspicious weekday (except Sunday and Tuesday) in the forenoon thirteen brāhmaṇas were to be invited, and given sesame oil to rub their bodies with and bathed with warm water and treated to a sumptuous dinner; this should be done for a year every month; performer never sees the face of Yama; HV II. 9–14 (from Bhav. U.), AK folio 864.

Yamunāsnāna—tarpaṇa—with three handfuls of water mixed with sesame *tarpaṇa* of Yama under different names standing in the waters of the Yamunā; GK 601.

Yātrā (*festive procession or festival*)—Vide under Dolayātrā and Rathayātrā. Yātrās of gods were famous from ancient times.

The Mahāvīracarita of Bhavabhūti was brought on the stage on the occasion of the Yātrā of Kālapriyanātha. Vide 'Yātrātattva' ascribed to Raghunandana, published in the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat series (in Bengali script) which describes the twelve festivals of Viṣṇu. The Anargharāghava of Murāri was presented on the stage in the yātrā of Puruṣottama (Act. I prastāvanā). Vide Karamdāṇḍā Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta in Gupta *saṁvat* 117 (436 A.D.) for reference to Devadroṇī (image procession) of Mahādeva Pṛthvīśvara in E. I. vol. X p. 70. Vide Kṛtyakalpataru (on Rājadharma) pp. 178-181 (from Brahmapurāṇa) on Devayātrā-vidhi which was to be celebrated every year in the six months from Vaiśākha and on the tithis from 1st to 15th different gods such as Brahmā (lords of the tithis) were to be worshipped; RNP pp. 416-419.

Yugāditithis—Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 374 note 841 and Nār. I. 56. 147-148, HK 649-655, TT 187, NS 94-95, PC 86-89. Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 14. 12-13 are borrowed by BB p. 42.

Yugādivrata—The four yugas Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali started respectively on Vai. śu. 3, K. śu. 9, Bh. kṛ. 13 and M. amāvāsyā; fast, gifts, *tapas,* japa and homa on these produces results a crore of times more than ordinarily; on Vai. śu. 3 worship Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī and donate *lavaṇa-dhenu*; on K. śu. 9th worship Śiva and Umā and *tiladhenu* be donated; on Bh. kṛ. 13 honour the *pitṛs*; on M. amāvāsyā worship Brahmā with Gāyatrī and donate *navanīta-dhenu*; all one's sins in thought, word and deed are rendered nugatory; HV II. 514-517 (from Bhav. U.).

Yugāntya-śrāddha—is to be performed on these days; the four yugas respectively end on the following; Kṛta in the sun's passage in sign Siṁha (Lion), Tretā ends in Vṛścika saṅkrānti, Dvāpara ends in Vṛṣa saṅkrānti and Kaliyuga in Kumbha-saṅkrānti. HK 656, KR 542-543, KKN 372.

Yugāvatāravrata—on Bh. kṛ. 13th when Dvāpara-yuga began, one shoud apply cow's urine, cow dung, dūrvā and clay to his body and bathe in a deep sheet of water or a tank; he had as if performed śrāddha at Gayā; he should bathe an image of Viṣṇu with ghee, milk and pure water; he goes to the world of Viṣṇu; HV II. 518-519 (from Bhav.) Some say that Tretāyuga began on that day.

Yogavrata—The Yogas like Viṣkambha, Vyatīpāta will be described in the next section on Kāla; vide HV II. 707–717, SmK 563–564, PC 52.

Yogeśvaravrata or *Yogeśvaradvādaśī*—on K. śu. 11 fast; four jars full of water having *ratnas* inside and marked with white sandalwood paste and having round them white cloth should be covered with copper vessels full of sesame and gold, they being deemed to be four oceans; in the midst of that vessel an image of Hari (who is Yogeśvara) should be placed and worshipped; *jāgara*; next day the four jars should be donated to four brāhmaṇas and the golden image to a 5th brāhmaṇa and they should be fed and dakṣiṇā be paid; this is called also Dharaṇīvrata; he is freed from sins and goes to the world of Viṣṇu; KKV 336–339 = HV I. 1041–44 (from Var. 50. 4–29), KR 427–430.

Raktasaptamī—on Mārg. kṛ. 7; tithi; worship of Sun with red lotuses or of an image of Sun with white flowers and red sandalwood paste and with round cake of pulse (*vaṭaka*, Marathi *vaḍā*) and kṛsara (dish of rice, peas and spices) and donate at end a pair of red garments; Vi. Dh. III. 170. 1–3.

Rakṣāpañcamī—on Bh. Kṛ. 5; draw figures of snakes with dark colours and worship; snakes are pleased and then there is no fear to his descendants; GK 78–79.

Rakṣābandhana—on Śr. paurṇamāsī; vide pp. 127–128 above.

Raṅgapañcamī—on Ph. kṛ. 5. See above p. 241.

Raṭantī-caturdaśī—on M. kṛ. 14; tithi; Yama; one should bathe while it is *aruṇodaya* and offer *tarpaṇa* to Yama under fourteen names (m. in KT 450); VKK 497, KT 457, GK 157–158; vide Pretacaturdaśī above pp. 351–52.

Ratnaṣaṣṭhī—m. in Mṛcchakaṭika Act III. and in Cārudatta Act III. p. 65 (attributed to Bhāsa) where we have the words 'nanu ṣaṣṭhīm-upvasāmi'. But it is difficult to say whether it is Ratnaṣaṣṭhī or any other.

Ratnāni—(jewels or precious things)—for five *ratnas* vide under 'pañcaratnas' p. 337 above. VR 15 (quoting Vi. Dh.) mentions nine viz. pearls, gold, vaidūrya (cat's eye gem), padmarāga (ruby), puṣparāga (topaz), gomeda (gem brought from Himālaya), sapphire, gārutmata (emerald) and coral.

Rathanavamī—on 9th tithi of Āśv. śu. (acc. to KKV) or kṛ. (acc. to HV); tithi; Durgā; fast on that day and worship of Durgā; on a car decked with mirrors, *chowries*, clothes, umbrella, garlands from flagstaffs place a golden image of Durgā seated on a buffalo; the car to be drawn over the public road and taken to a temple of Durgā; illuminations; *jāgara* with dance and drama; next morning the image is to be bathed and the car to be presented to Devī; rewards of presenting a fine bedstead, a bull, a cow about to deliver; KKV 294–298 = HV I. 946–948 (from Bhav.).

Rathayātrā—(car procession of a deity)—HV II. 420–424 (quoting Devīpurāṇa) describes the Rathayātrā of Durgā accompanied by crowds of men and women; KR (259–264) describes the same from a different source; Bhav. (I. 18. 3–17) deals with the Rathayātrā of Brahmā which is quoted by KR 438–439 and Pūjāprakāśa 293–307; the twelve rathayātrās of Puruṣottama and fourteen of Bhuvaneśvara are respectively described in GK pp. 183–190 and 190–194; HV II. 424–440 (quoting Bhav.) describe at length the *rathayātrotsava* of the Sun and state (p. 425) that the latter is equal to Indradhvajotsava and that both the festivals are carried on every year in several countries for averting evil (*śāntihetoḥ*), for the happiness and health of the people and that it should be begun on Mārg. śu. Vide Var. 177. 55–56 for Rathayātrā of Sāmbapuradeva in Mathurā. In Bhav. U. 134. 40–71 there is a description as to how a car is to be made, how procession is to be arranged and how images are to be placed on the car.

Rathasaptamī—on M. śu. 7; tithi; Sun is deity; on night of 6th *saṅkalpa* and submitting to *niyamas*; on 7th fast; performer to prepare a golden or silver car with horses and charioteer; to recite a hymn to the Sun, and at midday he should place that car in a *maṇḍapa* surrounded by (or made of) cloth, worship the car with saffron, flowers &c. and place in the car an image (golden or otherwise) of the Sun; worship the Sun together with the car and charioteer and address mantras to the Sun and in his prayer state the desired object; jāgara at night with songs and music, and performer should not close his eyes that night; after bath the next morning he should make gifts, donate the car to the *guru*; HV I. 652–658 (quoting Bhav. U.). Here Kṛṣṇa tells Yudhiṣṭhira the story of king Yaśodharma of Kāmbhoja

country that had in his old age a son suffering from all diseases who became free from all diseases and a *cakravartin* (emperor) by performing this vrata. KV 101 and HK 624 quote Mat. to the effect that as on this tithi in the beginning of Manvantara Sun secured a chariot this tithi is called Rathasaptamī. The same quotation from Mat. in HK 624 shows that it was also called Mahāsaptamī. Vide TT 39, PC 104–105, VR 249–253. Vide I. A. vol. XI. at p. 112 the Sāmangad plate of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga dated *śake* 675 (753–54 A. D.) where the phrase ' Māghamāsa-ratha-saptamīm ' occurs. For Rathasaptamī-māhātmya, vide Bhav. I. 50.

Rathāṅkasaptamī—on 6th of M. śu. fast and worship of Sun with *gandha*, flowers &c.; sleep before sun image that day; on 7th worship the Sun and give brāhmaṇas a sumptuous meal; carry this on in all months and at end of year have car procession of the Sun: HV I. 656 (from Bhav.); HV I. pp. 657–658 dilate upon a variation of the above procedure. This is called Rathasaptamī by KKV 114–117 and also in Bhav. I. 59. 1–26.

Rathāṅgasaptamī—on M. śu. 5th, 6th and 7th observe respectively ekabhakta, nakta, and fast; some hold that fast on 6th and pāraṇā on 7th; this is called Mahāsaptamī (for which see above) by HV I. 659–660 and the printed Bhav. (I. 51. 1–16) also calls it so.

Rathotsava—on 2nd of Āṣ. śu.; when it is joined to Puṣya, car festival of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā; the utsava should be performed even if there is no Puṣya nakṣatra; TT 29, NS 107, SmK 137.

Rambhātṛtīyā—(1) on Jy. śu. 3rd; one was to sit facing the east in the midst of five fires viz. Gārhapatya, Dakṣiṇāgni, Sabhya and Āhavanīya and the Sun above; face Brahmā and Devī identified with Mahākālī, Mahālakṣmī, Mahāmāyā, Sarasvatī; homa in all directions by brāhmaṇas; worship of Devī and eight substances called Saubhāgyāṣṭaka be placed before Devī; in the evening Rudrāṇī should be addressed with prayer for a charming home; then performer (male or female) should honour a householder and his wife and naivedya placed in śūrpa (winnowing basket) should be presented to women whose husbands are alive: HV I. 426–430 (from Bhav. U. 18. 1–36), KN 176, TT 30–31; this vrata is meant mostly for women; (2) This was so called because

Rambhā formerly performed it for blessed womanhood; on Mārg. śu. 3rd; tithi; Pārvatī deity; for a year; every month Devī to be worshipped under a different name (e. g. Pārvatī in Mārg., Girijā in P. &c.) and different gifts to be made, different substances to be eaten; HV I. pp. 430–435 (from Bhav. U. 24. 1–36); Gar. I. 120 also describes this vrata. If 3rd is mixed with 2nd and 4th tithis, this vrata has to be performed on 3rd mixed with 2nd (KN 174); vide under 'Tṛtīyāvratas' above p. 307.

Rambhātrirātra-vrata—begin on Jy. śu. 13th; tithi; for three days; first after bath a woman should pour plenty of water at the root of plantain plant and surround it with threads, make a silver image of the plant with golden fruit and worship it; observe nakta on 13th, *ayācita* on 14th and fast on 15th; water the same plant for a year; worship also Umā and Śiva and Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī; homa with 13, 14, 15 āhutis respectively on the three days from 13th; this vrata confers sons, beauty, freedom from widowhood &c.; HV II. 283–288 (from Skanda), VKK 11; *Rambhā* also means 'kadalī' (plantain plant) and hence the name.

Ravivāravrata—nakta or fast on Sunday, japa of Ādityahṛdaya or Mahāśvetā mantra; they secure their desires; Vāravrata; Sun deity; SmK 556–557, VKD (423–436) gives a very elaborate procedure.

Ravivrata—(1) worship of the Sun thrice a day in M.; secures merit (puṇya) of six months in one month; HV II. 796; (2) begin on Sunday in M. and worship Sun on every Sunday for a year and subsist on certain specified things in order or abstain from partaking of certain things; VKK 37–38.

Raviṣaṣṭhī—fast on 6th and worship Sun on 7th; performer secures wealth and freedom from disease; KN 190 (from Liṅga).

Rasakalyāṇinī—begin on M. śu. 3; tithi; Durgā deity; bathe image of Durgā with honey and sandalwood paste and worship the right side of the image first and then left side; salute her limbs from feet to her crown, associating each with a different name; worship Devī with a different name (out of 12, such as Kumudā, Mādhavī, Gaurī) respectively in 12 months from M.; from M. to K. each month the performer should abstain from one out of 12 things in order

viz. salt, jaggery, tavarāja (milk ?), honey, pānaka (spicy beverage), jīraka, milk, curds, ghee, marjikā (Rasālā or Śikhariṇī), *dhānyaka* (coriander), sugar; at end of each month donate a vessel full of the thing left off in that month and one of the edibles specified; at end of year donate a golden image of Gaurī (as big as the thumb) studded with *ratnas*; reward is freedom from sins and sorrow and disease; KKV 66–69, HV II. 461–465 (from Pad. V. 22. 105–135), KR 499–503 (same verses from Mat. 63. 1–29). *Rasālā* was prepared from curds and was somewhat like 'śrīkhaṇḍa' of modern Mahārāṣṭra (from the quotations in KR 501).

Rākhī-pūrṇimā—on Śr. śu. 15. See above pp. 127–128 on rakṣā-bandhana.

Rāghavadvādaśī—on Jy. śu. 12th; golden images of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to be worshipped; worship of limbs from feet to head with different names in each case (e. g. om namas-Trivikramāyeti kaṭim); a jar filled with ghee to be donated in the morning after worship of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa; performer dwells in heaven for ages, his sins being destroyed and if he has no desires, he secures *mokṣa*; KKV 127–129, HV I. 1034–35, KR 190–191 (all quote Var. 45. 1–10).

Rājarājeśvaravrata—fast on 8th tithi when it has Svātī nakṣatra and falls on Wednesday; worship of Śiva with many edibles full of sweet-meats as naivedya; donate before image of Śiva to the ācārya neck ornament, crown, girdle, ear-ring, two finger rings, an elephant or horse; performer attains the position of Kubera for countless years; HV I. 864 (from Kālottara); Rājarāja means Kubera, the friend of Śiva and Rājarājeśvara may mean Śiva or Kubera who is himself lord (of *Yakṣas*).

Rājñīsnāpana—on Cai. kṛ. 8; the land of Kāśmīra is deemed to be *rajasvalā* for three days from Cai. kṛ. 5th; it is washed by women (whose husbands are living) in each home with flowers and sandalwood paste and then by brāhmaṇas with water in which *sarvauṣadhis* are put; then people should listen to music of lutes; the earth is the queen of the Sun; therefore this vrata is so called; KR 532–533 (from Brah.); NM p. 54 (verses 651–660) puts it down for Phā. kṛ. 5th to 8th (probably the *amānta* reckoning).

Rājyadvādaśī-vrata—on Mārg. śu. 10 make *saṅkalpa*; on 11th fast and worship Viṣṇu; homa with best food, the mantra

being ('tad-Viṣṇoḥ paramam' Ṛg. I. 22. 20) for dvijas and for śūdras the mantra of twelve syllables ('om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya'); jāgara, song and dance; this should be done for a year; on all dvādaśīs silence should be completely observed; the same procedure to be followed on dvādaśīs of dark half except that worship of god is to be done after wearing red garments, lamps to be fed with oil (and not ghee); this vrata would make the performer a king in a mountain valley; in three years a Maṇḍaleśvara (provincial governor) and in 12 years a king; HV I. 1060–1063 (from Vi. Dh.)

Rājyavrata—on Jy. śu. 3 one should worship the three viz. Vāyu, the Sun and the Moon; in early morning worship Vāyu on a pure spot, at midday worship Sun in fire and at sunset worship Moon in water; for one year; he secures heaven; if performed for three years, performer stays in heaven for five thousand years; if performed for twelve years, then he goes to heaven for a lakh of years; HV I. 457–479 (from Vi. Dh.).

Rājyāptidaśamī—begin on K. śu. 10; worship of Keśava in the form of the ten Viśve-devas (viz. Kratu, Dakṣa &c.) in maṇḍalas or images (of gold or silver); at end (of year) donate gold; he secures the world of Viṣṇu and then becomes a king or best of brāhmaṇas; HV I. 965–66 (from Vi. Dh.). For the names of the ten Viśve-devas, vide H. of Dh. vol. IV p. 457 note 1018.

Rādhāṣṭamī—on Bh. 8 in both fortnights; Rādhā was born on Bh. śu. 7; worship of Rādhā on 8th destroys many grave sins; Pad. III. 4. 43, III. 7. 21–23.

Rāmacandradolotsava—on Cai. śu. 3; the image of Rāmacandra should be put in a swing on this day and rocked for a month; those who see the image being swung become free from a thousand sins; SmK 91.

Rāmanavamī or *Rāmajayantī*—Vide pp. 84–88 above.

Rāmanāmalekhana-vrata—this should be begun on Rāmanavamī or at any time; Rāma's name should be written a lakh of times or a crore of times; even a single letter of Rāmanāma destroys mahāpātaka (ekaikam-akṣaram puṁsām mahāpātaka-nāśanam); worship of Rāmanāma with 16 upacāras; VR 330–332. Magic virtue came to be attached to Rāmanāma and 108 names and one thousand names of Rāma came to be coined.

Rāśivrata—to be performed on each paurṇamāsī in months from Kārtika; on K. pūrṇimā one should observe nakta way and donate a golden ram; on Mārg. pūrṇimā he should see the king and donate a pair (of bulls ?) and at the end donate a female slave; this vrata destroys the evil influence of planets, fulfills all desires and leads to Somaloka; HV II. 238–239 (from Bhav.).

Rukmiṇyaṣṭamī—on Mārg. kṛ. 8th; in the first year the performer (a woman) should prepare a house of clay with one door in which she should cast all household gear, paddy, ghee and should make toy images of Kṛṣṇa, Rukmiṇī, Balarāma and his wife, Pradyumna and his wife, Aniruddha and Uṣā, Devakī and Vasudeva; worship these images and at sunrise offer *arghya* to the moon; next morning donate that house to a maiden; in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th years performer should construct additional wings and donate them to maidens; in the 5th year a house with five doors and in 6th year a house with six doors should be donated to a maiden; in 7th year a house be built with seven doors and white-washed, containing bedstead, sandals, mirror, mortar and pestle, vessels &c. and one should worship golden images of Kṛṣṇa, Rukmiṇī and Pradyumna with fast and jāgara and next morning donate the last house and a cow to a brāhmaṇa and his wife; after this vrata a male performer would know no sorrow and a woman would know no grief for a son; HV I. 853–855 (from Skanda).

Rudralakṣavarti-vrata—offering a lakh of lamps with cotton wicks dipped in ghee from cow's milk before a Śivaliṅga; before the vrata is begun liṅga is to be worshipped with 16 upacāras; vrata is to be begun in K. or M., Vai. or Śr. and finished in the same months; the performer gets wealth, sons and whatever he or she desires; SmK 411–414.

Rudravrata—(1) on Jy. 8th and 14th tithis of both *pakṣas* (i. e. in all 4 days) one should perform *tapas* with five fires and donate on the 4th day in the evening golden cow; Rudra deity; HV II. 394 (from Pad.), KKV 450 (reads 'on 6th and 13th'); this is Mat. 101. 76. For five fires, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 679; (2) one should subsist by ekabhakta method for a year and donate at end a golden bull and tiladhenu; it is a *saṁvatsara-vrata*; Śaṅkara deity; this destroys sins and sorrow and performer reaches Śivaloka; HV II. 866 (from

Pad.) = KKV *439*; this is Mat. 101. 4; (3) begin from K. śu. 3rd; subsist for one year on cow urine and *yāvaka* by nakta way; saṁvatsara vrata; Gaurī and Rudra deities; at year's end donate a cow; stays in Gaurī-loka for a Kalpa; KKV 445 (two verses which are Mat. 101. 42–43).

Rūpanavamī—begin on Mārg. 9th; tithivrata; Caṇḍikā deity; the performer should observe a fast or nakta or ekabhakta on 9th, make a trident of flour and a silver lotus with a golden pericarp and present them to Durgā, who destroys all sins; in P. and the following months different artificial animals are prepared and placed in different vessels and presented (such as a golden elephant with four tusks placed in a golden vessel, golden ram in a golden vessel) to Svāhā; he stays in Candraloka for numberless years and then becomes a handsome king; KKV 288–294 = HV I. 933–937 (from Bhav.). Rūpa means 'manufactured article or figure resembling an animal.' The deities mentioned are either forms of Durgā or of Mātṛs.

Rūpasaṅkrānti—on the day of Saṅkrānti the performer takes oil bath, places in a golden vessel ghee along with some gold and presents it to a brāhmaṇa, observes *ekabhakta* that day; a saṅkrāntivrata; reward is the same as a thousand Aśvamedhas and beauty, youth, long life, health and wealth, heaven; HV II. 734 (from Skanda).

Rūpasattra—on 8th of the dark half after Phā. pūrṇimā when joined with Mūla nakṣatra one should begin the vrata; worship nakṣatra, its lord, Varuṇa and the Moon and Viṣṇu; homa; honour guru; next day fast; he should worship Keśava and assign to the several limbs of Keśava from the feet upwards to the head and hair thereon different nakṣatras; the sattra is finished at the end of Cai. śu.; at end of vrata worship Viṣṇu with flowers, *dhūpa* &c.; homa with mantra (Ṛg. I. 22. 20); gift to guru; dinner to brāhmaṇas; goes to heaven and when he returns becomes a king &c.; HV II. 671–675 (from Vi. Dh.); vide Bṛ. S. 104. 6–13 for same vrata on Cai. kṛ. 8, with fast and worship of Nārāyaṇa and nakṣatra.

Rūpāvāpti—(1) by worshipping the ten Viśve-devas on 5th tithi one reaches heaven; HV I. 574–75 (from Vi. Dh.); for ten Viśvedevas, vide H. of Dh. vol. IV p. 457 note 1018; (2) This is a Māsavrata; from the 1st tithi after Phā. pūrṇimā

up to Cai. pūrṇimā; one should worship the image of Keśava reclining on the hoods of Śeṣa, subsist by ekabhakta way, sleep on the ground (not on a cot); fast for three days and then perform worship on Cai. pūrṇimā and donate silver and a pair of garments; this confers beauty (rūpa); HV II. 744 (from Vi. Dh. III. 202. 1-5).

Rogamukti—by worshipping the attendants of Skanda, Rudra and Yama one secures freedom from disease; HV I. 628 (from Vi. Dh.),

Rogahavidhi—when on Sunday there is Pūrvāphalgunī-nakṣatra worship Sun image; the performer becomes free from diseases and reaches sūryaloka; at night worship the sun with flowers of arka plant, eat arka flowers and *pāyasa*; lies at night on the ground; becomes free from all diseases and goes to sūryaloka; this is a vāravrata; sun deity; KKV 20-21, HV II. 525-527 (from Bhav. U.), KR 600-601.

Roca—name of several vratas such as Māsopavāsa, Brāhmaroca, Kālaroca; to be begun on Cai. śu. 1 and continued for a month or a year; Vi. Dh. (III. 222-223) describes them; chap. 224 dilates upon the uncertain character of women, but winds up 'women are the root of evils and also the means of securing *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*; one should not trust them, but they should be guarded like a gem' (verses 25-26).

Roṭaka—begin on first Monday in Śr. śu.; for 3½ months; fast on 14th of K. and worship with bilva leaves; five roṭakas (wheat bread or cake toasted on an iron or earthen dish) to be made, one for naivedya, two for brāhmaṇa and two for performer; worship of Śiva; perform for five years; on finishing vrata two roṭakas of gold or siver to be donated; Vratārka, folios 30b-32b. Also called Bilvaroṭaka-vrata.

Rohiṇīcandra-śayana—Mat. 57 describes it at great length (verses 1-28) and Pad. (IV. 24. 101-130) has also almost the same verses; here Viṣṇu is worshipped under the names of the moon; when on a pūrṇimā there is Monday or on pūrṇimā there is Rohiṇī-nakṣatra, one should bathe with pañcagavya and mustard and should recite 108 times the mantra 'āpyāyasva' (Ṛg. I. 91. 16 addressed to Soma) and a śūdra should say 'bow to Soma, bow to Viṣṇu'; he should worship Viṣṇu with flowers and fruits and recite the names of Soma and address Rohiṇī, dear wife of Soma; he should

drink cow's urine, take food but no flesh, take 28 morsels and offer various flowers to the moon; this should be done for a year; at end donate a bedstead and golden images of Rohiṇī and the moon; should pray 'O Kṛṣṇa! just as Rohiṇī does not go away, leaving you that are Soma, so let me not be separated from prosperity'; this confers beauty, health, long life and performer reaches candraloka; KKV 378–382 (quoting Mat.), HV II. 175–179 (same verses from Pad. V. 24. 101–130); KKV and HV call it candrarohiṇī-śayana. Bhav. U. (206. 1–30) also describes it just like Mat.

Rohiṇīdvādaśī—on 11th of Śr. kṛ. people (male or female) prepare a maṇḍala with cowdung near a tank or the like and draw a picture of the Moon and Rohiṇī and worship them, offer *naivedya* and give it to a brāhmaṇa, then enter reservoir of water and contemplate upon Candra and Rohiṇī and while still in water eat one hundred pellets of powdered māṣa and five *modakas* with ghee, then coming out give dinner and clothes to a brāhmaṇa; this should be done every year; HV I. 1113–14 (from Bhav. U.).

Rohiṇīvrata—A nakṣatravrata; one should establish a copper or golden image of Rohiṇī decked with five *ratnas* and worship it with two garments, flowers, fruits and naivedya; performer to subsist by nakta way that day; next day donate image to a learned brāhmaṇa householder. Rohiṇī is the nakṣatra of birth of Lord Kṛṣṇa; HV II. 598–99 (from Skanda).

Rohiṇīsnāna—a nakṣatravrata; performer and his priest to fast on Kṛttikā and on Rohiṇī the performer is to be bathed with five jars of water while standing on a heap of rice decked with sprigs of trees exuding milky juice, white flowers, *priyaṅgu* and sandalwood paste; he should worship Viṣṇu, Moon, Varuṇa, Rohiṇī and Prajāpati; homa to all these deities with ghee and all seeds; he should wear a precious stone set in a horn in three parts made of clay, horse's hair and its hoof; secures sons, prosperity and fame; HV II. 599–600 (from Vi. Dh.)

Rohiṇyaṣṭamī—the 8th of Bh. kṛ. when joined to Rohiṇī-nakṣatra is called Jayantī; when 8th tithi extends at least a *kalā* before and after midnight that is the most holy time on which Lord Hari himself was born; fast on Jayantī

and worship of Hari destroy the performer's sins for a hundred past lives; this Rohiṇīvrata is superior to a hundred Ekādaśīvratas; RM 1231–1255 (ABORI vol. 36 pp. 320–322), KR 258, VKK 298–304.

Raudravināyakayāga—When on Thursday there is ekādaśī and Puṣya-nakṣatra or when Saturday occurs on ekādaśī with Rohiṇī, this yāga should be performed and it yields sons and blessedness; HV. II. 591.

Lakṣanamaskāravrata-saṅkalpa—on 11th of Āṣ. śu. to offer one hundred thousand namaskāras to Viṣṇu; to be finished on K. pūrṇimā; worship of image of Viṣṇu by the hymn 'ato devā' (Ṛg. I. 22. 16–21), SmK 407–408.

Lakṣapradakṣiṇāvrata (one hundred thousand circumambulations)—begin on the start of cāturmāsya and finish on K. pūrṇimā; Viṣṇu deity; SmK 406–407.

Lakṣavartivrata—begin in K., Vai., M., the best month being Vai. and finish in three months on a pūrṇimā; every day waving lights before Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī, Brahmā and Sāvitrī, Śiva and Umā with a thousand wicks; SmK 410-411, Vratārka, folios 399–403b (from Vāyu).

Lakṣahoma—is a śānti, for which see the section on śānti; Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa, chap. 35, SmK 475–479.

Lakṣanārdrāvrata—When on Bh. kṛ. 8th there is Ārdrā-nakṣatra, begin this; worship of golden image of Umā and Śiva by bathing it with pañcāmṛta, then with gandha, flowers etc., with mantras mentioning several names of both; arghya, dhūpa, naivedya with 32 edibles of wheat flour marked with figures of fish &c. containing five rasas (curds, milk, ghee, honey and sugar) and *modakas*; donate the golden images and edibles to a learned brāhmaṇa; secures removal of sins, charm, wealth, long life, fame; HV I. 826–829 (from Mat.).

Lakṣeśvarī-vrata—same as *Koṭīśvarīvrata* above.

Lakṣmīpūjana—in *Divāḷi*—Vide pp. 199–200 above and VKK 472–476, TT 186–87, NS 200.

Lakṣmīnārāyaṇavrata—on Phā. Pūrṇimā; tithi; worship of Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmi, for one year, divided into three periods of four months each on every pūrṇimā; in four months from Āṣ. employ the name Śrīdhara and Śrī and in 4 months from K. the name Keśava and Bhūti; at night

offer arghya to Moon on each 15th; different substance in each period for purification of the body viz. pañcagavya, water with kuśas, water heated with Sun's rays; HV II. 664–666 (from Vi. Dh.).

Lakṣmīpradavrata—It is one of the Kṛcchravratas in HV II. 769–771; on K. kṛ. 7th tithi to 10th one should subsist respectively on milk, bilva leaves, lotuses, and morsels of lotus fibres and on 11th fast; worship Keśava on these days; secures Viṣṇuloka; HV II. 770.

Lakṣmīvrata—(1) on every 5th tithi observe fast and worship Lakṣmī; one year; at end donate a golden lotus and a cow; he secures wealth in each life and reaches Viṣṇuloka; HV I. 568 (from Yamapurāṇa), KR 118 (2) on Cai. śu. 3 subsist on ghee and boiled rice, on 4th bathe outside the house in a tank having lotuses and worship Lakṣmī in a lotus and offer on 5th lotus with the hymn to Śrī; on 5th bathe the same and donate gold; one year; Vi. Dh. III. 154. 1–15.

Lalitakāntādevī-vrata—the same as Maṅgala-caṇḍikā above. TT p. 41 quotes Kālikāpurāṇa to the effect that Maṅgala-caṇḍikā is called Lalitakāntādevī, that has two arms, is fair, is seated on a red lotus and so on.

Lalitāvrata—on M. śu. 3rd; bath in a river at midday with sesame and *āmalaka*, worship Devī with flowers &c.; a copper vessel containing water, a piece of gold and akṣatas should be placed before a brāhmaṇa who should sprinkle water from it on the performer with a mantra; the woman performer should donate the gold and drink water in which *kuśas* are dipped and pass night sleeping on the ground and contemplate Devī; on 2nd day honour brāhmaṇas and a woman whose husband is alive; this vrata is for a year, in each month of which twelve different names of Devī were to be employed in worship (such as Īśānī in 1st, Lalitā in 8th and Gaurī in 12th!) and in the 12 months she fasts on śu. 3rd and subsists on one of twelve things in order, viz. water made holy with kuśas, milk, ghee &c.; at end honour brāhmaṇa and his wife; she secures sons, beauty, health and freedom from widowhood; HV I. 418–421 (from Bhav. U.). Agni (178. 1–2) speaks of Lalitā-tṛtīyā and remarks that on Cai. śu. 3 Gaurī was married by Śiva. Mat. 60. 14–15 say the same and Mat. 60. 11 says that Satī is called

Lalitā because she is supreme in all worlds and excels them in beauty. At the end of Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa there is a section of 44 chapters on the Lalitā cult.

Lalitāṣaṣṭhī—mostly for women; on Bh. śu. 6 collect sand of a river in a new bamboo vessel, make five balls of that sand and worship Lalitādevī thereon with 28 or 108 flowers of various kinds and fruits and naivedya of several edibles; *jāgara* on that night with female friends without closing the eyes: on 7th give all naivedya to a brāhmaṇa and feed maidens and five or ten brāhmaṇa house-wives and dismiss them with the words 'May Lalitā be pleased with me'; HV I. 617–620 (from Bhav. U. 41. 1–18), VR 220–21 (remarks that it is well-known in Gurjaradeśa).

Lalitāsaptamī—m. in VKV 13 (Saptamī mixed with Ṣaṣṭhī to be preferred).

Lavaṇadāna—on Mārg. pūrṇimā when it has Mṛgaśiras-nakṣatra, donate at moonrise to a brāhmaṇa one prastha of ground salt in a vessel with a golden centre; secures beauty and *saubhāgya*; V. Dh. 90. 1–2 q. by SmK 430 and PC 306.

Lavaṇasaṅkrāntivrata—on day of saṅkrānti after bath draw with saffron paste a lotus with eight petals and pericarp; worship of the picture of Sun, place in front of it a vessel full of salt and jaggery and donate the vessel; this to be carried on for a year; at end make a golden image of Sun and donate it with the vessel of salt &c. and cow; this is a saṅkrāntivrata; HV II. 732–33 (from Skanda).

Lāvaṇyagaurīvrata—on Cai. śu. 5; observed by Tamil people as shown in the pañcāṅga (almanac).

Lāvaṇyavrata—From the 1st tithi after K. pūrṇimā, worship picture of Pradyumna on a piece of cloth or as an image, observe nakta way; when Mārg. begins observe three days' fast, worship Pradyumna, offer homa in fire with ghee; dinner to brāhmaṇas with salt prominent; donate a prastha of powdered salt, two garments, gold, bell-metal vessel; for a month; this is a māsa-vrata; confers beauty and heaven; HV. II. 785 (from Vi. Dh. III. 203. 1–7).

Lāvaṇyāvāptivrata—HV II. 785 calls it so; same as above.

Liṅgavratas—in all these begin from K. śu. 14; worship Śiva; subsist by nakta way; make a liṅga with flour of rice grains as high as a *ratni* (distance from elbow to end of closed

fist): cast over Liṅga a *prastha* of sesame; on Mārg. śu. 14 smear liṅga with saffron paste; in this way every month for a year different substance for smearing, different dhūpa, naivedya &c.; even one guilty of grave sins reaches Rudraloka; HV II. 50-56 (from Kālottara). A liṅga may be made with holy ashes, dry cowdung balls, from sand or crystal, the best being from clay on the mountains whence Narmadā flows.

Liṅgārcanavrata—on K. śu. 13 with Saturday; one hundred names of Śiva to be repeated; bath of liṅga with pañcāmṛta and worship of Śiva in the form of liṅga at the time of *pradoṣa*; Skanda (I. 17. 59–91) describes this; verses 75–89 set out the one hundred names.

Līlāvrata—Same as Nīlavrata above p. 335.

Lokavrata—Begin from Cai. śu. and subsist for seven days therefrom respectively on cow's urine, cow's dung, milk, curds, ghee and water in which kuśas are dipped and fast (on 7th); homa of sesame accompanied by mahā-vyāhṛtis (bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ &c.); at end of year donate garment, bell-metal, cows; he becomes an emperor; HV II. 463 (quoting Vi. Dh. III. 162. 1-7).

Lohābhisārikakṛtya—also written as Lohābhihārika or Lauhābhisārika—From Āśv. śu. 1st to 8th tithi a king desirous of conquest should perform this rite; NS 178-179, SmK 332-336, RNP 444-446, Sm 28-32, PC 59, 70-72. A golden, silver or clay image of Durgā is to be worshipped, so also the weapons and symbols of royalty with mantras; there is a legend that there was a demon named Loha who was shattered into pieces by the gods and all the iron and steel in the world is produced from his limbs. Lohābhisāra means putting forth or brandishing iron or steel weapons ('Lohābhihārostrabhṛtām rājñām nīrājano vidhiḥ' Amarakośa). When a king started on an invasion the ceremony of sprinkling sacred water on him or waving lights before him was performed and that was called Lohābhisārika-karma. In Udyogaparva 160. 93 we read 'Lohābhisāro nirvṛttaḥ' &c. Nīlakaṇṭha explains that it comprises waving of lights before weapons and invoking deities.

Lohityasnāna—(bath in waters of Brahmaputrā river). Vide under 'Brahmaputrasnāna' 358 above.

Vañjulīvrata—Vañjulī is one of the eight great dvādaśīs enumerated above on p. 119; Vañjulī is dvādaśī that exists the whole of one civil day (from sunrise to sunrise) and extends over the next day, so that it is possible to fast on dvādaśī and perform pāraṇā not on the next tithi but on dvādaśī itself; worship of golden image of Nārāyaṇa; in merit it is superior to thousands of Rājasūya sacrifices; NS 48, SmK 252–253.

Vaṭasāvitrīvrata—Vide above pp. 91–94.

Vatsarādhipapūjā—(worship of the lord of the year). The week-day on which the year begins in Cai. determines the lord of the year; vide p. 83 above and SmK 87, PC 56.

Vatsadvādaśī—K. kṛ. 12th is so called; deck a cow (with calf) with sandalwood paste and honour it with garlands, with arghya in a copper vessel at its feet and with naivedya of circular cakes made of *māṣa*; on that day he should abstain from food cooked with oil or in a cooking pan and from cow's milk, ghee, curds and buttermilk: SM 91–92.

Varacaturthī—begin on Mārg. śu. 4th; tithivrata; every month worship Gaṇeśa and observe ekabhakta on that day but without kṣāra and lavaṇa; continue for 4 years, but with *nakta* in 2nd year, *ayācita* in 3rd and fast in 4th; HV I. 530–31 (from Skanda), KR 504 (in M.), KV 190 (in M.), VKK 498.

Varadacaturthī—on M. śu. 4th; tithivrata; worship of Varada (i. e. Vināyaka) on 4th and on 5th worship with *kunda* flowers; S. Pr. (folio 47 b), while KR 504 and VKK 498 say that Varacaturthī is confined to 4th and worship on 5th with kunda flowers is Śrīpañcamī and that 'vara' means 'Vināyaka'.

Varadācaturthī—on M. śu. 4th; tithi; Gaurī deity; specially for women; GK 77; HV I. 531 has Gaurī-caturthī (from Brah.) which appears to be the same. NS 133 says Bh. śu. 4 is Varadacaturthī, while PC 95 says that Mārg. śu. 4th is so called.

Varanavamī—on each 9th tithi subsist for nine years on flour; tithi; Devī is deity; all desires fulfilled; if performer subsists on food not cooked on fire for life on each navamī he reaps here and in next world endless rewards; KKV 296 = HV I. 937 (from Bhav.), latter calling it 'Varavrata'.

Varalakṣmīvrata—on Śr. Pūrṇimā, when Venus shines in the east; erect a maṇḍapa to the north-east of one's house, establish a *kalaśa* therein, on which Varalakṣmī should be invoked and worshipped to the accompaniment of Śrīsūkta; vide pp. 147–149 of the transcript of Sāmrājyalakṣmīpīṭhikā (transcript No. 43 of 1925–26 in B. O. R. I. Poona).

Varavrata—(1) Vide 'Varanavamī' above; (2) one fasting for seven days and donating a jar of ghee to a brāhmaṇa reaches Brahmaloka; Saṁvatsara-vrata; Brahmā deity; KKV 449 (Mat. 101. 68 calling it Ghṛta-vrata), HV II. 886 (from Pad.).

Varāṭikāsaptamī—on any 7th tithi; a person should subsist on only such food as he can purchase with three varāṭikās (*cowries*), whether it is proper for him to eat it or not; Sun deity; reward not stated; KKV 184, HV I. 726 (from Bhav.).

Varāhadvādaśī—on M. śu. 12: tithivrata: Varāha form of Viṣṇu is deity; saṅkalpa and worship on 11th; golden image of Varāha to be placed on a jar in which pieces of gold, silver or copper and all seed had been cast and worship thereof and jāgara in *maṇḍapa* of flowers; next morning donate the image to a learned and well-conducted brāhmaṇa; reward is *saubhāgya*, wealth, beauty, honour and sons in this very life; KKV 319–321, HV I. 1027–29 (both quoting Var. 41. 1–10), GK pp. 151–152.

Varuṇavrata—If a man standing a whole night in water donates a cow the next morning, he secures Varuṇa-loka; KKV 450 (52nd Ṣaṣṭivrata), HV II. 905 (from Pad.); the verse is Mat. 101. 74); (2) Vi. Dh. (III. 195. 1–3) is somewhat different; worship of Varuṇa from the beginning of Bh. to the Full Moon thereof; at end donate jaladhenu together with umbrella, sandals and two garments. The word jaladhenu occurs in Anuśāsana 71. 41 and in Mat. 53. 13; vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 880.

Varṇavrata—This is a Caturmūrtivrata extending over four months from Cai. śu.; in Cai., Vai., Jy., Āṣ., the performer observes a fast and worships Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha and donates respectively materials useful for sacrifice by a brāhmaṇa, war materials to a kṣatriya, merchandise to a vaiśya and materials for manual work to a śūdra; performer secures Indraloka; HV II. 828 (from Vi. Dh.).

Vardhāpanavidhi—(procedure of birthday ceremony and festival). In the case of a child this was done every month on the tithi of birth and in the case of a king it was done every year; sixteen goddesses (such as Kumudā, Mādhavī, Gaurī, Rudrāṇī, Pārvatī) should be drawn with indigo or saffron with the Sun in the middle of a circle, Vedic verses should be loudly recited and a festival held with loud music and the goddesses should be worshipped after bathing the child and 16 vessels of wicker-work filled with rich materials, edibles, flowers, fruits &c. should be donated in honour of each of the sixteen goddesses and gifts should be made to brāhmaṇas and women whose husbands are alive with the prayer 'May the goddesses Kumudā and others confer on my child health, happiness and increase his life'. The parents may then have dinner along with their relatives; in the case of a king an offering (*havis*) was made to Indra and the *Lokapālas* and Vedic verses such as Ṛg. VI. 47. 11, X. 161. 4 were recited; HV II. 889–892 (from Ātharvaṇa-gopathabrāhmaṇa and Skanda).

Varṣavrata—begin on 9th of Cai. śu.; tithivrata; worship of the great mountains Himavat, Hemakūṭa, Śṛṅgavat, Meru, Mālyavat, Gandhamādana; fast on that day; at end gift of a silver model of Jambudvīpa; secures all desires and heaven; HV I. 959 (from Vi. Dh.). Himavat, Hemakūṭa and others are styled varṣaparvatas in Brah. 18. 16, Mat. 113. 10–12, Vāyu 1.85.

Vallabhotsava—festival in honour of the great Vaiṣṇava teacher Vallabha said to have been born in 1497 A. D., who wrote many works, emphatically taught a non-ascetic view of religion and rested his doctrines on the Bhāgavata. It is held on Cai. kṛ. 11.

Vasantapañcamī—on 5th tithi of M. śu.; tithivrata; worship of Viṣṇu; VR 220.

Vasantotsava—(festival of spring). There is a poetic and detailed description of the advent of spring in Vā. 6. 10–21; the Mālavikāgnimitra and Ratnāvalī were both brought on the stage in Vasantotsava as expressly stated in the *prastāvanā* to both; the third Act of the former drama shows that in this festival presents of red Aśoka flowers were sent to one's dear ones and wives in high families used to be seated on a swing with their husbands. NS 229 puts

it on Cai. kr̥. 1 (by pūrṇimānta reckoning), while PC 100 places it on M. śu. 5 (following NA). The first Act of a drama Pārijātamañjarī-nāṭikā is called Vasantotsava in Caitra-parva; vide E. I. vol. VIII pp. 96 ff where two Acts of the drama by Madana, upādhyāya of Arjunavarman of Dhārā, are published from a stone.

Vasundharādevīvrata—m. in Aśvaghoṣa-nandimukha-avadānam. Vide JRAS vol. VIII (new series) pp. 13–14.

Vasuvrata—(1) worship of the eight Vasus that are really forms of Vāsudeva on the 8th tithi with fast from Cai. śu. drawn in a circle or as images; at end donate a cow; secures wealth and crops and Vasuloka. The eight Vasus are Dhara, Dhruva, Soma, Āpaḥ, Anila, Anala, Pratyūṣa and Prabhāsa. Vide Anuśāsana 150. 16–17, Mat. 5. 21, Brahmāṇḍa III. 3. 21 for these. HV I. 848–49 (from Vi. Dh.); (2) gift of a cow together with plenty of gold when it is about to be delivered and subsisting on milk alone that day; performer reaches the highest goal and is not born again; HV II. 885 (from Pad.) For the high importance of the gift of a cow in that condition (and called 'ubhayatomukhī') vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 879.

Vastatrirātra—see 'Bastatrirātra' above p. 355.

Vahnivrata—(1) by worship of Agni one secures the reward of Agniṣṭoma; HV I. 791 from Vi. Dh.; (2) begin on Amāvāsyā of Cai.; tithivrata; worship of Agni and homa with sesame on every amāvāsyā for a year; at end donate gold; HV II. 255–256; this is Vi. Dh. III. 190. 1–3, but HV quotes same verses from Viṣṇupurāṇa.

Vāṇijyalābhavrata—fast on Mūla nakṣatra and on Pūrvāṣāḍhā; the performer with face to east is to be bathed with water from four fresh jars in which conch-shell, pearl, roots of reed plants and gold are cast and then he is to worship Viṣṇu, Varuṇa and the moon in his court-yard; homa with ghee in honour of these deities; gifts of blue garments; sandalwood, wine, white flowers; by this the trader secures success and does not fail in sea voyage and agriculture; HV II. 648–649 (from Vi. Dh.)

Vāmanajayantī—on Bh. śu. 12th; Vāmana (avatāra of Viṣṇu) is said to have been born at mid-day on this tithi when there was Śravaṇa-nakṣatra; fast on this day; removes all sins; GK pp. 147–148, Vratārka folio 244a to 247a (from Bhav.

U.). Vide Bhāgavata VIII. chapters 17–23. In chap. 18. 5–6 it is said that Vāmana appeared in month of Śr. on 12th tithi when the nakṣatra was Śravaṇa, the *muhūrta* was Abhijit and this tithi is called *Vijayādvādaśī*. Vide HV I. pp. 1138–1145 (from Bhaviṣyottara) much of which is quoted by Vratārka.

Vāmanadvādaśī—On Cai. 12; tithivrata; Viṣṇu deity; fast on that day; worship of the limbs from the feet to the head connecting each with a different name (such as 'Vāmanāyeti vai pādam'); establish a golden image of Vāmana in a jar with white *yajñopavīta*, umbrella, sandals, rosary near it and donate them next morning with the words 'May Viṣṇu in the form of a dwarf be pleased' after taking the twelve names (Keśava, Nārāyaṇa &c.) with the months respectively from Mārg.; result-sonless man has a son, one desiring wealth gets wealth; Var. 43. 1–16 q. by KKV 323–325 and HV I. 1030–1032, VKK 320–21, NS 140–141, SmK 249–250; some authorities say that Vāmana appeared on 11th; others say that was on 12th. Vide NS. 140 for these views.

Vāyuvrata—(1) by worship of Vāyu, performer secures the highest goal; HV I. 791 (half a verse); (2) begin on 14th tithi of Jy. śu.; tithivrata; Vāyu deity; for a year; fast on each śu. 14th; at end of vrata gift of two garments; HV II. 152 (from Vi. Dh. III. 185. 1–3).

Vāravratas—Agni chap. 195, KKV 8–34, Dānasāgara pp. 568–570, HV II. 520–592, HK 517–521, KR 593–610, SmK 549–588. Some works like Vratārka deal with vratas on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday alone.

Māralakṣmīvrata—on a Friday nearest to Śr. pūrṇimā or on 14th of Śr. śu.; vāravrata; Lakṣmī deity; Vratārka 358b–362b, from Bhav. U.

Vārivrata—a māsavrata; Brahmā seems to be the deity; one should subsist in *ayācita* way in the four months of Cai., Jy., Āṣ. and M. or P.; at end of vrata donate a pitcher covered with garments, food, vessel containing sesame and gold; he reaches Brahmaloka; HV II. 857 (from Pad.).

Vāruṇī—The 13th of Cai. kṛ. if it falls on Śatabhiṣak nakṣatra (of which Varuṇa is the presiding deity) is called Vāruṇī and is equal to a crore of solar eclipses; if in

addition it falls on Saturday it is called Mahā-vāruṇī; if in addition to all these there is a śubha-yoga, then it is mahā-mahā-Vāruṇī; VKK 518-519, KT 463, SmK 107, GK 611 (from Skanda), KTV 189-190.

Vāsudevadvādaśī—on Āṣ. śu. 12; tithi; Vāsudeva is deity; worship of the limbs of Vāsudeva from feet to head with different names of Vāsudeva and his *vyūhas*; a golden image of Vāsudeva to be worshipped which is to be placed in a water jar, covered with two garments and donated; it is worthy of note that this vrata is said to have been imparted by Nārada to Vasudeva and Devakī; the performer gets a son or kingdom if he has lost it and his sins are destroyed; HV I. 1036-37 (several verses are the same as in Var. 46).

Vighna-vināyaka-vrata—For four months from Phā; AK folio 356.

Vijaya—(1) on 10th of Āśv. śu. a little after sunset when the stars are just appearing, being most auspicious time for accomplishing all objects; SmK 353; (2) it is also the name of the 11th muhūrta of the day divided into 15 muhūrtas; SmK 353.

Vijaya-dhūpa—described in HV II. 51 (from Bhav. I. 68. 3-4).

Vijayadvādaśī—(1) *Saṅkalpa* on 11th; fast on dvādaśī on which there is Śravaṇa-nakṣatra; a golden image of Viṣṇu clad in yellow robes to be made and to be worshipped with *arghya*; *jāgaraṇa* at night; next day at sunrise donate image; dvādaśī with Śravaṇa when the Sun is in Lion and the Moon in Śravaṇa is not possible except in Bh.; HV I. 1136-38 (from Agni), KR 287-288; (2) same in HV I. 1138-1140; (3) Phā. śu. 11th or 12th if joined to Puṣya-nakṣatra is called Vijaya; (4) Bh. śu. or kṛ. 11th or 12th if joined to Wednesday and Śravaṇa-nakṣatra is called Vijaya; vrata in śu. leads to heaven and in kṛ. to destruction of sins; Viṣṇu deity; HV I. 1152-1155 (from Brahmavaivarta). Some of these occur in KKV 348-50 (from Ādityapurāṇa).

Vijayavidhi—a vāravrata; on Sunday falling on śu. 7 with Prājāpatya (Rohiṇī) nakṣatra; Sun deity; KKV 17-18.

Vijayavrata—worship of (image) of Airāvata (Indra's elephant) with a strap in his mouth and Uccaiḥśravas (horse of Indra); secures victory; HV I. 576 (from Vi. Dh.).

Vijayā—the name is given to several tithis e. g. śu. 7 falling on Sunday is so called (Bhav. U. 43. 2, VKK 9, HK 625, PC 105); vide also entry Vijayavidhi; the Garuḍa (I. 136. 1–2) notes that dvādaśī or ekādaśī joined to Śravaṇa-nakṣatra is so called; KKV 349, KR 287–291. Vijayā-saptamī occurs in E. I. III. 53–56 and I. A vol. 25 p. 345, Torkheḍe grant of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda, dated in *śake* 735 current (813 AD.) Pauṣa. VKK 36 states that if Vijayā-saptamī has the Sun in Hasta it is called 'mahā-mahā'; śu. Ekādaśī when it has Punarvasu nakṣatra is called Vijayā; HK 633 quoting Vi. Dh.

Vijayāsaptamī—(1) on 7th of śu. with Sunday; tithi-vrata; Sun deity; KKV 127–129 = HV I. 663–64 (both quote a few verses from Bhav. U. 43. 1–30); (2) on M. śu. 7th; tithi; Sun deity; fast on that day and repeating one thousand names of the Sun (set out in HV I. pp. 707–716); for a year; reward-freedom from diseases and sins; HV I. 705–717; (3) Garuḍa (I. 130. 7–8) notices another variety of this vrata performed on seven saptamīs by fasting and foregoing wheat, māṣa, yava, ṣaṣṭika, bell-metal vessel, food ground on stones, honey, sexual intercourse, meat, wine, oil bath, collyrium and sesame.

Vijayāyajñasaptamī—on M. śu. 7; tithi; Sun deity; for one year, different name of the Sun being employed in each month; 12 brāhmaṇas to be honoured; at end donate a golden image of the Sun with a golden car and charioteer to the *ācārya*; HV I. 757–760 (from Bhav.).

Vitastāpūjā—At the end of Bh. from the 10th of śu. for seven days one should see, bathe in, drink water of, worship and contemplate on the river *Vitastā* (Hydaspes of the Greeks, modern Jhelum), that is an incarnation of Satī (Pārvatī); special worship at confluence of Vitastā and Sindhu; festival in honour of the river wherein actors and dancers should be honoured; KR 286 (quoting Brah.).

Vidyāpratipad-vrata—on the first tithi of a month, person desiring learning and wealth should worship images of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī on a square figure made with husked rice grains with full blown lotuses (1000 or less in number) and with milk or *pāyasa*, and of Sarasvatī placed by their side, and of the Moon and honour his *guru* and fast that day and on 2nd worship Viṣṇu, offer gold to his ācārya and then dine; HV I. 338–340 (from Garuḍa).

Vidyāvāptivrata—from 1st tithi of M. after P. pūrṇimā for one month; worship of Hayagrīva with sesame, homa with sesame and fast for first three days; this is māsavrata; performer becomes learned; HV II. 796–97 (from Vi. Dh. III. 207. 1–5).

Vidyāvrata—on 2nd tithi of a month, draw square figure with white rice grains and in its midst a figure of a lotus with eight petals on the pericarp of which draw Lakṣmī with lotus in her hand and the latter's eight *śaktis* (such as Sarasvatī, Rati, Maitrī, Vidyā), these to be placed on the petals; salutations to these latter in the form 'om Sarasvatyai namaḥ'; draw several deities (named) as lords of four quarters and four intermediate quarters; place four (Vyāsa, Kratu, Manu, Dakṣa) as gurus and Vasiṣṭha and others on the maṇḍala; worship all these with various flowers; repeat Śrīsūkta (one of the Khilasūktas beginning with 'Hiraṇyavarṇām hariṇīm'), the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90) and hymns to Viṣṇu; donate a cow and a bull and a jar of water to the priests and also five vessels filled with fried rice, sesame and (by a woman performer) turmeric powder, gold to a house-holder and food to the hungry; the pupil should pray to the ācārya to impart learning and the ācārya should impart it in the presence of images; HV I. 386–389 (from Gar.).

Vidhāna-dvādaśa-saptamī—Observance of vrata on the 7th tithi in the twelve months from Cai. described at length; they are also given separate names such as Marica–saptamī, Phala-saptamī, Anodanā-saptamī; in all these Sun is deity; mantra is 'om namaḥ Sūryāya'; HV I. 792–804 (from Āditya–purāṇa).

Vidhānasaptamī—tithi vrata; Sun deity; a man should begin on M. śu. 7 and subsist on one of the twelve things alone in order on the 7th tithis of the twelve months from M. viz. the tips of arka flower, pure cowdung, *marica*, water, fruit, *mūla* (radish), nakta way, fast, ekabhakta, milk, taking in air, ghee; KV 419, VKK 37–38, TT 36–37, KT 459–460; VKK 38 distinguishes this from Ravivrata (which is to be observed on Sunday beginning from the first Sunday in M.).

Vināyakacaturthī—(1) Vide Gaṇeśa-caturthī above pp. 145–149; (2) on each 4th tithi the performer donates sesame food and himself partakes of sesame and water at night; for two

years; KKV 79 (quoting Bhav. I. 22. 1–2), HV I. 519–520 (quotes same verses and calls it Gaṇapati-caturthī).

Vināyakavrata—begin on Phā. śu. 4; tithi; Gaṇeśa deity; four months, on every śu. 4 the performer observes nakta, makes homa with sesame, donates sesame; at end in the 5th month donates a golden image of Gaṇeśa with four copper vessels filled with *pāyasa* and a 5th one with sesame; freedom from all obstacles; Bhav. U. 33. 1–13.

Vināyakasnapana-caturthī—in Bhav. U. 32. 1–30 (reproducing several verses of Yāj. I. 271–294). This is really a Śānti and not a vrata and may be dealt with under the section on Śānti.

Vibhūti-dvādaśī—on 10th of śu. in K., Vai., Mārg., Phā. or Āṣ., performer should undertake the niyamas (restrictions) of this vrata; fast on 11th and worship Janārdana (image); he should offer worship to the several limbs from the feet (of Viṣṇu) to the head in such forms as 'vibhūtide namaḥ pādau vikośāyeti jānunī'; he should place in front of Viṣṇu image a golden fish in a jar of water; jāgara with stories (about Viṣṇu) and donate next morning the golden image and jar with prayer 'just as Viṣṇu is never bereft of his great manifestations, may you free me from the mire of all the sorrows of *saṁsāra*'; he should donate every month the image of each of ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu and of Dattātreya and Vyāsa, together with a blue lotus on dvādaśī; after finishing twelve dvādaśīs he should donate to the guru or ācārya a lavaṇācala, a bedstead with all appurtenances, a cow, a village (by kingly performer) or a field (the village chief) and to other brāhmaṇas cows and garments; this procedure may be followed for three years; he becomes free from sins, saves a hundred *pitṛs* &c.; KKV 364–367, HV I. 1057–1060; both quote from Mat. 100. 1–37 (some verses are different), which are also found in Pad. V. 20. 4–42. For the gift called Lavaṇācala, vide H. of Dh. II. p. 882, Mat. 84. 1–9.

Virūpākṣavrata—begin on 14th of P. śu.; worship of Śiva for one year; at end donate all materials to a brāhmaṇa and donate a camel; becomes free from fear of *rākṣasas*, from diseases and secures all objects; HV II. 153 (from Vi. Dh. III. 186. 1–3).

Viśokadvādaśī—saṅkalpa on 10th night of Āśv. śu. 'I shall fast on 11th, worship Keśava and shall partake of food the next day (on 12th)'; worship of Keśava from feet to head; a maṇḍala should be made and thereon a four-cornered altar; place on altar a winnowing basket in which an image of Lakṣmī called Viśokā (that frees from sarrow) is kept and the prayer 'May Viśokā destroy sorrow, confer wealth and all success'; on all nights worshipper to drink water in which darbhas are dipped; dance and song all night; honour pairs of brāhmaṇas; this procedure every month; at end donate bedstead and *guḍadhenu* and the śūrpa (basket) together with Lakṣmī image; KKV 360–364, HV I. 1075–1078 (from Pad. V. 21. 22–80.); Mat. 81 describes this and 82 describes Guḍadhenu which is only a subsidiary part (*aṅga*) in this vrata. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 880–81 for *guḍadhenu*.

Viśokaṣaṣṭhī—on M. śu. 5th bath with black sesame and partake food made up of rice and sesame; then on 6th make a golden lotus and worship it as Sun with red karavīra flowers and two red garments and pray for freedom from sorrow (*śoka*); should drink cow's urine and then sleep; on 7th donations to guru and brāhmaṇas and partake of food without oil and salt, observe silence and listen to Purāṇa works; this should be done in both fortnights for one year; at end on M. śu. 7th donate a jar containing a golden lotus, a furnished bedstead and a kapilā cow; HV I. 600-602 (from Bhav. U. 38. 1–7); KKV (211–212) gives these very verses as Viśokasaptamī.

Viśokasaṅkrānti—When on an Ayana day or Viṣuva day there is Vyatīpātayoga the performer should bathe in water mixed with *tilas* and observe ekabhakta; he should bathe a golden image of the Sun with pañcagavya and offer *gandha* and flowers, clothe it in two red garments and place it in a copper vessel and worship the Sun (image) from feet to head with different names of Sun, and offer arghya; one year; at end worship Sun, offer homa with mantras addressed to the Sun, donate twelve kapilā cows or one cow if poor; secures long life, health and prosperity; this is a saṅkrānti vrata; HV II. 742–743 (from Skanda).

Viśokasaptamī—HV I. 746–47 quotes from Bhav. thirteen verses on this which are the same as Mat. 75. 1–12 (=Pad. V. 21. 235–248) and which are the same as the verses under Viśokaṣaṣṭhī.

Viśvarūpavrata—on śu. 8th or 14th when it falls on Saturday and Revatī nakṣatra: Śiva is deity; the liṅga should be bathed in mahāsnāna; camphor as unguent, white lotuses and many ornaments to be placed on liṅga, burn camphor as incense, naivedya of pāyasa and ghee; gift to ācārya of a horse or elephant; performer gets whatever he desires (son, kingdom, pleasures &c.), hence vrata is called Viśvarūpa (lit. having all forms); drink at night water mixed with kuśas and observe jāgara; HV I. 865-866 (from Kālottara).

Viśvavrata—(1) Ekabhakta on 10th of every month; tithivrata: for a year; at end donate ten cows and golden or silver images of the ten directions with a trough full of sesame; performer becomes an emperor and all his sins are destroyed; KKV 451, HV I. 983 (from Pad.); Mat. 101. 83 mentions this; (2) Viśvedevas to be worshipped on ekādaśī; images of them to be placed on lotus petals; tithivrata; Viśvedevas deity; offer stream of ghee and fuel sticks, curds, milk, honey; HV I. 1148 (from Bhav.). This vrata is like Vaiśvānara-pratipad.

Viśvedeva-daśamī-pūjā—from K. śu. 10; tithi; ten Viśvedevas enumerated in Vi. Dh. III. 176. 1 that are manifestations of Keśava are deity; worship them in maṇḍalas or as images; one year; at end donate gold; reaches Viśvedevaloka. Vi. Dh. III. 176. 1-5.

Viṣṭivrata or *Viṣṭibhadrā*—The *karaṇas* will be described in the section on Kāla. They are of two classes, *cara* (moveable) and *sthira* (fixed). The first are seven of which Viṣṭi is one. Vide Bṛ. S. 99. 1. Viṣṭi is half of a tithi. The works on astrology raised it to the status of an ill-formed malignant demoness. Viṣṭi comprised 30 ghaṭikās which were distributed unevenly in her mouth, throat, heart, navel, waist and tail (respectively 5, 1, 11, 4, 6, 3 ghaṭikās); HV II. 719-724 (from Bhav. U.), KN 330, SmK 565-566 describe her as the daughter of the Sun and sister of Saturn, she has the mouth of an ass, three feet &c. Viṣṭi was generally destructive and was to be avoided for any auspicious undertaking, but it was a favourable time for destroying enemies or poisoning them (Bṛ. S. 99. 4); fast on the day that has Viṣṭi; but if Viṣṭi occurs at night then ekabhakta may be resorted to on two days; worship gods and pitṛs and then image of Viṣṭi made of *darbhas* with flowers &c.; naivedya is of *kṛśara*

(dish of rice and peas and spices, *Marathi khicaḍī*); gift of dark garment, dark cow and dark blanket. Viṣṭi and Bhadrā mean the same thing. Vide HV II. 719–724, KN 330, SmK 565–566.

Viṣṇu—Vi. Dh. III. 123 lays down what names of Viṣṇu should be taken on certain occasions, such as crossing a river (when one is to remember Matsya, Kūrma and Varāha), or when the planets or nakṣatras are unfavourable or when one is in danger from robbers and tigers &c. (remember name Nṛsiṁha); Vi. Dh. III. 124 sets out the names of Viṣṇu to be uttered in months from Cai., or on weekdays, nakṣatras, tithis; chap. 125 deals with the names to be taken when visiting certain holy places, countries &c.

Viṣṇutrimūrtivrata—Viṣṇu has three forms or manifestations viz. Vāyu, the Moon and the Sun; these protect all the three worlds; they are also inside the bodies of men as *vāta*, *pitta* (bile) and *kapha* (phlegm); in this way Viṣṇu has three palpable forms; worship Him on Jy. śu. 3 observing a fast; in early morning worship Vāyu, offer at midday homa in Agni with yavas and sesame, at sunset worship the Moon in water; for a year (on each 3rd of śu.); worshipper reaches heaven; if he performs for three years, he is in heaven for 5000 years; Vi. Dh. III. 136. 1–26.

Viṣṇutrirātravrata—on K. śu. 9th; make a golden image of Hari and of Tulasī and worship for three days and celebrate marriage of Tulasī with Hari; NS 204.

Viṣṇudevakīvrata—begin on 1st tithi of K.; for a year; bathe with pañcagavya and partake of it; worship of Vāsudeva with bāṇa flowers, sandalwood paste and sumptuous naivedya; resolve to abstain for a month from harming any living being (even animal), from telling an untruth, from theft, flesh and honey; engage in constant thought on Viṣṇu; no reviling of śāstra, sacrifice or *devatās*; partake of naivedya with silence every day; same procedure in Mārg., P. and M. and other months except that flowers, incense and naivedya are different; HV II. 636–638 (from Vi. Dh.). It is worthy of note that this vrata was imparted to Devakī, mother of Kṛṣṇa, who wanted a good son and she was asked to worship Vāsudeva who is no other than her own son.

Viṣṇupañcaka—the last five days of K. are so called; worship Hari and Rādhā during those five days with five upacāras

viz. gandha &c.; all sins being destroyed he goes to Viṣṇuloka; various ways of service are described viz. worship on 11th, drinking cow's urine on 12th, milk on 13th, curds on 14th, worship Keśava on 15th and drink pañcagavya in evening, or worship Hari with Tulasī leaves; Pad. III. 23. 1–33.

Viṣṇupada or *Viṣṇupadī*—name of the four zodiacal signs of Vṛṣabha, Siṁha, Vṛścika and Kumbha; vide KN 332 and under Saṅkrānti above p. 213.

Viṣṇupadavrata—begin on Pūrvāṣāḍhā-nakṣatra in Āṣāḍha; worship the three steps of Viṣṇu placed in milk or ghee; performer to subsist on sacrificial food (*haviṣya*) at night alone; in Śrāvaṇa on Uttarāṣāḍhā worship of Govinda and Viṣṇu's three steps, gift and food being different; in Bh. on Pūrvāṣāḍhā, in Phā. on Pūrvāphalgunī and in Cai. on Uttarāphalgunī similar worship; performer secures health, prosperity and goes to Viṣṇuloka; HV II. 665–667 (from Vi. Dh.).

Viṣṇuprabodha—Rising of Viṣṇu from sleep in K. Vide pp. 109–110 above and HK 903–4, KR 421–425.

Viṣṇuprāptivrata—fast on dvādaśī, arghya to the Sun with the words 'Namo Nārāyaṇāya'; worship of Viṣṇu image with white flowers with the mantra 'O, best among gods! O support of earth! having accepted with a gracious mind these flowers may the Lord Viṣṇu be pleased with me'; he should subsist on śyāmāka (millet) or corn that ripens in sixty days from sowing with condiments, rice or barley or *nīvāra* (wild rice); then pāraṇā; performer reaches Viṣṇuloka; KKV 343–344, HV I. 1203–4 (from Bhav.).

Viṣṇulakṣavartivrata—cleanse cotton of dust and pieces of grass &c. on an auspicious tithi and *lagna* and spin threads therefrom four finger-breadths in length and five such threads would make a wick; one hundred thousand of such wicks immersed in ghee placed in a vessel of silver or bell-metal should be kindled before Viṣṇu image; the proper time for kindling is either K., M., or Vai., the last being the best; every day a thousand or two thousand lighted wicks should be waved before Viṣṇu; finish the vrata on pūrṇimā of one of the above three months; then *udyāpana*; nowadays this is done in the Deccan by women only; VKD 383–398.

Viṣṇuvrata—(1) worship of Viṣṇu image drawn on a lotus; this vrata has the same procedure as Vaiśvānaravrata; HV I. 1177 (from Bhav.); (2) fast on twelve dvādaśīs (in a year) and gift of cow, calf and gold; performer secures highest goal; HV I. 1202 (from Pad.), VKK 70; (3) begin on 2nd tithi of P. śu.; for a year divided into two periods of six months each; the performer bathes on the four days from 2nd tithi with water respectively mixed with mustard, sesame, *vacā* (plant with aromatic root) and *sarvauṣadhis*; the names to be worshipped on those four days are respectively Kṛṣṇa, Acyuta, Hṛṣīkeśa and Keśava; arghya to be offered to the crescent of the moon on the four tithis respectively as Śaśin, Candra, Śaśāṅka and Niśāpati; performer to eat once at night while moonlight lasts; dakṣiṇā to be given on 5th; this was performed by ancient kings (Dilīpa, Duṣyanta), sages (Marīci, Cyavana) and high-born ladies (Devakī, Sāvitrī, Subhadrā); result-removal of sins and securing desired objects; Agni 177. 15-20, HV II. 458-460 (from Vi. Dh.); (4) early morning bath for four months from Āṣ., gift on K. pūrṇimā of a cow and dinner to brāhmaṇas; reaches Viṣṇuloka; KKV 444 (quoting Mat. 101. 37), KR 219; (5) on Cai. śu. 4th observe fast and worship the several groups of four forms in which Hari appears, viz. Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Haya and Haṁsa; or as Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Viṣṇu, the first two being Sādhyas and the latter two siddhas; perform for twelve years; he finds the way to *mokṣa* and becomes equal to the Highest; Vi. Dh. III. 151. 1-8.

Viṣṇuśaṅkaravrata—This is to follow the procedure of Umāmaheśvaravrata (p. 277 above). It is to be performed in Bh. or Āśv. on Mṛgaśiras, Ārdrā, Pūrvāphalgunī, Anurādhā or Jyeṣṭhā; the only differences are that garments for Viṣṇu image should be yellow, the dakṣiṇās for Viṣṇu and Śaṅkara were respectively to be gold and pearls; HV II. 593-594 (calls it Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa-vrata), KR 282-283 (both quote Devīpurāṇa).

Viṣṇuśayanotsava—The festival on the sleeping of Viṣṇu either on the 11th or 12th of Āṣ. śu.; NS 102; vide above pp. 109-110 for Viṣṇuśayana. This is not to be performed in intercalary month.

Viṣṇuśṛṅkhala-yoga—when dvādaśī is mixed up with ekādaśī and dvādaśī has also Śravaṇa-nakṣatra on it, it is called

Viṣṇuśṛṅkhala; by fasting thereon one's sins are wiped out and one secures *sāyujya* (absorption) into Viṣṇu; HV 295, KV 464, PC 216–219.

Vīrapratipadā—same as Balipratipadā above p. 201–203.

Vīravrata—on 9th tithi a person should observe ekabhakta, treat to dinner maidens and donate a golden jar, two garments and gold; for a year (on each 9th dinner to maidens); in each life he becomes handsome and is not subdued by enemies and reaches Śiva's capital; the deity appears to be Śiva or Umā or both; Mat. 101. 27–28 q. by KKV 443, HV I. 958 (from Pad.), VKK 41.

Vīrāsana—a posture required in all Kṛcchras; HV I. 322 (quoting Gar.) and II. 932 and also in Aghamarṣaṇavrata (Śaṅkhasmṛti 18. 2). It removes all sins. Vide H. of Dh. IV. p. 148 note 342. For another meaning (in Yoga system), vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 957 note 2127a.

Vṛkṣotsavavidhi—Great importance was attached to the planting of trees. Mat. 59 (verses 1–20 same as Pad. V. 24. 192–211) contains the procedure of tree festival. It is briefly as follows:–trees in a garden should be sprinkled with *sarvauṣadhi* water, decked with fragrant powder and flowers and cloth should be wound round them; the trees should be pierced with a golden needle (imitating karṇavedha) and collyrium applied to them with a golden pencil; on the platforms of trees seven or eight golden fruits should be placed, jars containing pieces of gold should be established under the trees: homa to be offered to Indra, Lokapālas and Vanaspati; a milch cow covered with white cloth decked with gold ornaments and having horns tipped with gold should be let loose from the midst of trees; the performer (owner of the trees) should honour all priests with gifts of cows, golden chains, rings, clothes &c. and feed brāhmaṇas with a dinner full of milk for four days; *homa* with yavas, black sesame and mustard and *palāśa* fuel sticks and festival on 4th day; performer reaps all desires. Mat. 154. 512 states that a son is equal to ten deep reservoirs of water and a tree planted is equal to ten sons. It is said by Var. (172. 36–37) that just as a good son saves his family, so a tree laden with flowers and fruits saves its owner from falling into hell, and that one who plants five mango trees does not go to Hell; Vi. Dh. (III. 297. 13) remarks about trees 'a single tree nurtured by

a man performs what a son would do in that it gratifies gods with its flowers, travellers with its shade, men with its fruits; there is no fall in hell for the planter of a tree.'

Vṛntāka-tyāga-vidhi—it involves the abstention from eating vṛntāka (fruit of egg-plant) for a life-time or a year or six or three months; fast on Bharaṇī or Maghā nakṣatra for one night; invoke the presence of Yama, Kāla, Citragupta, Mṛtyu and Prajāpati on an altar and worship with *gandha* &c.; homa with sesame and ghee with svāhā to Yama, Nīla, Nīlakaṇṭha, Yamarāja, Citragupta, Vaivasvata; 108 *āhutis*; gift of a vṛntāka made of gold, dark cow and bull, finger rings, ear-rings, umbrella, sandals, a pair of dark garments and dark blanket; dinner to brāhmaṇas who pronounce blessings; he who gives up vṛntāka for life goes to Viṣṇuloka; one who performs this for a year or a month even does not see the city of Yama; it is a *prakīrṇaka* vrata; HV II. 909–910 (from Bhav. U.).

Vṛndāvanadvādaśī—on K. śu. 12 observed in Tamil lands.

Vṛṣabhavrata—(1) fast on 7th śu.; on 8th gift of a bull covered with two white garments and decked with ornaments (bell &c.); tithivrata; Śiva deity; the performer reaches Śivaloka and thereafter becomes king; HV I. 882 (from Bhav. U.); (2) worship of bulls on Jy. Amāvāsyā; manufacture wooden bulls the previous day and establish them in one's own house and worship with *gandha* &c.; prayer to bulls calling them Dharma. Dharma is often spoken of as vṛṣa as in Manu VIII. 16 (= Śāntiparva 90. 15.

Vṛṣavrata—(1) the same as Viṣṇuvrata (2) above; KKV 448 quoting Mat. 101. 64; (3) on K. pūrṇimā let loose a bull and observe nakta; tithi; Śiva deity; performer reaches Śivaloka; HV II. 242 (from Pad. one verse).

Vṛṣotsarga—(letting loose a bull) on pūrṇimā of Cai. or K. once in three years on Revatī nakṣatra; bull to be three years old and accompanied by four or eight cows three years old; KR 432–433 (from Brah.). The most frequent letting loose of a bull takes place on the 11th day after the death of a person. For treatment thereof, vide H. of Dh. IV. pp. 539–542. The same subject is treated at length in HV II. 983-997, SmK 390–405.

Vedavrata—This is a Caturmūrtivrata; from Cai. one should worship Ṛgveda and should subsist by nakta way and listen

to its recitation and on last day of Jy. donate two garments, gold, cow, bell-metal vessel full of ghee; in Āṣ, Śr, Bh. he should observe Yajurveda vrata, in Āśv, K. and Mārg. Sāmaveda vrata and in P., M, Phā. for all vedas; this is really worship of Vāsudeva who is the soul of the Vedas; perform for twelve years; becomes free from all trouble and goes to Viṣṇuloka; HV II. 827–28 (from Vi. Dh. III. 141. 1–7).

Veśyāvrata—HV II. pp. 541–548 (quoting Bhav. U.) deals with this vrata and contains the startling story narrated by Kṛṣṇa to Yudhiṣṭhira that the former cursed his 16000 wives, when he noticed their erotic emotion roused by the charms of his son Sāmba, that after his death *dasyus* would kidnap them and the story of a prior curse pronounced by sage Nārada on Apsarases who proudly did not bow to him that they would have Nārāyaṇa as their husband but that ultimately they would be kidnapped by robbers and become Veśyās (prostitutes). The long and short of this story is that they were advised to follow the profession in palaces and temples, that they should not love any male who has no wealth, but that they should have as their sole object wealth, whether the man who approached them was handsome or ugly. It is further stated that they should make gifts of cows, fields, gold to brāhmaṇas, should bathe with *sarvauṣadhi* water when on a Sunday there is Hasta, Puṣya or Punarvasu nakṣatra and offer worship to Kāmadeva from the feet to the head, that they should worship Cupid as Viṣṇu, honour a brāhmaṇa learned in the Veda with gift of a *prastha* of husked rice grains and render their person to him on Sunday as above for a year and in the 13th month make a gift of bedstead, gold chain and an image of Kāmadeva; this is the vrata for all Veśyās; this is vāravrata; Anaṅga (god of love) is devatā; KKV (27–31) has this vrata and calls it Veśyādityavārānaṅgadāna-vrata.

Vaikuṇṭhacaturdaśī—(1) K. śu. 14 is called Vaikuṇṭha; if worship of Viṣṇu is to be done it should take place at night; NS 206; (2) on K. śu. 14 in the cyclic year Hemalamba at the time of Aruṇodaya and on Brāhma *muhūrta* Lord Viśveśvara himself is said to have bathed in Maṇikarṇikā at Banaras, performed Pāśupatavrata and together with Umā worshipped Viśveśvara and established Viśveśvara; NS 206, SmK 388–389, PC 246–247.

Vaitaraṇīvrata—Marg. kṛ. 11th tithi is called Vaitaraṇī; one should undertake *niyamas* (restrictions) for this vrata on that tithi; at night he should worship a dark cow from its front foot to its tail; apply sandalwood paste to its body, wash its feet and horns with water scented with sandalwood paste and worship its limbs with Paurāṇika mantras; since one crosses the Vaitaraṇī river of the nether world by means of a cow, so this ekādaśī on which cow is honoured is so called; this vrata is for one year in three periods of four months, in which naivedya of boiled rice, of cooked barley and of pāyasa is offered respectively in 4 months from Mārg., in four months from Cai. and in 4 months from Śr.; one third of each naivedya is to be given to the cow, to the priest and to the performer; at end of one year gift of bedstead and a golden cow to the priest and one *droṇa* of iron; HV I. 1110–1112 (from Bhav. U.), Vratārka 230a–231b (notes that it is well-known in Gurjara-deśa). Pad. (VI. 68. 28 ff) describes this but says that Mārg. kṛ. 12th is Vaitaraṇī.

Vaināyaka-vrata—on every 4th tithi practise nakta for a year; at end of year donate an elephant; tithivrata; Gaṇeśa deity; leads to Śivaloka; Mat. 101. 61 quoted (with variations) by KKV 448 and HV I. 532 (from Pad.).

Vaiśākha-kṛtya—Vide HV II. 748–750, KR 145–179, VKK 240–259, KT 423–430, NS 90-97, SmK 108–117, GK 15–23. Some of the vratas in Vaiśākha, such as Akṣayyatṛtīyā have been separately mentioned. Other small matters are briefly dealt with here. In this month morning bath, particularly in holy rivers, is specially commended along with baths when the Sun is in Tulā (Balance) or Makara (Capricorn). Vide RM (ABORI vol. 36 p. 331 'Tulāmakara' &c.), KR 149 (quoting 'Tulāmakarameṣeṣu prātaḥsnānam vidhīyate), KV 423–424, SmK 106, 108. The *prātaḥsnāna* may be begun on Caitra Full Moon or on the ekādaśī or Full Moon of Vaiśākha (NS 90); for māhātmya of Vaiśākha-snāna, vide Pad. IV. 85. 41–70 saying that early morning bath in Vai. is equal to Aśvamedha; on śu. 7 the worship of the Ganges, as it was let off on this tithi from his right ear by Jahnu who drank it up in anger (KKN 387, Pad. IV. 85. 41–42, NS 95, SmK 112); on Vai. śu. 7 Buddha was born and his image should be worshipped for three days from that tithi, especially when it has Puṣya

nakṣatra (KKN 388, KR 160). On śu. 8 worship of Durgā called Aparājitā after bathing image with water containing camphor and Jaṭāmāṁsī and the performer himself should bathe with the juice of mangoes (NA 56, SmK 113); on Vai. pūrṇimā, white and dark sesame were produced by Brahmā, therefore one should bathe with water mixed with them, offer in fire sesame, donate sesame and *madhu* (honey) and vessels full of sesame (KKN 388, HV II. 167–171, KR 163–164, SmK 115–116, NS 97); vide V. Dh. 90. 10 for a similar provision. The Vaiśākha-pūjā of Buddha was started in Ceylon under Duttha-gāmaṇī (about 100–77 B. C.); vide 'Buddhism in Ceylon' by Walpola Rāhula (Colombo, 1956) p. 80.

Vaiśvānara-vrata—(1) On 1st tithi worship Agni and offer into fire ghee and all kinds of corn; Agni the lord of 1st should be drawn in the midst of a lotus; the main mantras would be 'Om Agnaye namaḥ' in worship and 'om Agnaye svāhā' (in *homa*) with grains anointed with ghee and then with a stream of ghee, fuel sticks &c.; HV I. 354–355 (from Bhav.); (2) to donate fuel sticks to a brāhmaṇa in the four seasons beginning from the rainy season and at end to donate *ghṛta-dhenu* is Vaiśvānaravrata destroying all sins; this is *ṛtu-vrata*; Mat. 101. 57 q. by KKV 447, HV II. 360 (from Pad.).

Vaiṣṇavavrata—In this a person takes an early morning bath every day for four months from Āṣ.; at end feeds a brāhmaṇa and donates a cow and a jar of ghee; *māsavrata*; Viṣṇu deity; HV II. 818 (from Pad.)

Vyatīpātavrata—Vyatīpāta is one of the 27 Yogas (Viṣkambha, Prīti &c.) enumerated in Bhujabala p. 37 verses 136–138. It is variously defined. Vide H. of Dh. II. p. 852 note 2010 for one definition and VKK 242 for another. More will be said under Kāla.

For Vyatīpātavratas, vide HV II. 708–717, Vratārka folios 391a–395a. On Vyatīpāta day one should bathe with pañcagavya in a great river; a golden figure of Vyatīpāta with 18 arms should be placed on a golden lotus and should be worshipped with *gandha* &c.; fast on that day; one year; on the 13th Vyatīpāta *udyāpana*; hundred *āhutis* of ghee, milk and sesame with fuel sticks of trees that exude milky juice with the words 'Vyatīpātāya svāhā'. Vyatīpāta is said to be the son of the Sun and Moon. Vide I. A. vol. 23 p. 117

No. 27 Inscription dated *śake* 1199 (1277 A. D.), where there is a mention of 'Vyatīpāta-puṇya' (language is Canarese). Vide I. A. 20 pp. 292–293 for several meanings of Vyatīpāta.

Vyāsapūjā—on Āṣ. pūrṇimā; particularly by ascetics (sannyāsins); SmK 144–145, PC 284. In Tamil country it is done on Jy. śu. 15 (Mithuna).

Vyāhṛtivrata—beginning from Cai. śu. 1st, one should, after a bath outside the house (in a river &c.), respectively drink and observe on the seven days cow's urine, cow's dung, milk, curds, clarified butter, water with kuśas dipped therein and fast; every day homa of sesame to the accompaniment of the Mahāvyāhṛtis (bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ, mahaḥ, janaḥ, tapaḥ, satya); every month this be done for a year; at end donate dakṣiṇā, unused garment, gold, bell-metal vessel, milch cow; tbe performer becomes an emperor; Vi. Dh. III. 162. 1–7. For Vyāhṛtis and Mahāvyāhṛtis, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. 301 note 713.

Vyomavrata—the sky should be made with white sandalwood paste of the length of thumb joint and placed before the Sun; worship of the Sun with Karavīra flowers; to the east, south, west and north of the figure of sky apply saffron, *aguru*, white sandalwood and *catuḥsama* respectively and red sandalwood in the middle; the mantra is 'Khakholkāya namaḥ'; Sun deity; HV II. 904–5 (from Bhav.).

Vyomaṣaṣṭhī—worship of the Sun in the sky (and not of an image) and also of the sky (*vyoma*); offering to the Sun of ghee and honey contained in a vessel of the capacity of a *prastha*, one prastha of sesame and three prasthas of rice grains; worship of the Sun in the evening of the tithi; reaches Sūryaloka; HV I. 616–17 (from Bhav.).

Vratarājatṛtīyāvrata—on śu. 3rd tithi draw on two pieces of cloth figures of *Umā and Śiva* with *rocanā*, camphor and indigo and worship them with necklaces of gold and jewels and utter two (Paurāṇika) mantras separately addressed to them; homa; this vrata leads to non-separation from husband, son, brother &c., particularly for women; HV I. 484–85 (from Devīpurāṇa).

Vrataṣaṣṭhī—Mat. 101 and Pad. V. 20. 43–144 set out 60 vratas (almost in identical words) all of which find place in KKV pp. 439–451.

Śakradhvajamahotsava—Same as Indradhvajotthānotsava above p. 274. Vide Vi. Dh. II. 154–157 for detailed description. Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa of Bhoja (on Poetics) V. 95 mentions Śakrārcā festival.

Śakravrata—(1) from Āśv. śu. 5; HV I. 1204; (2) on Āśv. pūrṇimā fast and worship Indra, his wife Śacī, Airāvaṇa, Vajra (thunderbolt), Mātuliṅga (Mātali?) with gandha &c., for a year; at end donate gold; reaches Indra-loka; HV II. 237 (from Vi. Dh. III. 196. 1–3); (3) one should eat food in the open; for a year; at end donate a cow; reaches Śakraloka; HV II. 866 (from Pad.).

Śaṅkara-nārāyaṇa-vrata—same as Viṣṇu-Śaṅkara-vrata above p. 414; KKV 416–17, HV II. 693–94 (from Devīpurāṇa).

Śaṅkarārkavrata—on 8th falling on Sunday; worship of the Sun who is the right eye of Śaṅkara; in the half moon figure a circular spot be made by applying saffron and red sandal-wood paste and in the circular spot place a ruby fixed in gold; this would be eye (Sun) of Śaṅkara; tithivrata; Arka (Sun) as Śaṅkara's eye is deity; KKV 271–72, HV I. 831–32 (from Kālikā). If no ruby available use gold.

Śaṅkarācārya-jayantī—on Cai. śu. 5 in Southern India, but on Vai. śu. 10 in Mahārāṣṭra.

Śatabhiṣāsnāna—on Dhaniṣṭhā-nakṣatra fast for both performer and his priest; performer seated on Bhadrāsana was to be bathed with water from one hundred jars filled with conches and pearls and after bath, he, wearing unused garment, should worship Keśava, Varuṇa, Candra, Śatabhiṣak nakṣatra (the presiding deity of which is Varuṇa) with gandha &c.; donate to ācārya liquids, cow, jar and gold and dakṣiṇā to other brāhmaṇas; he should wear a jewel surrounded by three coverings of śamī and śālmali (silk-cotton) leaves and tips of bamboo; all diseases vanish; nakṣatra-vrata; Viṣṇu, Varuṇa deities; HV II. 653–54 (from Vi. Dh.).

Śatrunāśana-vrata—worship Vāsudeva with saffron, white flowers, *guggulu dhūpa*, lamp fed with ghee, red garment; homa; nakṣatravrata; this destroys enemies; HV II. 597 (from Vi. Dh.).

Śanipradoṣavrata—on śu. 13th tithi if falling on Saturday in the months from K.; for one year; for progeny; worship of Śiva

and taking food after sunset; SmK 40–41, PC 225-229, Vratārka, folios 265a–269b.

Śanivāravrata—on each Saturday in Śrāvaṇa bathe an iron image of Saturn with pañcāmṛta, offer flowers, fruits &c. and recite the names of Saturn as 'Koṇastha, Piṅgala, Babhru, Kṛṣṇa, Raudra, Antaka, Yama, Sauri (son of the Sun), Śanaiścara, Manda (reference to slow motion of Saturn); naivedya on the four Saturdays of Śrāvaṇa are rice and māṣa pulse boiled together, pāyasa, *ambili* (gruel prepared with rice flour and butter-milk) and *pūrikā* (wheat cake); SmK 555–56 (contains a *stotra* of Śanaiścara from Skanda).

Śanivrata—on Saturday take an oil-bath and donate oil to a brāhmaṇa; worship Saturn with dark flowers; for one year; at end donate the iron image of Saturn placed in iron or clay jar filled with oil and accompanied with a pair of dark garments; the mantra for a brāhmaṇa performer is 'śan no devīrabhiṣṭaye' -Ṛg. X. 9.4 and for others several Paurāṇika mantras in praise of Śani (called also Koṇa, probably from a Greek word); this averts all trouble caused by Saturn; HV II. 580-586 (from Bhav. U.), SmK 555.

Śamīpūjana—worship of Śamī tree. Vide Vijayā-daśamī above pp. 188–194 and SmK 355.

Śambhuvrata—person that burns in fire two thousand palas of ghee from buffalo milk for a year reaches the position of Nandī; saṁvatsaravrata; Śiva deity; HV II. 866–67 (from Pad.).

Śayana—sleeping of Viṣṇu and other gods and goddesses. Vide above pp. 109–111 and HK 897–915, KV 265–273.

Śayyādāna—gift of bedstead, This is required in several vratas as in Māsopavāsavrata, Śarkarā-saptamī. Vide SmK 417-418.

Śarkarāsaptamī—on Cai. śu. 7th tithi morning bath with water mixed with white sesame; draw on an altar a lotus and pericarp with saffron and offer on it *dhūpa* and flowers with words 'namaḥ Savitre'; place a jar containing a gold piece covered with a plate containing sugar and offer worship with Paurāṇika mantra; drink pañcagavya and lie on the ground near the jar and recite inaudibly Saura hymn (Ṛg. I. 50); on 8th donate all the above materials and feed

brāhmaṇas with sugar, ghee and pāyasa and himself partake of food without salt and oil; every month this procedure for a year; at year's end donate a furnished bedstead with sugar and gold, a cow and a house (if possible) and a golden lotus made with one to 1000 *niṣkas*; when Sun drank *amṛta* some drops fell down from which sprang rice, *mudga* and sugarcane (from which sugar is produced); tithivrata; Sun deity; this vrata removes sorrow and confers sons, long life and health; Mat. 77. 1-17 q. in KKV 214-217, HV I. 642-43 (from Pad. V. 21. 263-279), KR 157-159 (from Mat.); Bhav. U. 49. 1-18 has almost the same verses as Mat.

Śāka—(vegetable) is said to be of ten forms viz. ' roots, leaves, sprouts, blossom, fruits, stalks, corn that has germinated, bark, flower and mushroom; HV I. 47, NS 105 (both quoting Kṣīrasvāmī on Amarakośa), VR 17.

Śākasaptamī—begin on K. śu. 7th; every month for one year divided into three periods of four months; on 5th ekabhakta, on 6th nakta and fast on 7th; offer to brāhmaṇas food with well spiced vegetables and should himself eat at night; tithivrata; Sun deity; in each period of four months different flowers (Agasti, fragrant flowers, Karavīra), unguents (saffron, white sandalwood, red sandalwood), dhūpas (Aparājita, aguru, *guggulu*), naivedyas (pāyasa, jaggery cake, boiled rice-grains); dinner to brāhmaṇas at year's end and listening to Purāṇas read by a reader; Bhav. I. 47. 47-72, q. by KKV 103-107, HV 760-763, KR 417-419.

Śāntā-caturthī—4th tithi of M. śu. is called Śāntā; fast on it and worship Gaṇeśa; tithivrata; Gaṇeśa; homa; naivedya of boiled rice full of ghee and jaggery and salt; bath, gifts, offerings made on this yield a thousand times more reward than ordinarily; HV I. 513-514 (from Bhav. I. 31. 6-10).

Śānti-pañcamī—on 5th tithi of Bh. draw with black and other powders figures of snakes and worship with *gandha* &c., and on 5th tithi of Āśv. make figures of snakes with darbhas and worship them and also Indrāṇī; snakes are pleased with performer: the mantra is ' Kurukulle hum phaṭ svāhā '; KKV 95 (only the one on 5th of Āśv.), HV I. 563-64 (from Bhav, I. 37. 1-3 and I. 38. 1-5).

Śāntivrata—(1) on 3rd tithi prepare an altar and make a maṇḍala thereon with white rice grains and invoke

Narasiṁha and establish an image showing all the features of that *avatāra* and decked with numerous flowers of various kinds and bilva fruit and sesame &c.; worship image with various upacāras, dance, songs and music; place in front of image a jar full of water and eight other jars in eight directions; elaborate procedure of homa with sesame, ghee &c. and also *tarpaṇa* and *japa*. This vrata removes all distress, diseases and all sins; HV I. 465–471 (from Gar.); (2) begin on 5th of K. śu.: give up sour things for a year and worship at night image of Hari sleeping on Śeṣa and with one foot on lap of Lakṣmī; worship limbs from feet to head associating each limb with one of the eight *nāgas* (Ananta &c. mentioned on p. 124 above) and bathe *nāgas* (images) with milk; homa with sesame and milk; at end donate golden snake, cow, and gold; this vrata makes for freedom from danger of snake bite; KV 96–97 and HV I. 556-557 (both quote from Var. 60. 1–8).

Śāmbharāyaṇīvrata—a nakṣatravrata; Acyuta deity; for seven years; twelve nakṣatras viz. Kṛttikā, Mṛgaśiras, Puṣya and so on give names to the twelve months of the year, viz. Kārtika, Mārgaśīrṣa, Pauṣa &c.; begin in K. and the naivedya for four months from K. is kṛśara (Marathi *Khicaḍi*), Saṁyāva in four months from Phā.; and pāyasa in four months from Āṣ.; brāhmaṇas are to be fed with the same food that is offered as naivedya; a silver image of the brāhmaṇī women Śāmbharāyaṇī (who was asked by Bṛhaspati about Indra's predecessors was to be established); Kṛṣṇa tells the story of this venerable woman; HV II. 659–665 from Bhav. U.).

Śikhivrata—on 1st tithi in both *pakṣas* in each month subsist by ekabhakta way; for one year; at end donate a *kapilā* cow; reaches Vaiśvānaraloka; Agni 176. 6–7; VKK 29 (quotes same from Mat. 101. 92, which calls it Śivavrata as printed).

Śirovrata—m. in Muṇḍakopaniṣad III. 2. 10 and Vas. Dh. 26. 12. Śaṅkarācārya explains that it consists of carrying fire on the head.

Śītāvrata—on 4th tithi a person should eat in ekabhakta way and donate once to a house owner and distribute among seven houses salt, coriander, jīraka, marica, asafoetida, dry ginger and turmeric with manaḥśilā; this confers prosperity; HV I. 531–32 (from Bhav. U.), KR 97–98.

Śivakṛṣṇāṣṭamī—on 8th of Mārg. kṛ.; tithivrata; Śiva deity; worship of Śivaliṅga on every 8th tithi for one year; every month different name of Śiva, different substance to be eaten up to K.; reward-freedom from all sins. Bhav. U. 75. 1–30 q. by V P folios 141b–143a.

Śivacaturdaśīvrata—on Mārg. śu. 13th (by amānta reckoning) observe ekabhakta and pray to Śiva; fast on 14th; worship Śaṅkara and Umā with white lotuses, gandha &c. and from feet upwards; the same to be done on kṛ. 14th also and on all 14th tithis; from Mārg. for 12 months the salutation to Śaṅkara is under a different name; he has to drink in each month one of 12 substances viz. cow's urine, cow dung, milk, curds, ghee &c. and also offer in each month different kinds of flowers, Mandāra, Mālatī &c.; for a year or twelve years in K; at end of year he has to let loose a nīla bull, donate a bedstead with a jar to a learned and well-conducted brāhmaṇa; reward same as that of a thousand Aśvamedhas and all, even grave, sins are destroyed; Mat. 95. 5–38, q. by KKV 370–374 and HV II. 58–61, KR 466–471, NS 226; for *nīlavṛṣa* vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 540 note 1215.

Śivanaktavrata—(1) observe nakta on kṛ. 8th and 14th; secures pleasures in this world and reaches Śivaloka; KKV 386, HV II. 398 (from Bhav.); (2) nakta on each parva for a year, and worship of Śiva for a year; KKV 386. For *parvan*, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 737 note 1425; (3) on 8th, 9th, 13th and 14th, performer takes only ekabhakta, food being served on the ground; for a year; KKV 386–387.

Śivanakṣatra-puruṣavrata—When there is Hasta nakṣatra on Phā. śu., then this vrata may be resolved upon by one unable to fast; this is a nakṣatravrata; Śiva deity; worship of limbs of Śiva from feet to head with different names of Śiva in connection with Hasta (on which vrata begins) and the other 26 nakṣatras; subsist by nakta method but without oil and salt and make gifts on each nakta day of a *prastha* of rice grains with a vessel full of ghee; in pāraṇā donate golden images of Śiva and Umā and a bedstead with all appurtenances: HV II. 703–706 (from Vi. Dh.)

Śivayogayuktaśivarātrivrata—on M. kṛ. 14th with Śivayoga; tithivrata; Śiva deity; story of king who in a former life

was a merchant with thieving propensity; HV II. 87–92 (from Skanda).

Śivarathavrata—ekabhakta in Hemanta (Mārg. and P.) and M. ; at end of M. make a chariot decked with variegated cloth and having four white bulls yoked; place in chariot a *liṅga* made with the flour of an āḍhaka of rice; drive chariot at night on the public road and bring to a Śiva temple; *jāgara* with illuminations and theatricals; next morning dinner to Śiva devotees and to the blind, poor and distressed; this is *ṛtuvrata*; present the chariot to Śiva; HV II. 859–60 (from Vi. Dh.).

Śivarātrivrata—Vide above under Mahāśivarātri.

Śivaliṅgavrata—apply white sandalwood paste to liṅga, worship with white full-blown lotuses and bow to it; a small liṅga of the size of the thumb be placed in white lotus filaments near Dakṣiṇāmūrti and worship it with bilva leaves; offer other upacāras of dhūpa &c.; performer is freed from all sins and reaches Śivaloka; HV II. 887–889 (from Śiva-dharmottara).

Śivavrata—(1) For four months from Āṣ. pūrṇimā give up paring of nails and egg-fruit; donate on K. pūrṇimā a golden jar filled with ghee and honey; Mat. 101. 11–12 q. by KKV 440–441; (2) from Mārg. to K. worship Śiva, offer before Śiva and donate in each month in order the following things made of flour, viz. horse, elephant, chariot, herd of eleven bulls, a moon-lit. (or camphor) house with slaves and slave girls and household gear, seven plates full of paddy, two hundred fruits and *guggulu*, a maṇḍala with offerings consisting of various edibles and pictures, a vehicle made of flowers, guggulu dhūpa and pine and bilva seeds and ghee and aguru burnt throughout Bh. month, vessel made of *arka* leaves filled with milk and ghee (for entire month of Āśv.), a vessel filled with sugarcane juice and covered with cloth; at end of year treat Śiva devotees to food and drink and donate gold and clothes; HV II. 819–821 (from Kālottara); (3) on 14th or 8th of both pakṣas or on pūrṇimā from month of P. to Mārg. special worship to be offered viz. as *naivedya* a *prastha* of yāvaka, candid sugar with milk and ghee, an image of kapilā cow made of barley flour of the height of one *vitasti* with a bull and feed eleven brāhmaṇas, flour rhinoceros in M., ruddy goose in Phā.,

Śiva image of flour in Cai., and so on different articles made of flour in the other months; one year; HV II. 398–400 (from Kālottara); (4) on 8th and 14th of both *pakṣas* fast and worship of Śiva in afternoon; japa and homa; honour guru; drink three *culukas* (hollowed hand) of pañcagavya; the next day subsist on *haviṣya* food; observe for whole of life; three male ancestors dwell in Śivaloka; HV II. 343 (from Kālottara); (5) begin on P. and subsist by nakta way on wheat, rice and milk only; on 8th of both *pakṣas* fast and sleep on the ground and bathe Rudra with ghee and on pūrṇimā; this be carried on for a year up to Mārg. with different food in each month and different offering to Rudra; Liṅgapurāṇa 83. 13–54; (6) from one *ayana* to another (i. e. for six months) give flowers and ghee; at end donate flowers and feed brāhmaṇa with pāyasa and ghee and donate ghṛtadhenu; confers wealth and health; KR 219 (from Agni); (7) give up paring of nails from Āṣ. pūrṇimā to K. pūrṇimā and at end donate a jar of honey and ghee with gold; performer goes to Rudraloka; KR 219–220, VKK 292.

Śivavrateṣu pūjā—VR (pp. 57–61) gives the procedure of worship in all pūjās of Śiva.

Śivaśaktimahotsava-vrata—a great festival when aṣṭamī and navamī tithis are mixed up may be held in honour of Śiva and Śakti or in Śivakṣetra such as Kāśī or Śrīśaila; KN 197.

Śivācaturthī—Bh. śu. 4th tithi is called Śivā; bath, gifts, fast and japa on that day yield a hundredfold reward; tithivrata; Gaṇeśa deity; HV I. 512–513 (from Bhav. I. 31. 1–5).

Śivopāsanavrata—on 8th and 14th tithis of both *pakṣas*, one should take no food and should worship Śiva; for one year; he reaps the same merit as the performer of *sattra* does; KKV 385–386, HV II. 397 (calls it Śaivopavāsavrata). For Sattra, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1239.

Śivapavitravrata—on Āṣ. pūrṇimā worship of Śiva, giving sacred thread to Śiva and dinner to Śiva devotees; again on K. pūrṇimā worship Śiva, give to ascetics garments and dakṣiṇā; HV II. 843 (from Śivadharmottara).

Śītalāvrata—on Śr. kṛ. 7th establish one jar and on it worship golden image of Śītalā and feed seven maidens eight or less

years old; confers freedom from widowhood, removal of poverty, happiness of sons &c.; Vratārka folio 111–113, AK folios 438b–440b. Some perform it on Śr. śu. 7. It is for women alone. The naivedya is food mixed with ghee and curds.

Śītalāṣṭamī—on Cai. kṛ. 8th; worship of Śītalā (popularly deemed to be goddess of small-pox) for relief against smallpox; offer to Śītalā eight lamps fed with ghee day and night and sprinkle cow's milk and cold water made fragrant with *uśīra* (fragrant roots of a plant); donate an ass, broom, and winnowing basket separately; KT 462; AK folio 558a–561a; ass is the vāhana of Śītalā, she is represented as naked, has a broom and jar in her hands and a winnowing basket on her head. Vide Forbes Rasmala, vol. II. pp. 322–325 about Śītalādevī and A. C. Sen's 'Bengali language and Literature' for Śītalā-maṅgala (poems in honour of Śītalā) pp. 365–367.

Śītalāsaptamī—on 7th of Śr. kṛ.; VR 237–241.

Śīlavrata—(1) same as Śivavrata (No. 6); KKV 444–45 (quoting Mat. 101. 38–39; (2) on 3rd eat food not cooked on or in fire; (probably) for a year; tithivrata; Śiva deity; at end donate cow; the performer is not born again; KKV 449 = HV I. 484 (from Pad.); Mat. 101. 70 calls it Śreyovrata; Śīlavrata, acc. to Mat. 101. 38, is different.

Śīlāvāptivrata—worship for a month after Āgrahāyaṇī pūrṇimā (i. e. Mārg. pūrṇimā) of Varāha (incarnation of Viṣṇu); bathe the image of Varāha with ghee and offer ghee in Agni, make ghee as naivedya and donate ghṛta; on P. pūrṇimā and two days prior to it observe fast and honour a brāhmaṇa with gift of a vessel full of ghee and gold; performer secures *śīla* (character, moral conduct); Vi. Dh. III. 208. 1–5 q. by HV II. 786–787.

Śukravrata—When Friday and Jyeṣṭhā-nakṣatra coincide, one should observe nakta; when 7th such Friday is reached, one should place in a silver or bell-metal vessel golden image of Venus and worship it with white garments and sandalwood paste; place before image *pāyasa* and ghee and donate these and image with a prayer that Venus may remove all evil planetary influence and confer health and long life; vāravrata; Venus deity; HV II. 579–80 (from Bhav. U.); vide also Agni 195. 5.

Śuddhivrata—on last five days at the end of Śarad or on ekādaśīs in the twelve months; tithivrata; Hari deity; when ocean was churned five cows rose; from them sprang five holy things, viz. cowdung, rocanā (yellow pigment), milk, urine, curds and ghee; from cowdung was produced bilva tree named śrīvṛkṣa as Lakṣmī dwells on it; from gorocanā arose all auspicious desires, guggulu from cow-urine, all strength in the world from cow's milk, all auspicious things from curds, all splendour from ghee; therefore bathe Hari with milk, curds and ghee and worship with guggulu, lamps &c. and Agasti flowers; performer reaches Viṣṇuloka and even his pitṛs who might be in hell go to heaven; he should donate a cow and the gifts called jaladhenu, ghṛtadhenu, madhudhenu; he is freed from all sins; HV I. 1156-58 (from Vahnipurāṇa).

Śukladvādaśī—same as Śubhadvādaśī immediately below.

Śubhadvādaśī—begin on 1st of Mārg. śu., observe ekabhakta from 1st to 9th tithi; on 10th after bath worship Keśava at mid-day; on 12th of both pakṣas donate sesame and gold in four months from Mārg.; in 4 months from Cai. donate vessels full of groats and gold; similarly worship Govinda in Śrāvaṇa and following three months; on 12th of K. he should prepare a golden model of the earth with seven *pātālas* and mountains and place it before (image of) Hari; worship Hari; *jāgara*; next morning donate to each of 21 brāhmaṇas a cow, a bull, a pair of garments, ring, golden wristlet and ear-ornament, a village (for a royal performer) and on kṛ. 12 a silver model of the earth and donate it; performer secures all prosperity and Viṣṇuloka; KKV 340-343, HV I. 1101-1103 (quoting about twentyone verses from Var. 55. 1-59).

Śubhasaptamī—on 7th of Āśv. śu. worship kapilā cow and donate a *prastha* of sesame contained in a copper vessel and a golden bull with garments, flowers and jaggery with the words 'may Aryaman be pleased'; tithivrata; Aryaman deity; for a year do the same every month; Mat. 80. 1-14 q. by KKV 221-223, HV I. 648-650 (from Pad. V. 21. 307-321); same verses in Bhav. U. 51. 1-14.

Śūlapradānavrata—fast on each amāvāsyā for a year; tithivrata; at year's end offer to Śiva a pike made of flour and a golden or silver lotus and place it on one's head and donate these; he should observe the rules of *ahiṁsā*, celibacy, sleeping on ground &c.; HV II. 252-53 (from Śivadharma).

Śailavrata—(1) worship of the mountain the performer desires; becomes happy; *HV I. 796* (*from Vi. Dh.*); (2) for seven days from Cai. śu. 1 worship every day the seven *kulaparvatas* viz. Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimat, Ṛkṣa, Vindhya and Pāriyātra; homa with yavas; subsist on barley food; for a year; at end donate twenty prasthas of yava; the performer king conquers enemies and rules over the earth; HV I. 463–64 (quoting Vi. Dh. III. 161. 1–7). For seven mountains, vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 560, note 1260.

Śaivanakṣatravrata—begin when Hasta–nakṣatra occurs in Phā. śu.; subsist by nakta method but avoid oil and salt; worship Śiva associating each of his limbs from feet to head separately with the nakṣatras from Hasta in the form ' Śivāyeti ca Hastena pādau sampūjayed-vibhoḥ '; donate on all nakta days a *prastha* of rice grains with a vessel of ghee; on pāraṇā donate images of Śiva and Umā, a bedstead fully furnished, a cow; nakṣatravrata; Śiva deity; HV II. 703-706 (from Vi. Dh.).

Śaivamahāvrata—(1) Begin from P. 8th; subsist in nakta way throughout but on 8th of both *pakṣas* fast; worship Śiva thrice in the day, offer homa, sleep on ground; on P. pūrṇimā offer Mahāpūjā with ghee &c.; offer dinner to eight brāhmaṇas and present a pair of cows and a kapila bull; in M. and the following months he is to subsist by nakta on different kinds of food in each month up to Mārg.; māsavrata; HV II. 843–848; (2) in K. subsist by nakta way; at end of month offer oilcake with jaggery and ghee; fast on 8th and 14th; in the months from Mārg. different objects connected with Śiva are to be presented to the image of Śiva; māsavrata; Śiva deity; HV II. 848-853 (from Śivadharma).

Śarvopavāsavrata—no food to be taken for a year, on 8th and 14th of both fortnights of a month; Śiva deity; HV II. 397 (from Bhav.).

Śauryavrata—saṅkalpa on Āśv. śu. 7, on 8th fast, on 9th eat flour and worship Durgā and give dinner to brāhmaṇas; this procedure to be followed for one year; tithivrata; Durgā deity; at end dinner to maidens and present them with clothes &c. and pray ' may Devī be pleased with me '; one without learning becomes learned, a timid person becomes valorous, one that had lost a kingdom regains it. Var. 64. 1–6 q. by KKV 273, HV I. 957–58, KR 364–365.

Śyāmāmahotsava—vide p. 317 above under 'Drākṣā-bhakṣaṇa'; HV II. 915 (from Ādityapurāṇa), KR 303-304.

Śyenagrāsanavidhi—on 4th, 8th, 9th, or 14th of K. śu.; for women; in Kṛta age women gave a morsel to a hawk with the request to carry it to Devī; but now no such thing is done but women take food before their husbands on one of these days and husbands dine afterwards; HV II. 641-43 (from Ādityapurāṇa).

Śrāddhavrata—apply sandalwood paste to Śiva image in the presence of Keśava image and donate jaladhenu and ghṛtadhenu; performer is freed from all sins and goes to Śivaloka; saṁvatasaravrata; Śiva deity; HV II. 863 (from Pad.).

Śravaṇadvādaśī—(1) in Bh. śu. 12 with śravaṇa-nakṣatra; fast on 11th; donate on 12th an earthen vessel full of boiled rice and curds washed clean with water from the confluence (of Gaṅgā and Yamunā); KKV 348 (from Vā.); (2) fast on dvādaśī with śravaṇa-nakṣatra and worship of Janārdana; it is in its reward equal to twelve dvādaśīs; if śravaṇa-dvādaśī falls on Wednesday, it is regarded as extremely great; tithivrata; Viṣṇu deity; HV I. 1162-1171 (from Vi. Dh. I. 161. 1-8); Agni devotes fifteen verses to it. Most digests deal with it at length; vide HK 289-298, KV 459-464, NS 137-140, SmK 240-249 (elaborate procedure). Vide Pad. VI. 70 for this, its māhātmya and story. Vide Gar. I chap. 136 also for this vrata.

Śrāvaṇa-kṛtya—KKN 395-397, KR 218-254, VKK 292, KT 437-438; NS 109-122, SmK 148-200, PC 215-22.

There are several important vratas in Śrāvaṇa such as Nāgapañcamī, Aśūnyaśayanavrata, Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī, which have already been described or have been included separately in this list. A few small matters are briefly mentioned here. A notion prevailed that all rivers except those that fall directly into the sea are *rajasvalā* ('muddy' or with a pun 'in monthly course') when the Sun is in the middle of the signs of Cancer and Lion and therefore one was not to bathe in them for holiness and that streams that are not 1008 *dhanus* in length are not to be called 'nadīs' (rivers) but they are merely holes or canals (gartā). Vide Gobhilasmṛti I. 141-142 (Māsadvayaṁ Śrāvaṇādi &c.), NS 109-110; vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. 590 note 1337 for the length of *dhanus* (as 4 hastas). In Śr. the several deities had on different

tithis the *pavitrāropaṇavrata* (for which vide pp. 339-340 above); on Mondays in Śr. one should either fast or take only one meal at night (SmK 139); on 9th of both fortnights worship Durgā under the name of Kaumārī (KR 244, SmK 200); on Śr. kṛ. 1 all Vaidika brāhmaṇas have to engage in japa of Gāyatrī for 1008 times in Tamil lands as their almanac shows. Śrāvaṇa amāvāsyā is called *kuśotpāṭinī* as kuśas are gathered then (KR 316, SmK 252). On this amāvāsyā childless women or women whose children die in infancy perform a vrata for getting a child viz. they observe fast, establish eight *kalaśas* (jars) for images of Brahmāṇī and other Mother Goddesses.

Śrāvaṇikāvrata—on 8th and 14th of Mārg. śu.; after bath at mid-day performer should invite several maidens or one maiden (if he be poor) or chaste brāhmaṇa sagotra women and one learned and well-conducted brāhmaṇa, wash the latter's feet and give *arghya* and honour with gandha &c. and a sumptuous dinner; he should place twelve water vessels covered with threads and garlands before the maidens and should place one vessel on his own head and contemplate on Keśava and pray that he may be freed from all his debts to *pitṛs*, gods and men; the women should reply 'so be it'; tithivrata; deities are goddesses called Śrāvaṇyaḥ who report to Brahmā whatever good or evil a man utters; HV II. 134-139 (from Bhav. U.).

Śrīpañcamī—(1) on 5th of Mārg. śu. one should make a golden, silver, copper, wooden or clay image of Lakṣmī or draw her figure on a piece of cloth and worship it with flowers and offer worship to the limbs from feet to head; chaste married women should be honoured with saffron and flowers and dinner and salutations; donate a prastha of rice grains with a vessel full of ghee with the words 'may Lakṣmī be plessed with me'; this should be carried on for a year taking a different name of Lakṣmī in each month; at end worship Lakṣmī image in a maṇḍapa and donate it and a cow and pray to Śrī to give him success; result-prosperity for 21 generations; HV I. 537-543 (from Bhav. U. chap. 37. 1-58 with some variations); (2) Another vrata for success to be begun on śu. 5th with Śravaṇa-nakṣatra or with Uttarāphalgunī and Monday; on 4th ekabhakta; next day worship of bilva tree, under which eight *kalaśas* to be arranged in eight directions; holy

water, ratnas, *dūrvā*, white lotuses &c. should be cast in those kalaśas; Lakṣmī to be worshipped and prayed to; invoke Nārāyaṇa in the middle kalaśa and worship Nārāyaṇa image: for one year or as long as success is not effected; HV I. 546–552 (from Gar.); (3) on M. śu. 5, worship Lakṣmī in jar full of water or on Śālagrāma stone since she came to this world at Viṣṇu's command on that day; Bhujabala-nibandha (p. 363 Ms.) says that worship was with kunda flowers; KT 457, 458; PC 98 says Lakṣmī was to be worshipped on M. śu. 5, while SmK 479 provides that Kāma and Rati (Cupid's wife) were to be worshipped and a great festival (called Vasantotsava was to be held; (4) on Cai. śu. 5 Lakṣmī was to be worshipped; the performer throughout his life is endowed with prosperity; NM p. 62 verses 766-768, SmK 92.

Śrīprāptivrata—(1) HV I. 575 (quoting one verse from Vi. Dh.) says he who worships Lakṣmī (image) placed in a lotus with flowers reaps the reward of a yajña; (2) begin on the 1st tithi after Vai. pūrṇimā; worship of Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī every day for a month with flowers, fruits &c.; homa with whole rice grains and bilva (fruit); feed brāhmaṇas with milk and its products; fast for three days in Jyeṣṭha; donate gold and two garments; HV II. 751 (quoting Vi. Dh. III. 211. 1–5).

Śrīvṛkṣa-navamī—on Bh. śu. 9 worship bilva tree seven times when the Sun has just risen with sesame, food made with flour, wheat and flowers &c.; pray to the tree and bow to it; performer to eat that day on bare ground food not cooked by fire (such as curds, fruits &c.) without oil and salt; tithivrata; Bilva as the residence of Lakṣmī is deity; result is freedom from pain and obtaining of wealth; HV I. 887–888 (quoting Bhav. U. 60. 1–10).

Śrīvrata—(1) by worshipping Lakṣmī on Cai. śu. 5th tithi only once one obtains all results that could be obtained in a year; HV I. 575 (one verse from Vi. Dh.); (2) on Cai. śu. 3rd tithi subsist on boiled rice and ghee and sleep on the ground that night; on 4th bathe outside the house (in a river &c.); on 5th worship of Lakṣmī on lotus whether natural or artificial and with lamp fed with ghee; homa in fire with Śrīsūkta of lotus and its petals and bilva leaves; dinner to brāhmaṇas with plenty of milk and ghee; eat *haviṣya* food;

for a year; secures strength, beauty and health; HV II. 466–468 (from Vi. Dh. III. 154. 1–15.)

Ṣaṭ-tilā-dvādaśī—on Phā. kṛ. 12th when there is Śravaṇa-nakṣatra worship gods with sesame, perform homa with sesame, light lamps with sesame oil in temples, donate sesame, offer water mixed with sesame to pitṛs and eat sesame; Viṣṇu is said to have observed fast on this tithi and offered sesame and piṇḍas to his ancestors; KR 519.

Ṣaṭ-tilī—one who fasts on 11th of M. śu. when the Moon is in Mṛgaśiras nakṣatra and performs on 12th the six actions relating to sesame becomes free from sins; VKK 505, TT 113–114, GK 151. The six actions are: rubbing sesame on body, bath in water with sesame, homa with sesame, gift of sesame, offering to pitṛs water mixed with sesame and eating sesame; compare KR 519.

Ṣaḍakṣara-mantra—Mahāśvetā mantra has six letters (HV II. 521); another is 'Khakholkāya namaḥ' KKV 9.

Ṣaṇmūrtivrata—Begin worship of six seasons on śu. 6 of Cai.; Ṛtuvrata; seasons deities: the six ṛtus are to be honoured respectively with fruits and flowers, astringent things (in Grīṣma), sweet ones in (rains), food and salt in Śarad, bitter and sour (in Hemanta), pungent things in (Śiśira); on each śu. 6th he fasts or subsists by nakta way and omits five rasas (taking only one appropriate to that season); for one year; HV II. 858–859 (from Vi. Dh. III. 156. 1–7).

Ṣaṣṭivratas—Sixty vratas occur in Mat. 101. 1–83 (q. by KKV 439–451). All these are said to have been narrated by Rudra to his spouse.

Ṣaṣṭhīdevī—BRV II (chap. 43.3–72) says that Ṣaṣṭhī, Maṅgala-caṇḍī and Manasā are portions of Prakṛti, that Ṣaṣṭhī is the presiding goddess over children, that she is called Devasenā among Mātṛs, she is wife of Skanda, protects children and gives them long life and narrates a story about worship of that goddess on the 6th day after birth in the lying-in chamber. On the worship of Sūtikā-ṣaṣṭhī, vide KT 471–475, where Bhoja in quoted on p. 473.

Ṣaṣṭivrata—(1) fast on 5th tithi; worship of the Sun on 6th or 7th; performer gets the same fruit as Aśvamedha; HV I. 627 (from Brah.); (2) on 6th tithi of śu. when it falls on Tuesday; perform vrata on different months; reaps inexhaustible merit; HV I. 627–628 (from Vi. Dh.)

Ṣaṣṭhīvratas—Bhav. I. 39–46, Bhav. U. chap. 38–42, KKV 98–103 (only three), HV I. 577–629 (twenty-one vratas), HK 622–624, KN 189–192, TT 34–35, SM 42–43, PC 100–103, VR 220–236.

When the sixth is mixed up with 5th or 7th the general rule is that in the case of vratas and fasts sixth mixed with the 7th is to be chosen except in the case of Skandaṣaṣṭhī where sixth mixed with 5th is to be preferred (KN 190, NA 48, SM 42, PC 100–101); the sixth tithi is dear to Kārtikeya (or Skanda) who was born on it and became the commander-in-chief of the gods on it; Bhav. I. 39. 1–13, HK 622 (quoting Brah.), KKN 382–383.

One or two special matters may be noted. Skanda is the lord of 6th tithi and is to be worshipped on every 6th tithi with fragrant flowers, lamps, garments, crows as toys, bell, *chowries* and mirror; Kārtikeya is specially to be always worshipped by kings with campaka flowers and no other god (KR 276); 6th of Mārg. śu. is called Mahāṣaṣṭhī (HK 623–624). Vide Nār. I. 45. 1–51 for Ṣaṣṭhīvrata in the twelve months of the year.

Saṁvatsaravrata—begin on 5th of Cai. śu. in the year called Saṁvatsara and go on for five days. Agni, the Sun, Soma, Prajāpati and Maheśvara are identified with the five years of a Yuga viz. Saṁvatsara, Parivatsara, Iṣṭāpūrta (Idāvatsara?), Anuvatsara and Udvatsara; they should be established in a maṇḍala each in order with blue, white, red, white-yellow and dark flowers; worship and homa with sesame, rice, barley, ghee, white mustard respectively; for five days *nakta*; at end donate five suvarṇas; this is a pañcamūrtivrata; HV II. 419–420 (from Vi. Dh.). The names of the five years that constitute a yuga are variously named in vedic literature; vide Atharva VI. 55.3, Tai. S. V. 5. 7. 2–3, Tai. Br. I. 4. 10. 1.

Saṁvatsaravratas—Vi. Dh. I. 82. 8–20 (gives the names of the sixty years, Prabhava, Vibhava &c.), KKV 435–451, HV II. 862–867.

Saṁvatsarārambhavidhi—HV I. 360–365. Vide above under Caitra-pratipad pp. 82–84.

Saṅkaṣṭacaturthī—on Śr. kṛ. 4th on moonrise (i. e. about eight ghaṭikās after sunset) worship Gaṇeśa image, establish a

jar, 16 upacāras to be offered, *modakas* (1008, 108, 28 or 8) to be prepared; fast the whole day or no food to be taken till moon-rise; for life or 21 years or one year; gift to ācārya, dinner to 21 brāhmaṇas; SmK 171-177, VR 120-127, VKD 68, D. S. 74; the vrata may be observed throughout life or for 21 years; it is narrated that even Śiva did it when he wanted to vanquish demon Tāraka.

Saṅkaṣṭahara-gaṇapativrata—on M. kṛ. 4; tithivrata at moonrise; Gaṇeśa deity; VR (176-188) sets out a very elaborate procedure, in which Ṛg. X. 63. 3, IV. 50. 6, the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90), Nār. and numerous Paurāṇika mantras are relied upon and 16 upacāras offered; Gaṇeśa is worshipped with 21 names and the same number of *dūrvā* tendrils, leaves of plants (such as *Bhṛṅgarāja, bilva*, badarī, dhattūra, śamī and flowers (red); there is also worship with 108 names of Gaṇapati; at end five *modakas* to be offered to the priest and dakṣiṇā; it is said that Vyāsa narrated this vrata to Yudhiṣṭhira. Saṅkaṣṭa appears to mean distress or calamity. 'Kaṣṭa' means 'kleśa' and the prefixing of 'sam' makes it a little more emphatic.

Saṅkrāntivratas—Vide HV 727-743 (16 in all), HK 407-438, KR 613-621, KN 331-346, VKK 204-231, SmK 531-545, VR 729-738, PC 357-366.

Saṅkrāntisnāna—Vide under Saṅkrānti above pp. 211-12 for bath on a saṅkrānti and HV II. 728-730 (from Devīpurāṇa for results of bathing on the twelve saṅkrāntis with certain substances put in water for bath.

Saṅghāṭaka-vrata—to be begun on K. śu. 1st; ekabhakta on that day, fast on 2nd tithi and also on 3rd; *pāraṇā* on 4th; tithivrata; Śiva deity; worship in this way for 7½ months if performed only in each bright half, or 3½ months if in both pakṣas which make up 7; two golden images of a male and female to be placed on bedstead and bathed with pañcāmṛta &c.; *jāgara*, sleeping on ground; gift of images to *ācārya*; the woman performer never suffers separation from husband or son; Pārvatī secured Śiva as husband by this vrata; HV II. 370-375 (from Var.).

Satkulāvāptivrata—begin on Mārg. śu. 1st; worship of Viṣṇu with three flowers of three different colours, three unguents; offering of *trimadhura*, three lamps, homa with yava and

sesame; donate three metals (gold, silver, copper); Vi. Dh III. 201. 1-5.

Satya-nārāyaṇavrata—very popular in Bengal and Mahārāṣṭra: described in Bhaviṣya (Pratisargaparva) chap. 24-29; M. M. Hara Prasad Shastri in cat. of mss in the Asiatic Society's Library, Calcutta, vol. V. preface p. LXV says that the worship of Satyanārāyaṇa (ms. No. 3370) has a Mahomedan origin. It was originally (and even now in many places) called 'Satyapīrer pūjā'. It occurs in the Revākhaṇḍa of the Skandapurāṇa (Vangavāsī ed.) but does not occur in the Venk. Press edition. Vide also JBORS vol. XVI at p. 328 where the same scholar says that the Mahomedan custom of offering 'Sirṇi' to Satyapīr was adopted by Bengal Hindus as worship of Satyanārāyaṇa. This is a vrata very popular among lower middle-class people and women. Vide I. A. vol. 3 pp. 83-85 for stories current in Bengal about this vrata. It is said that Nārada was told about this vrata by Viṣṇu himself. On any day a man worships Satyanārāyaṇa and offers naivedya of 1¼ quantity (such as 1¼ *śer* or *maund*) of plantains, ghee, milk and wheat flour (or rice flour), jaggery or sugar; all these to be mixed up for naivedya; performer should listen to the stories and partake of the *prasāda*: jāgara with songs, music, dance; then people go to their houses; this yields all desired objects; stories about a brāhmaṇa who performed this vrata every month, of a vendor of wood, of a trader named Sādhu with a ship full of merchandise and costly things and his daughter Kalāvatī. In these stories Satyanārāyaṇa is represented as very jealous and vindictive. The stories are said to have been taken from Skandapurāṇa, Revā-khaṇḍa.

Sadāvrata—otherwise called 'annadānamāhātmya'. HV II. 469-475 quoting Bhav. U. wherein Kṛṣṇa narrates to Yudhiṣṭhira the importance of giving food to others and refers to the words of Rāma to Lakṣmaṇa that they suffered exile in a forest because of not feeding brāhmaṇas, that king Śveta suffered pangs of hunger even when in heaven and was told by Brahmā that his plight was due to his not having fed hungry persons. The word literally means 'vrata (i. e. giving food) always'. In modern times it is often pronounced and written as 'Sadāvarta' or 'Sadābarta' or 'Sadāvarat'; vide *Murarji* v. *Nenbai* I. L. R. 17. Bom. 351 for a bequest of rents for establishing a 'sadāvarat'. HV II.

471 quotes a verse saying that 'food is the very life of beings, it is their vigour, strength and happiness and therefore the donor of food is declared to be the giver of every thing'. The importance of giving food is stressed in the exordium 'atithidevo bhava' in Tai. Up. I. 11. 2; vide also Atharva IX 6 ff and Kaṭhopaniṣad I. 1. 7.

Santānadavrata—tithivrata; he gives his or another's daughter in marriage on K. Full Moon, observes a fast on the confluence of rivers, reaches a happy goal. HV II. 238 (from Bhav. U.).

Santānāṣṭamī—on Cai. kṛ. 8; tithivrata; Kṛṣṇa and Devakī to be worshipped; fast; for a year; at end of each period of four months on kṛ. 8 bathe image of Kṛṣṇa with ghee and donate ghee; HV I. 846-47 (quoting ten verses out of Vi. Dh. III. 217. 1-11).

Sandhyā (twilight)—is the period of three *ghaṭikās* (72 minutes) before sunrise and after sunset and it was provided that one should not engage in four actions in that period, viz. eating, sexual intercourse, sleep, Vedic study; HK 694-97, PC 46; Utpala on Bṛhaj-jātaka VII. 1 quotes Varāha that it is the time after half the sun's disc has gone down till appearance of stars and morning twilight is from the east having light till half the sun's disc appears.

Saptadvīpavrata—begin on Cai. śu. 1st and worship for seven days in order the seven *dvīpas* (continents), viz. Jambū, Śāka (of the Śakas), Kuśa, Krauñca, Śālmali, Gomeda and Puṣkara; *homa* with ghee and donate seven dhānyas; observe nakta and sleep on the ground; one year; donate a figure of dvīpas made of silver; goes to heaven till end of Kalpa; Vi. Dh. III. 159. 1-7.

Saptamī-nirṇaya—If 7th is mixed with 6th and 8th tithis a vrata for 7th tithi is to be performed on that day where 7th is mixed with 6th, but if for any reason 7th mixed with 6th cannot be accepted, the 7th mixed with 8th may be accepted; KN 192-194, TT 35-36, PC 103-104.

Saptamīlokavrata—worship seven *lokas* on 7th tithi; one would secure great intellect and unequalled position. HV I. 792 (one verse from Vi. Dh.)

Saptamī-vratas—Mat. chap. 74-80 = Pad. V. 21. 215-321, Bhav. U. 43-53, Nār. I. 116. 1-72, KKV 103-225 (sets out more vratas of 7th tithi than of any other tithi, 44 in all), HV I.

632–810 (about 62 vratas), VKK 35–38, TT 36–40, VR 231–255. For eulogy of the worship of Saptamī, vide Vi. Dh. III. 169. 1–7.

Saptamīsnapana—Mat. (68. 1–42) describes this at length; HV (I. 763–768) quotes from Bhav. U. almost the same verses as those in Mat. It is said to be an antidote against disease, ill-luck or distress or the death of infants. It should be performed in the 7th month after a child is born to a woman who lost an infant child or on a 7th tithi in śu., but tithi of the birth should be avoided; offer to the Sun and Rudra and the Mātṛs specially oblations of rice with milk, repeat hymn to the Sun (Ṛg. I. 50) and offer homa to Rudra with Ṛg. I. 43; the fuel sticks are to be of arka and palāśa and 108 āhutis of *yava*, dark sesame, and ghee; four jars in four corner directions and a fifth in their midst; and various things (five *ratnas*, *sarvauṣadhis*, clay from several places named) were to be cast in all jars; seven married women should sprinkle water over the woman whose child died and invoke the Sun, Moon and the gods to save the child that is born; golden image of Yama to be donated to ācārya (priest); worship of the Sun and the kapilā cow; performer to eat remnants of food offered to gods.

Saptamūrti-vratas—Vide Vi. Dh. III. 157–166.

Saptarṣi-vrata—(1) worship of seven sages makes one reach them and confers sagehood; HV I. 791 (from Vi. Dh.); (2) begin from Cai. śu. and for 7 days therefrom worship each of the seven sages viz. Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasiṣṭha, with fruits, flowers and cow's milk; subsist in nakta way on those days; homa with sesame and with Mahāvyāhṛtis; for one year; at end donate a black deer hide to an Agnihotrin; performer secures the way to mokṣa; HV II. 508 (from Vi. Dh. III. 165. 1–7).

Saptavāra-vratas—(vratas of the seven week-days); KKV 25-27, HV II. 520–592, KR 593–604.

Saptamyarka-vrata—RM (verses 1172–73; vide ABORI vol. 36. p. 314).

Saptasaptamīkalpa—to be undertaken on a Sunday in bright half after the Sun starts on his (apparent) northward passage and on a nakṣatra with male name; he should observe celibacy and subsist in nakta way on all the seven saptamīs

called Arkasampuṭa, Marica, Nimba, Phala, Anodanā, Vijayā, Kāmikī; observe ekabhakta on 5th and avoid sexual intercourse on 6th and give up honey and meat on that tithi; after writing the seven names on leaves he should cast them in an unused jar and should ask a child (who does not know the meanings of the seven names) to take out one and he observes that particular 7th accordingly; for a year; performer gets all his desired objects and reaches Sūryaloka; KKV 189-191, HV I. 687-689 quoting verses (from Bhav. I. 208. 2-32). Male nakṣatras have been stated above.

Saptasāgara-vrata or *saptasamudra-vrata*—begin from Cai. śu. 1st; worship Suprabhā, Kāñcanākṣā, Viśālā, Mānasodbhavā, Meghanādā, Suveṇu and Vimalodakā for seven days in order; homa in their names of curds add dinner full of curds to brāhmaṇas, and himself partake at night of boiled rice and ghee; for a year; donate seven garments to a brāhmaṇa at a holy place; this is also called Sārasvatavrata; HV II. 507 (from Vi. Dh.). The above seven appear to be the names or branches of river Sarasvatī and therefore Sārasvata appears to be the proper name and not 'Saptasāgaravrata'. Vide Vi. Dh. III. 164. 1-7 for these seven rivers and this vrata being called Sārasvata.

Saptasundaraka-vrata—worship of Pārvatī under seven names, viz. Kumudā, Mādhavī, Gaurī, Bhavānī, Pārvatī, Umā, Ambikā; dinner for seven days for seven maidens (about 8 years old); every day one of the 7 names to be used in the form 'may goddess Kumudā be pleased' and so on for six days; on the 7th all seven to be invoked and honoured with gandha &c. and tāmbūla, vermilion and cocoanut; after worship a mirror should be presented before each of the seven; this secures beauty, *saubhāgya* and destroys sins; HV II. 886-87 (from Bhav. U.).

Samudra-vrata—begin from Cai. śu. 1st; every day for seven days; worship with salt, milk, ghee, whey, wine mixed with water, sugarcane juice and sweet curds; performer to eat at night *haviṣya* food; homa with ghee; for a year; at end donate a milch cow; king becomes supreme on the whole earth; one secures also health, wealth and heaven. HV II. 464-65 (from Vi. Dh. III. 160. 1-7). The oceans are sometimes said to be seven, as in Vāyu 49. 123, Kūrma I 45. 4,

viz. of salt, sugarcane juice, wine, milk, ghee, curds and fresh water.

Samudra-snāna—one should bathe in the sea on *parvan* days such as Full Moon and Amāvāsyā, but not on Tuesday or Friday; one should honour the sea and Aśvattha tree, but not touch them; however on Saturday Aśvattha may be touched; there is no restriction as to time in taking a bath at Setu (Rāmeśvara); D. S. 36.

Sampad-gaurī-vrata—on M. śu. 1st (mentioned in Tamil calendars) for all married women and maidens in Kumbhamāsa.

Sampad-vrata—on 5th tithi worship Lakṣmī and observe fast; for one year; at year's end donate a golden jar with gold in it; performer becomes rich in each birth and goes to Viṣṇu-loka; this is a ṣaṣṭi-vrata; KKV 441–42 (same as Mat. 101. 19–20), VKK 34 (quoting Mat.).

Sampuṭasaptamī—Vide Arkasampuṭasaptamī above p. 261.

Sampūrṇa-vrata—This vrata renders perfect every vrata that is rendered defective by some mistake or obstacle or Vighna-vināyakas; one should prepare a golden or silver image of the god worshipped in a vrata that is incomplete; one month from the day on which the craftsman prepares the image a brāhmaṇa should bathe it with milk, curds, ghee, fluids and water and worship with flowers &c. and offer *arghya* in the name of that deity from a jar full of water in which sandalwood paste is cast, and pray that the vrata which was broken may become perfect and make the offering with 'svāhā'; the officiating priest should say 'your (broken) vrata has become perfect'. The purāṇa adds 'gods consent to what brāhmaṇas say, brāhmaṇas have all the gods in them; their word would not come out to be untrue'; HV. II. 876–879 (from Bhav. U.).

Samprāpti-dvādaśī—on 12th of P. kṛ.; worship of Acyuta (Kṛṣṇa); not to speak with atheists and the like; two periods of six months each; in the first six months from P. worship as Puṇḍarīkākṣa, then as Mādhava, as Viśvarūpa (in Phā.), Puruṣottama (in Cai.), Acyuta (in Vai.) and as Jaya (in Jy.); sesame to be employed at bath and dinner in the first six months and in the six months from Āṣāḍha pañcagavya; worship in the second half from Āṣ. with same names as in the first half year; performer to observe fast on ekādaśī and to observe nakta or ekabhakta way on 12th; at year's end

donate a cow, garment, gold, corn, food, seat and bedstead with the words 'May Keśava be pleased'; the performer secures all desired objects and so this vrata is called 'samprāpti' (attainment); HV I. 1094-95 (from Vi. Dh.)

Sambhoga-vrata—fast on the two first tithis and the two 5th tithis; one should concentrate his mind on the Sun, give up love and enjoyment though lying alongside his wife; he would be deemed to have performed great *tapas* for thousands of years; KKV 388, HV II. 394 (from Bhav.)

Sarasvatīpūjā-vidhi—in Āśv. śu. invoke Sarasvatī on Mūla-nakṣatra, worship her every day and take leave of her on Śravaṇa (which is the 4th nakṣatra from Mūla), in all four days generally from Āśv. śu. 7th to 10th; VR 248-249, VKD 93 and 268-269; both provide that during these days one should not study nor teach nor write a book.

Sarasvatīsthāpana—on 9th tithi of Āśv. śu, Sarasvatī is established on books. VKD 92-93 and 268-269. In Tamil lands special Sarasvatīpūjā is done by bringing together books and mss. used by elders and youngsters, and girls and married women bring together their music books and Vīṇā, all of which are worshipped as Sarasvatī. Among craftsmen and manual labourers on this 9th tithi āyudhapūjā (worship of the tools of their trade) is done.

Sarid-vrata—worship the river one desires; one reaps merit; HV I. 790 (from Vi. Dh.), which groups it under Saptamī-vratas.

Sarpapañcamī—one should observe *payovrata* on 5th tithi and donate a golden snake to a brāhmaṇa; one would have no danger from snakes; HV I. 567 (from Bhav.).

Sarpabali—Vide SmK 170-171 and H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 821-824.

Sarpaviṣāpaha-pañcamī—on 5th of Śr. śu.; one should draw on both sides (of a door) with cowdung the figures of snakes; worship them with wheat, milk and fried grains, with curds and dūrvā tendrils and flowers &c.; snakes become pleased and he has no fear from snakes up to his 7th descendant; HV I. 564-565 (from Skanda, Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa). KKV 94 mentions a 'Sarpābhayapañcamī' and cites three verses from Bhav. (I. 32. 62-64) two of which occur in HV I. 564 along with others.

Sarvakāmavrata—(1) on M. kṛ. 14th tithi worship the group of pitṛs; the performer reaps the fruit of a *yajña*; HV II. 155 (from Vi. Dh.); (2) on Mārg. 11th fast and worship the Moon and also eleven deities such as Mars, Sun, Nirṛti (goddess of death and calamity), the lord of rivers (Varuṇa), Agni, Rudra, Mṛtyu, Durgā; for one year; at year's end donate a cow; he reaches Rudraloka; HV I. 1151 (from Vi. Dh.).

Sarvakāmāvāptivrata—This has twelve series from K.; fast on Kṛttikā falling on K. pūrṇimā and worship Narasiṁha with *gandha*, flowers &c. for a year; at year's end donate a white cow with a white calf and silver; he would be free from enemies; from Mārg. onwards to Āśv., one has to fast on the nakṣatra after which the pūrṇimās are named and worship Kṛṣṇa and his forms and *avatāras* under different names (such as Ananta in Mārg., Baladeva in P., Varāha in M. and so on); the gifts made at year's end are different; these yield all desires, remove sins and lead to heaven; HV II. 655-659 (from Vi. Dh.).

Sarvagandha—(lit. all fragrant substances). They are variously enumerated. HV I. 44 gives two prescriptions, viz. (a) camphor, sandalwood, musk and saffron in equal proportions are sarvagandha, or (b) vide p. 38 and note 88 above.

Sarvaphalatyāga—begin on 3rd, 8th, 12th or 14th of Mārg. śu. or of other months; dinner of *pāyasa* to brāhmaṇas; he should give up one out of 18 dhānyas and all fruits and bulbous roots for a year except when medicines are required to be taken; he should get made golden images of Rudra with his bull and of Dharmarāja (Yama); he should make golden, silver and copper sixteen figures, each group representing big fruits (like jack fruit &c.), smaller fruits (like *udumbara*, cocoanut) and bulbous roots (like sūraṇa-kanda); place two jars full of water on a heap of grains, a bedstead should be got ready; all these to be donated with a cow to a householder brāhmaṇa; he should pray 'may I reap inexhaustible rewards'; Mat. 96. 1-25.

Sarvamaṅgala-trayodaśī—every month on śu. 13th one should subsist by ekabhakta or nakta or observe a fast and worship three viz. Kṛṣṇa, Balabhadra and Maṅgalā (Durgā) goddess known as 'Aṅkāvaṅkā'; one overcomes all difficulties by remembering these three or worshipping the images of these

three and offering flowers, meat and wine; HV II. 16-17 (from Bhav. U.). Kṛṣṇa is represented as telling Yudhiṣṭhira that when his *guru* Sāndīpani asked him to restore to life his dead son as the dakṣiṇā for the learning imparted to him, he contemplated on the goddess and restored life to the dead son.

Sarva-vrata—worship Śiva on the 13th tithi of śu. falling on Saturday and fast thereon; man becomes free from grave sins (like brāhmaṇa-murder); HV II. 24.

Sarvāpti-vrata—This is a Caturmūrtivrata; for a year divided into three periods of 4 months; Viṣṇu has four forms, *bala* (strength), knowledge, *aiśvarya* (supremacy) and *śakti* (energy); Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Rudra and Aniruddha are the four faces in the east, south, west and north representing the four forms of strength, knowledge &c.; in the four months from Cai. performer should worship the forms east to north and the gifts respectively made to a brāhmaṇa are things useful for domestic purposes in Cai., of warlike materials in Vai., of materials useful for yoking (i. e. agriculture) in Jy. and materials useful in sacrifices in Āṣ; the same procedure in the other two periods of four months from Śr. and Mārg.; he secures heaven and Indraloka and *Sālokya* with Kṛṣṇa; HV II. 502-503 (from VI. Dh. III. 140. 1-13).

Sarvāptisaptamī—on 7th of M. kṛ.; worship intently the Sun; for a year; two divisions of the year; in the first six months sesame are to be used at bath and dinner and the names with which the Sun is to be invoked in the 6 months from M. are Mārtaṇḍa, Arka, Citrabhānu, Vibhāvasu, Bhaga and Haṁsa; in the 2nd period of 6 months pañcagavya is to be used at bath and meals; performer to eat at night but exclude oil and salt; he secures all desired objects; KKV 168-169, HV I. 735-36 (from Bhav. I. 108. 1-12).

Sarvauṣadhi—(all herbs)—They are; Murā, Māṁsī, vacā, kuṣṭha, śailaja, two Haridrās, śuṇṭhī (dry ginger), campaka and mustā; Agni 177. 17, Madanaratna (on Śānti, folio 3a), Kṛtyakalpao (on śāntika folio 7 b), VKK 212 (ten); P. C. 307 and VR 16 also enumerate ten but slightly differently. Vide p. 183, note 473.

Sarṣapasaptamī—tithi-vrata; sun deity; on seven saptamī tithis the performer sitting facing the Sun should place *pañcagavya*

or other liquids on his palm and one, two up to seven mustard grains in order on first saptamī, 2nd saptami up to seventh saptamī, should look at it, bring to his mind some desired object and drink at once without allowing the teeth to touch with a mantra addressed to the mustard; homa and japa; secures sons, wealth and desires; HV I. 686–87; Bhav. (I. 68. 29–42) describes it; KKV 187–188.

Sasyotsava—(festival of ready crops)—to be performed in śu. on an auspicious tithi, nakṣatra and muhūrta by going to the field with songs and music, making a fire and homa therein, carrying some ripe corn and offering it to gods and pitṛs to the recitation of Vedic mantras; the performer partakes of the ripe corn mixed with curds and should celebrate a festival. HV II. 914 (from Brah.)

Sahasrabhojanavidhi—(Procedure of giving dinner to one thousand brāhmaṇas) SmK pp. 454–455 quoting Baudhāyanasūtra. It should be done in one's own house or in a temple; homa with cooked food and subsidiary *āhutis* with clarified butter in twelve names Keśava, Nārāyaṇa &c.; various gifts.

Sāgaravrata—This is a Caturmūrtivrata; māsavrata; for four months from Śr.; worship of four jars filled with water as symbols of the four oceans, that are Hari with his four forms (God Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa &c.); bath in a river on all days in those months; homa every day; on last day of K. honour brāhmaṇas and donate sesame oil; reaches heaven; HV II. 829 (from Vi. Dh. III. 145. 1–6).

Sādhanadaśamīvrata—performed on the 10th tithi in śu. as well as in kṛ.; it is an *aṅga* (subsidiary observance) of Ekādaśī; AK folio 640.

Sādhyavrata—on Mārg. śu. 12th; tithivrata; Sādhyas deities; for a year; Sādhyas are a group of twelve semi-divine beings; HV I. 1173 (quoting Vi. Dh. III. 181. 1–3). Vi. Dh. names the twelve.

Sāmavrata—It is a saṁvatsaravrata; bathe images of Śiva and Keśava in a circle made with cowdung for a year; at end donate a golden jar with *tiladhenu* to a brāhmaṇa who sings *sāmans*; KKV 442–43 (from Mat. 101. 25–26), HV II. 864 (almost same verses from Pad.).

Sārasvatavrata—(1) This is a Saṁvatsaravrata described in Mat. 66. 3–18 quoted by KKV 435–36, HV I. 553–55; begin in śu.

on a tithi which has one's favourite deity as the lord or on 5th, on a Sunday or any other auspicious week day; silence to be observed at both twilights and while taking one's meal; worship of Sarasvatī and honour to *suvāsinīs* (women whose husbands are living); the same verses occur in Pad. V. 22. 178-194 and Bhav. U. 35. 3-19; (2) observe silence at twilight every day for a year; at end of year donate a jar full of ghee, two garments, sesame and a bell; goes to the Sārasvata world; KKV 441, HV II. 862 (quoting Pad.); this occurs in Mat. 101. 17-18; (3) begin from Cai. śu. 1, go on for seven days worshipping Suprabhā, Kāñcanākṣī, Viśālā, the Mānasa lake, Trinādā, Suveṇu, Vimalodakā (all branches or names of Sarasvatī river); every day homa with curds, dinner mixed with curds to brāhmaṇas; he should take only one meal at night of boiled rice with ghee; for one year; at the end i. e. in kṛ. of Phā. he should donate (from one to) seven garments in order during last seven days; Vi. Dh. III. 164. 1-7.

Sārvabhaumavrata—begin on 10th tithi of K. śu., observe nakta that day with curds and cooked food and offer worship to the ten quarters with holy food; honour brāhmaṇas with flowers of various colours and with edibles; for a year; the king who performs this becomes victorious and an emperor; KKV 309, HV I. 992-993 (both quoting Var. 65. 1-6), KR 420, Vi. Dh. III. 164. 1-7.

Sāvitrīvrata—Vide above pp. 91-94.

Siṁhastha-guru—When Jupiter enters the sign Siṁha (Lion or Leo) there is no marching against an enemy, no marriage, no upanayana, no occupying a house (for the first time), no establishment of the images of gods and generally no performance of other auspicious acts; vide Malamāsatattva p. 828 quoting two verses from Bhīmaparākrama which are BB (p. 274) and Śuddhi-kaumudī p. 222. It is believed that all sacred places come to the river Godāvarī when Jupiter is in the sign Lion and therefore one should bathe in the Godāvarī when Jupiter is in Leo (which is for about one year). There are diverse views about celebrating marriage and upanayana in Siṁhastha-Guru; some hold that marriage and other auspicious rites are prohibited only when Jupiter is in Maghā-nakṣatra (i. e. first 13⅓ degrees of Leo.). Others hold that in the countries between the Ganges and Godāvarī marriage and upanayana

are prohibited through all the days when the Jupiter is in Leo; but other rites may be performed except when Jupiter is in Maghā; still others hold that there is no bar of Siṁhastha-Guru during the time when the Sun is in Meṣa (sign Aries or Ram). Vide SmK pp. 557-559 for discussion of these views. It is popularly believed that the jar of nectar that rose from the ocean was placed by the gods first at Haridvāra, then at Prayāga, then at Ujjain and then at Trimbakeśvāra near Nasik.

Sitasaptamī—on 7th tithi of Mārg. śu. observe fast and worship with lotuses and white flowers the Sun or his image; at end donate white garments; HV I. 778-779 (from Vi. Dh.).

Sitāsaptamī—one of the 14 *yātrās* at Bhuvaneśvara; on M. śu. 7; GK 191.

Siddha—Friday, 1st tithi, 6th, 11th and 13th and the nakṣatras, Pūrvā Phalgunī (of which Bhaga is the presiding deity), Uttarāṣāḍhā, Hasta, Śravaṇa and Revatī are so called; all auspicious rites should be performed on these; NA 30.

Siddhārthakādisaptamī—on M. or Mārg. śu. 7 or if one is ill then on any 7th tithi of any month; brushing the teeth half a *prahara* (about four ghaṭikās) before sunrise with the twigs of certain trees, each of which is represented as securing some object (e. g. Madhūka gives sons, Arjuna makes fortune firm, Nimba confers prosperity, Aśvattha gives fame &c.); prognostications from the way in which the used brush falls when thrown away; seven saptamīs to be observed, first with mustard grains, 2nd with *arka* buds, 3rd to 7th respectively with marica, nimba, six fruits, with food excluding boiled rice; japa, homa and worship of the Sun, sleeping before Sun image and recitation (japa) of Gāyatrī (Ṛg. III. 62. 10); divination from several dreams when sleeping before Sun image; the different rewards of worshipping the Sun with various flowers (e. g. fame with lotuses, removal of all leprosy with mandāra, success with Agastya flowers &c.), dinner and gifts to brāhmaṇas of coloured garments, scents, flowers, *haviṣya* food, cow; KKV 172-180, HV I. 679-685 (both from Bhav. I. 193. 2-21, 194. 1-25) and KKV quotes also from Bhav. 197. 1-10.

Siddhivināyakavrata—on śu. 4th tithi worship Gaṇeśa or when a devout impulse takes hold of a man; bath with water

mixed with sesame; worship of golden or silver image of Gaṇeśa; bathe image with pañcāmṛta and offer *gandha*, flowers, incense, lamp and naivedya with the names Gaṇādhyakṣa, Vināyaka, Umāsuta, Rudrapriya, Vighnanāśana; twenty-one dūrvā tendrils to be offered and 21 *modakas* to be placed before image, one to Gaṇeśa, ten to the priest and ten to be eaten by the performer; leads to success (siddhi) in learning, wealth, war; HV I. 525–529 (from Skanda), SmK 210–216, PC 95, VR 143–151. Vide above p. 147 for story about Syamantaka jewel.

Sins (ten)—Vide pp. 90–91 above under Daśaharā and KR 188 (quoting Bhav.).

Sītalāṣaṣṭhī—on M. śu. 6 in Bengal; Sītalāsaptamī in Gujarat on Śrāvaṇa kṛ. 8 ; Sītalāṣṭamī in North India on Phā. kṛ. 8.

Sītāpūjā—(1) Sītā means 'cultivated land' as in Kauṭilya set out in H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 147 n. 186. KR 518 (quoting Brah.) says the earth was measured on Phā. kṛ. 8th by the sons of Dakṣa urged by Nārada; therefore gods and pitṛs desire śrāddha on that day with *apūpas*; (2) worship of Sītā, wife of Rāma, who was born on Phā. śu. 8; KR 526–528 and 518; vide above p. 354 under Phālgunakṛtya.

Sīmollaṅghana—Vide under Vijayādaśamī p. 190 note 487 and TT 103, PC 145–148.

Sukalatraprāptivrata—for maidens, women with husbands living and widows; nakṣatravrata; Nārāyaṇa deity; a maiden should worship Jagannātha on three nakṣatras, viz. Uttarā, Uttarāṣāḍhā and Uttarā-bhādrapadā and should recite the name (Mādhava), should offer *Priyaṅgu* and red flowers and use saffron as unguent; homa with honey and clarified butter with the words 'salutation to Mādhava'; she secures a fine husband. HV II. 628–630 (from Vi. Dh.); Śiva informs Pārvatī about this vrata.

Sukulatrirātravrata—begin in Mārg. on a day which is Tryahaspṛk, fast for three days, worship of Trivikrama (Viṣṇu) with white, yellow and red flowers, three unguents and incense consisting of guggulu, kuṭuka (? kaṭuka) and resin (*Pinus Longifolio*); offer *trimadhura*, light three lamps, homa with barley, sesame and mustard; donate *triloha* (i. e. gold, silver and copper); HV II. 322–323 quoting Vi. Dh. Vide pp. 309, 310 for trimadhura and Tryahaḥspṛk.

Sukṛta-tṛtīyā-vrata—on Śr. śu. 3 with Hasta-nakṣatra; tithivrata: worship of Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī; for three years: Mantras are 'Viṣṇor nu kam' (Ṛg. I. 154. 1) and 'Saktumiva' (Ṛg. X. 71. 2); VR 101–103 (Kṛṣṇa tells his proud sister Subhadrā to perform it).

Sukṛtadvādaśī—tithivrata; Viṣṇu deity; fast on Phā. śu. 11 and worship of Viṣṇu on 12th; repeat day and night on 11th the words 'namo Nārāyaṇāya'; performer should give up anger, jealousy, greed, deceit, &c.; should revolve in mind the idea that *saṁsāra* is worthless; the same on 12th also; repeat every month for a year; at end worship golden image of Hari and donate it with a cow; reward is that the performer does not see Hell; HV I. 1079–1081 (from Vi. Dh.).

Sukharātri or *Sukharātrikā*—Lakṣmīpūjana day (Āśv. amāvāsyā) in Divaḷī is called Sukharātrikā; vide S. Pr. folio 41b, KT 431, VKK 467–469, KV 403–4 and pp. 194–95 above.

Sukhavrata—(1) fast on kṛ. 7th and nakta on kṛ. 8th; leads to happiness in this world and heaven; HV II. 509 (from Bhav. only one verse), KKV 387 (changes the tithis to 6th and 7th); (2) on 14th worship of gods; the rest is not clear; HV II. 155 (from Vi. Dh.); (3) by worshipping sages on 8th tithi one secures happiness; HV I. 628 (from Vi. Dh. half verse); (4) when on śu. 4 there is Tuesday, observe nakta; to be observed on four caturthīs; worship of Mars, who is supposed to be the son of Umā; place clay on one's head, apply it to whole body and then bathe; touch dūrvā, aśvattha, śamī and cow; homa to Mars with 108 *āhutis*; place image of Mars in vessel of gold or silver or copper or of *sarala* wood or of pine or sandalwood and worship; HV I. 514–519 (from Bhav.), PC 95; (5) a ṣaṣṭivrata in Mat. 101. 73 (one verse only q. by KKV 450); not clear.

Sukhasuptikā—Same as Sukharātrī; HV II, 348–349 (from Ādityapurāṇa); KKN 421–422.

Sukhācaturthī—when the 4th tithi in śu. falls on a Tuesday it is called Sukhacaturthī or Sukhadācaturthī. Vide HV I. 514 (quoting Bhav. I. 31. 16), KR 271, VKK 31 (quoting the same verse from Devīpurāṇa).

Sugatidvādaśī—begin on Phā. śu. 11th; tithivrata; Kṛṣṇa deity; fast on that day, worship of Kṛṣṇa and reciting the

name 'Kṛṣṇa' 108 times, for one year divided into three periods of four months each; in 4 months from Phā. he should recite the name Kṛṣṇa and cast three streams of water on the feet (of the image) of Kṛṣṇa; in 2nd period from Āṣ. to Āśv. the name to be repeated is Keśava, so that at the time of death he remembers god Keśava; in the third period he should recite the name 'Viṣṇu'; secures divine pleasures and Viṣṇuloka; HV I. 1081–1083 (from Vi. Dh. III. 215. 4–22).

Sugatipauṣamāsīkalpa (paurṇamāsī?)—on Phā. śu. 15th tithi; tithivrata; Viṣṇu deity; performer to subsist by nakta way giving up oil and salt; for one year divided into three periods of four months; worship of Keśava accompanied by Lakṣmī; on that day he is not to speak with heretics, atheists, those guilty of grave sins and cāṇḍālas; Hari and Lakṣmī are to be looked upon as the moon and night. Vide Vi. Dh. III. 216. 1–17.

Sugativrata—(1) by the worship of lord of gods one secures the best position (or world); HV I. 792 (from Vi. Dh. only a half verse); (2) one should partake food by nakta method on all 8th tithis for a year and at end donate a cow and one reaches position of Indra; tithivrata; Indra deity; HV I. 881 (from Pad.); this is Mat. 101. 56; AK folio 561 b (calls it Sugatyaṣṭamī).

Sujanmadvādaśī—begin on 12th of P. śu. when it falls on Jyeṣṭhā-nakṣatra; tithivrata; Viṣṇu deity; worship Viṣṇu every month for a year with fast thereon, donate each month of the year in order ghee, rice, barley, gold, boiled *yavas*, water, grain boiled, umbrella, *pāyasa*, sugarcane juice, sandalwood, garments and should in order partake of one of the twelve things, viz. cow's urine, water, ghee, uncooked vegetables, dūrvā, curds, rice, barley, sesame, water heated by the Sun's rays, water in which darbhas are dipped, milk; he becomes free from disease, talented and happy and is born in a family endowed with wealth and corn and knowing no sorrow; HV I. 1174–75 (from Vi. Dh.).

Sujanmāvāptivrata—This is a saṅkrāntivrata; begin from the day when the Sun enters sign Meṣa (Ram) and go on through all the twelve saṅkrāntis in the year with fast on each day of the saṅkrānti, and respectively worship the images of the Sun, of Bhārgava Rāma (Paraśurāma), Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu, Varāha (incarnation), Narasiṁha, Rāma Dāśarathi,

Rāma (Balarāma), Matsya (incarnation of Viṣṇu); these may also be painted on a piece of cloth for worship; *homa* with appropriate name on each saṅkrānti; for a year; at end gift of *jaladhenu* with umbrella and sandals and in each month of gold and two garments; worship at night with *dīpamālā* (rows of lights); reward – the performer is not born among lower animals or Mlecchas; HV II. 727–728 (from Vi. Dh.), PC 12; note that worship in Tulā and the following two signs is not mentioned by HV. But in Vi. Dh. III. 199 it is said that Vāmana, Trivikrama and Aśvaśiras (Hayaśiras) are to be worshipped when the sun respectively enters Tulā (Balance), Vṛścika (Scorpion) and Dhanus (Archer).

Sudarśanaṣaṣṭhī—A king or kṣatriya was to perform this; fast on 6th after drawing a maṇḍala with a lotus on the nave of a wheel, establish Sudarśana (discus of Viṣṇu) on the pericarp and the weapons of *lokapālas* on the petals and the performer's own arms in front and worship with red sandalwood paste, mustard, red lotus, red garments &c. and offer *naivedya* of food mixed with jaggery and of cakes and fruits and address mantras to Sudarśana for destroying one's enemies, for success in war and for protection of his army; worship of Viṣṇu's bow (Sārṅga), mace &c. and of Garuḍa (Viṣṇu's vehicle); king to be placed on throne and a young woman to wave lights before him; the same procedure when an evil omen arises or on the nakṣatra of one's birth; HV I. 620–624 (from Garuḍa-purāṇa).

Sudeśajanmāvāpti—practically same as Sujanmāvāptivrata; Vi. Dh. III. 199. 1–10.

Sunāmadvādaśī—begin on 12th tithi of Mārg. śu.; ekabhakta on 10th; fast on 11th and worship Sun first and then Viṣṇu; tithivrata; Viṣṇu deity; performer to be pure in thought, word and deed; place a new jar full of water in which sapphire, pearls and precious stones are cast and covered with cloth and worship Keśava's golden image therein; the same procedure to be repeated on the *dvādaśīs* of P., M., and the following months with different names of Viṣṇu such as Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava and so on; for a year; donate the twelve jars with images therein to brāhmaṇas and twelve cows, garments or (if poor) one cow and a vessel with some gold; HV I. 1063–1072 (from Vahnipurāṇa); Agni 188. 11 refers to Nāmadvādaśī.

Surūpadvādaśī—in P. kṛ. 12th if it has Puṣya nakṣatra; on 11th fast and on 12th worship a golden or silver image of Hari cast in a full jar over which a vessel full of *tilas* is placed; the *naivedya* is to be food mixed with sesame; offering of sesame in fire with mantras from Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90); Vaiṣṇava śrāddha after homa; jāgara on that night; donate jar and image; reward is freedom from ugliness; HV I. 1205–1213 (Śiva imparts this to Umā and states how Satyabhāmā benefited from it); Vratārka, folio 247a (says it is practised among Gurjaras).

Suvrata—From Cai. śu. 8th worship the eight Vasus (named) that are forms of Vāsudeva with gandha, flowers &c.; for a year; at end donate a cow; secures all objects and goes to Vasuloka; Vi. Dh. III. 172. 1–7.

Sūryanaktavrata—This is a *vāravrata*; Sun deity; one should always practise nakta on Sunday; ekabhakta when Sunday has Hasta nakṣatra and from that day nakta on every Sunday; draw a lotus with twelve petals on sunset with red sandalwood paste and make a *nyāsa* in eight directions from the east with different names (such as Sūrya, Divākara); *nyāsa* of sun's horses to the east of pericarp; arghya with the first verses of Ṛg. and Sāmaveda and the first four words of Tai. S.; for one year; performer is freed from diseases, has progeny, wealth and goes to Sūryaloka; HV. II. 538–541 (from Mat.).

Sūryapūjāpraśaṁsā—vide Vi. Dh. III. 171. 1–7 that narrate what rewards are secured by worshipping the Sun on all 7th tithis for a year or by observing nakta on Sunday for a year or by worshipping the Sun always at sunrise. Verses 8–14 of Bhav. I. 68 specify the flowers that are desirable in the worship of Sūrya and what rewards follow by offering them.

Sūryarathayātrā-māhātmya—Bhav. I. 58. The car procession of the Sun takes place in M. If no procession is held every year then it should be held in the 12th year from the time when it was last held; it should not be held after short breaks in the continuity; a śūdra was not to climb upon the car of the Sun. The *pūrṇimās* of Āṣ., K., and M. are the holiest times for this yātrā. It may also be held on the 6th or 7th tithi falling on a Sunday.

Sūryavrata—(1) fast on 6th tithi and worship of the Sun on 7th with the words 'may Bhāskara be pleased'; becomes free

from all diseases; KKV 388-389; (2) bath at dawn in M. and honouring a householder and his wife with flowers, garments, ornaments and dinner; attains *saubhāgya* and health; HV II. 794 (from Pad.), KKV 444 (which is Mat. 101. 36-37); (3) Begin in Āśv. if there is 14th tithi in śu. and Sunday; tithivrata; Śiva deity; special bath for Śivaliṅga, *rocanā* being applied to it as unguent and worship with red flowers; naivedya of milk and ghee of *kapilā* cow; gift to a brāhmaṇa devotee of Śiva; the former should have dinner mixed with saffron; reward-sons are born to him; HV II. 64-65 (from Kālottara); (4) on Sunday the performer shaves himself and worships the Sun with cakes mixed with jaggery and salt and observes nakta that day: all desires are fulfilled and he goes to Sūryaloka; HV I. 779-780 (from Vi. Dh.); (5) fast on Cai. śu. 6th and on 7th tithi worship the Sun; an altar be made with whitish clay and a lotus with eight petals be drawn thereon with coloured powders; place Sun's image on the pericarp and draw in the eight quarters from the eastern petal certain demigods, goddesses and sages, two each being assigned to the six seasons from spring; homa with 108 *āhutis* of ghee to the Sun, and eight to each of the others; for one year; at end gift of a cow and some gold; he goes to Sūryaloka; if performed for twelve years the performer secures *sāyujya*; HV I. 770-774 (from Vi. Dh. III. 167. 11-15, 168. 1-30; (6) begin in Mārg. on a Sunday (?) and proceed for 12 months; draw a lotus with twelve petals with pericarp on a copper vessel with red sandalwood paste and worship the Sun thereon; in the several months the names of the god worshipped (such as Mitra in Mārg., Viṣṇu in P., Varuṇa in M. &c.), the *naivedya* and the special article to be eaten by the performer are different; it destroys sins and secures all desired objects; HV II. 552-557 (from Sauradharma); This is a vāravrata; (7) nakta throughout month of P. and fast on both 7th tithis; worship of Sun and of Agni thrice a day in the month of P.; KR 475-76 (from Bhav.)

Sūryaṣaṣṭhī—begin ekabhakta in Bh. śu. from 1 to 5th and on 6th fast and worship of Sun's image; for a year; in each month different name of Āditya; at end elaborate *udyāpana* is described; HV I. 608-615 (from Bhav. U.), NS 134.

Sūryāṣṭamī—Vide Arkāṣṭamī p. 261 above.

Somavatī-amāvāsyā—Amāvāsyā on Monday is very holy; vide KV 492 (from Bhav.); HK 643, VKK 9; on this day persons (specially women in the Deccan) go to a aśvattha tree, worship Viṣṇu and circumambulate the tree 108 times; Vratārka folios 350b–356, DS. 23, the former remarking that this is not mentioned in the great religious digests (nibandhas) but is based upon usage.

Somavāravratas—HV II. 557–566 (only two), Vratārka folio 379b–382b, SmK 149, VKD 437–443. General rule is; begin on the first Monday of Śr., Vai., K., or Mārg.; worship of Śiva and total fast or nakta on that day; VKD gives an elaborate procedure of Somavāravrata and its udyāpana. The Mondays in Śr. are regarded specially holy even now.

Somavrata—(1) when the 8th in any pakṣa falls on a Monday one should worship Śiva, the right side of the idol representing Śiva and left side Hari and the Moon; bathe the *liṅga* with pañcāmṛta, apply sandalwood and camphor to right side and to the left saffron, *aguru*, *uśīra*; *nīrājana* with 25 lights of the God and the Devī; dinner to brāhmaṇas with their wives; for a year or five years; KKV 269–271, HV I. 829–831 (from Kālikā); (2) on Vai. pūrṇimā fill a copper vessel with water, put image of Śaṅkara therein and cover it with cloth and worship with *gandha* and flowers and donate with the words 'may Mahādeva, lord of the world, who assumes the form of the Moon, be pleased with me'; KKV 353, HV II. 174–175, KR 166–167 (all quoting Bhav.); (3) on śu. 2nd tithi one should donate vessel containing salt to a brāhmaṇa; for a year; at end donate a cow; goes to Śivaloka; KKV 451 (59th Ṣaṣṭivrata from Mat. 101. 81), HV I. 389 (from Pad.); (4) when 8th tithi falls on Rohiṇī nakṣatra, perform this; bathe Śiva with pañcāmṛta and apply camphor or sandalwood paste to the *liṅga* or image and worship with white flowers; offer naivedya of jar of milk mixed with white ground sugar; *jāgara*; yields long life, fame etc.; HV I. 863 (from Kālottara); (5) fast on M. śu. 14th and on 15th apply (to the *liṅga*) a blanket of ghee from top to the *vedī*; donate a pair of dark cows; *jāgara* with songs and dance; HV II. 239–240 (from Bhav.); (6) on the first Monday in Mārg. śu., or Cai. or on any Monday when an intense impulse to worship arises; worship Śiva with white flowers (like Mālatī, Kunda &c.), apply

sandalwood paste (to image or liṅga), offer naivedya; homa; rewards of performance of nakta on Monday in the months from Mārg. described; HV II. 558–566 (from Skanda); (7) on each Monday eight brāhmaṇas to be treated to dinner for a year; at end a silver image of Śiva to be made and donated; worship of Śiva and Umā with mantra 'tat-puruṣāya vidmahe' (Maitrā. S. II. 9. 1, Tai. Ār. X. 46); Pad. IV. 108. 82–90.

Somāyana-vrata—for a month; consists in subsisting on the milk of all four udders of a cow for seven days; for seven days on milk of three udders, then seven days more on milk of one udder and fast for the next three days; destroys all sins. Mārkaṇḍeya q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 324.

Somāṣṭamīvrata—tithivrata; Śiva and Umā are deities; on 9th tithi with Monday worship of Śiva and Umā at night; bathing image with pañcagavya; worship Śiva under the names Vāmadeva and others; apply sandalwood paste and camphor to the right side of image and saffron and Turuṣka (*olibanum*) to the left; place sapphire on Devī's head and pearl on Śiva's head and worship with white and red flowers; homa of sesame with the name Sadyojāta; HV I. 833–835 (from Skanda). Bhav. U. 59 describes this vrata almost in the same words (1–23); Vāmadeva, Sadyojāta, Aghora, Tatpūruṣa, Īśāna are the five faces (or forms) of Śiva. Vide Tai. Ār. X. 43–47.

Saukhyavrata—on 8th or 11th or 14th of M. observe ekabhakta and donate white garments, sandals, blanket, umbrella, water and a cup to one who is in want of these; HV II. 440 (from Bhav.).

Saugandhyavrata—this is a ṛtuvrata; Śiva and Keśava deities; give up use of flowers in Hemanta and Śiśira and of three kinds of *pattras* (fragrant substances) on Phā. pūrṇimā and donate some gold with the words 'May Śiva and Keśava be pleased'; HV II. 860.

Saubhāgyatṛtīyāvrata—(1) on 3rd tithi of Phā. śu. observe nakta and worship Hari with Lakṣmī or Rudra with Umā (as both are declared in śāstras and purāṇas to be the same); homa with honey and ghee and sesame; for a year divided into three periods; in months from Phā. to Jy., performer should eat food made from wheat without salt or ghee (or oil) on bare

ground; in months from K. to M. he should eat cooked barley food; on M. śu. 3 he should make golden images of Rudra and Gaurī or of Hari and Śrī and donate these with six vessels containing honey, ghee, sesame oil, jaggery, salt, cow's milk; he becomes fortunate and handsome for seven births; Var. 58. 1-19 q. in KKV 75-77, HV I. 479-80, KR 523-524.

Saubhāgyavrata—(1) on K. pūrṇimā worship the Moon's image on the pericarp of a lotus drawn with 16 petals; on the filaments of the lotus worship 28 nakṣatras (including Abhijit) and on the leaves worship the tithis and their lords (set out by name); at end of vrata donate two garments; fast or nakta on this day; confers blessedness, beauty, sexual pleasures; HV II. 235-36 (from Vi. Dh.); (2) give up use of salt on 3rd tithi of Phā. and of following months for a year; at end donate a bedstead and house with all paraphernalia and honour a brāhmaṇa and his wife with the words 'May Pārvatī be pleased'; he becomes a denizen of Gaurīloka; tithivrata; Gaurī deity; KKV 441 (which is Mat. 101. 15-16), HV I. 483 (from Gar.), VKK 29-30 (reads 'śayanam' for 'lavaṇam'). Agni (178. 24-25) has almost the same verses; (3) worshipper of the Moon on 5th tithi secures long life, wealth and fame; HV I. 574 (from Vi. Dh.).

Saubhāgyaśayana-vrata—on Cai. śu. 3rd tithi worship Gaurī and Śiva images (as Gaurī was married on that day) after bathing the images with pañcagavya and scented water; salutations to the limbs of Devī and Śiva from feet to head and hair; place in front of the images Saubhāgyāṣṭaka; next morning the golden images to be donated; on each 3rd this procedure for a year; different substance to be partaken of and different mantra to be repeated in each month from Cai. and different names of Devī also; special flowers employed in each month; performer to give up eating one fruit for a year; at end donate a bedstead with paraphernalia and golden cow and bull; secures *saubhāgya*, health, beauty, long life; Mat. 60 1-49; KKV 56-60 (quotes only Mat. 60. 14-48), HV I. 444-449 (quotes Mat. 60. 1-48), KR 113-118 (quotes Mat. 60. 1-49). The same verses occur in Pad. V. 24. 222-278 and also in Bhav. U. 25. 1-42.

Saubhāgyasaṅkrānti—This is a saṅkrāntivrata; on the Ayana or Viṣuva day having Vyatīpāta or on a saṅkrānti day one

should follow ekabhakta, worship the sun and donate two garments and saubhāgyāṣṭaka to a brāhmaṇa and his wife; for one year; dinner to brāhmaṇas and donate lavaṇa-parvata, golden lotus and golden sun image; HV II. 735–36 (from Skanda); for gift of substances called parvatadānas, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. 882.

Saubhāgyasundarī—on the 3rd tithi of Mārg. or M. kṛ.; tithivrata; Umā deity; fast that day; for a year; in each month different name of Umā is used; flowers, fruits and naivedya to be offered are different and also the substance to be eaten by the performer; Vratārka folios 56a–60b, VR 114–120 (quoting Bhav. U.). It is to be performed on 3rd mixed with 4th (and not on 3rd mixed with 2nd).

Saubhāgyāvāptivrata—This is a māsavrata; Kṛṣṇa deity; begin on the 1st tithi after Māgha pūrṇimā (by pūrnimānta reckoning); worship image of Kṛṣṇa or his picture on a strip of cloth; performer to bathe with water scented with *priyaṅgu* (panic seed or Italian millet), offer *caru* (boiled rice) mixed with priyaṅgu and homa with the same; for a month; on Phā. pūrṇimā after three days' fast donate two garments dyed with saffron, a vessel full of honey &c.; this confers *saubhāgya* and beauty; HV II. 799 (from Vi. Dh. III. 204. 1–5).

Saubhāgyāṣṭaka—Mat. (60. 8–9) provides that eight things are so called, viz. sugarcane, mercury, niṣpāva (wheat preparation in which milk and ghee are used), *ajājī* (cumin seed), dhānyaka (coriander), curds from cow's milk, safflower and salt. This is quoted by HV I. 48–49, KR 115, VR 16 (with variant and corrupt readings). KR reads 'tavarājaḥ' (white ground sugar) and VR reads 'tarurājaḥ' (palmyra); Pad. V. 24. 251 enumerates somewhat differently, reads 'tarurāja, kusuma (v. l. kustumburu) and jīraka' (*panicum miliaceum*); vide Bhav. U. 25. 9 also for the eight things.

Saumyavidhi—When Sunday has Rohiṇī nakṣatra, it is called Saumya; bath, gifts, japa, homa, tarpaṇa of pitṛs and gods on this day become inexhaustible; observe nakta and worship the sun on this day with red lotuses, red sandalwood paste, *sugandha dhūpa* and pāyasa (as naivedya); performer is freed from sins; KKV 13–14, HV II. 524.

Saumyavrata—Give up flowers in Hemanta and Śiśira seasons and on Phā. pūrṇimā donate three flowers of gold in the

afternoon with the words 'May Śiva and Keśava be pleased'; Mat. 101. 13-14 (quoted in KKV 441).

Sauratrivikrama-vrata—This is a māsavrata; Sun deity; for three months or three years; in month of K. worship Jagannātha or the Sun and observe ekabhakta and donate the second meal to a brāhmaṇa; same procedure in Mārg. and P. and Sun to be worshipped as Vibhākara and Divākara; sins committed in youth and middle age and even grave sins are destroyed; it is called 'Trivikrama' because the three names (of the sun) relieve a man in *three* months or *three* years; HV II. 856 (from Bhav. U.).

Sauranakta-vrata—This is a vāravrata; Sun deity; to be performed on Sunday with Hasta nakṣatra; honour brāhmaṇas on it; performer is freed from diseases; HV II. 521 (from Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa).

Sauravrata—This is Mat. 101. 63 (a ṣaṣṭivrata) which occurs in KKV 448, HV I. 787 (from Pad.); fast on 7th tithi; Sun deity; for one year; at end donate a golden lotus, cows along with some gold and a jar full of food; leads to Sūryaloka.

Skandaṣaṣṭhī—6th tithi in Āṣ. śu. is so called; worship Kumāra (Kārtikeya) on it after observing a fast the previous day; NA 49, PC 101, SmK 138. NA adds that on seeing (the idol of) Kārtikeya in Dakṣiṇāpatha on Bh. śu. 6 one becomes free from even grave sins like brāhmaṇa murder; vide also KR 275-277. In Tamil lands Skandaṣaṣṭhī is important, is shown in the calendar as in (solar) Vṛścika-māsa (K. śu. 6) and celebrated in temples and also in some houses; HK 622, KR 119 quote some verses from Brah. saying that Skanda was produced from Agni on amāvāsyā and appeared on Cai. Śu. 6, was made Commander-in-Chief of gods and vanquished demon Tāraka, hence he was to be worshipped with lamps, garments, decoration, cocks (as a plaything) &c., or he may be worshipped on all śu. 6th tithis by those that desire health for their children. Vide TT 35 (saying that 6th of Cai. is called Skandaṣaṣṭhī), SmK 93.

Skandaṣaṣṭhīvrata—on K. śu. 6 subsist on fruits, turning to the south give arghya to Kārtikeya and offer curds, ghee, water and flowers and a mantra; the performer should take his meal at night from food placed on the bare earth; he secures success, prosperity, long life, health, and lost kingdom; one

should not partake of oil on 6th (either in śu. or kr.); Bhav. I. 39. 1–13 q. by KK V 99-101, HV I. 604–605, KR 415–416. Vide under 'Ṣaṣṭhīvratas' for proposition that Skandaṣaṣṭhī mixed with fifth is to be preferred. GK (83–84) speaks of Skandaṣaṣṭhī on Cai. kr.

Strīputrakāmāvāptivrata—this is a māsavrata; Sun deity; the woman passing K. by ekabhakta and observing the rules of conduct such as *ahiṁsā*, who offers to the sun *naivedya* of boiled rice mixed with jaggery and fasts on 6th or 7th tithi, in both fortnights, reaches sūryaloka and when she returns to the world she secures a king or other desired person as husband; special rules about the months from Mārg.; HV II. 821–824 (from Bhav.), KR 406.

Snapanasaptamīvrata—for a woman whose child or children die in infancy; Bhav. U. 52. 1–40.

Snuhī-viṭape manasā-pūjā—on Śr. kr. 5th worship Manasā-devī that removes (danger of) snake poison on a twig of Snuhī plant in one's court-yard; TT 33. Vide above p. 125.

Snehavrata—This is a māsavrata; God (Viṣṇu?) deity; person should give up oil bath for four months from Āṣ, he should subsist on pāyasa and ghee; at end he should donate a jar full of sesame oil; this secures people's affection (*sneha*); HV II. 818 (from Pad.).

Syamantaka (*jewel*)—story in Harivaṁśa I. 38; vide pp. 147–148 above under Gaṇeśacaturthī. The verse 'siṁhaḥ Prasenam-avadhīt' is Harivaṁśa I. 38.36.

Svarṇagaurīvrata—on Bh. śu. 3; tithivrata; Gaurī deity; for women only; Gauri is worshipped with the 16 upacāras; prayer to Devī to bestow sons, health, saubhāgya; on *udyāpana* 16 wickerwork vessels are filled with sixteen edibles and covered with cloth and donated to brāhmaṇa householders and their wives; Vratārka 41a–44b, VR 96–97 (notes that it is prevalent in Karṇāṭaka country and is based on usage).

Svastikavrata—from Āṣ. 11th or 15th for 4 months; for both men and women; said to be well-known in Karṇāṭaka; draw svastikas in five colours (blue &c.), and they are to be presented to Viṣṇu; worship of Viṣṇu in temple or on land; Vratārka folios 356b–358 from Bhav. U (questions its authoritativeness)

Haṁsavrata—bathe with recitation of Puruṣasūkta; tarpaṇa and japa with same; worship Janārdana called Haṁsa in

midst of a picture of a lotus having eight petals with flowers &c. to the accompaniment of Ṛg. X. 90, then homa; donate a cow; for a year; he secures all desires; Vi. Dh. III. 225. 1-9.

Hanūmat-jayantī—on Cai. śu. 15.

Hayapañcamī or *Hayapūjāvrata*—on Cai. 5th Uccaiḥśravas (Indra's horse) rose from the ocean and so he should be worshipped along with gandharvas (such as Citraratha, Citrasena) who are its bandhus with songs, sweetmeats, *polikas* (Marathi, *poḷi*), curds, jaggery, milk, rice flour; reward-strength, long life, health non-defeat in battle; HV I. 573 (quoting Śālihotra), SmK. 92. This is also called Matsyajayantī; AK folio 360b.

Harakālīvrata—on M. śu. 3; tithivrata; Devī is deity; for women; performer should pass the whole night contemplating Umā on green barley sprouts; next day bath and worship of Devī and then dinner; in each of 12 months different names of Devī to be taken and 12 different substances to be partaken of; at year's end honour a brāhmaṇa and his wife; reward—freedom from disease, no widowhood for seven births, son, beauty &c.; Śaṅkara asks Pārvatī what vrata she performed to secure the position of sharing half his body.

Haratṛtīyā-vrata—on M. śu. 3; tithivrata; Umā and Maheśvara deity; in a maṇḍapa draw a lotus with eight leaves; in eight directions *nyāsa* of the eight names of Umā viz. Gaurī, Lalitā, Umā, Svadhā, Vāmadevī &c.; place Umā-Maheśvara in the middle; worship with gandha and flowers; place a jar filled with rice grains; homa with four āhutis of ghee and one hundred of sesame; in each of the eight *praharas* perform bath and homa; next day honour a brāhmaṇa and his wife; this to be followed for four years; then udyāpana; golden image of Umā and Maheśvara to be donated to ācārya; gives *saubhāgya* and health; HV I. 480-482.

Haratrirātravrata—one fasting for three days at the root of a *bilva* tree and reciting a lakh of times the name of Hara destroys the sin even of bhrūṇahatyā; HV II. 312 (from Saurapurāṇa). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 148n and vol. III. p. 612 note 1161 for explanations of bhrūṇa.

Haravrata—on 8th tithi draw an image of lotus leaf and worship Hara and perform homa with streams of ghee and fuel-sticks; HV I. 881 (from Bhav.).

Harikālīvrata—on 3rd tithi of Bh. śu. worship of Kālī on the sprouts of seven dhānyas sown in a winnowing basket; it is carried at night by women whose husbands are alive to a reservoir of water and discharged therein; HV I. 435–439 (from Bhav. U. 20. 1–28). The story is that Kālī was daughter of Dakṣa, was given in marriage to Mahādeva and was dark in complexion. Once in an assembly of gods Mahādeva called her as dark as collyrium. She was angered, left her complexion on a grassy plot and threw herself into fire. She was born again as Gaurī and became Mahādeva's wife. The dark complexion laid aside by Kālī became Kātyāyanī, who helped gods in their undertakings. The gods bestowed on her the boon that those men or women who would worship Kālī existing in green grass would have happiness, long life and *saubhāgya*. The printed HV labels it Harikālī, but no question about Hari (meaning Viṣṇu) arises here. Hari here probably simply means 'tawny' (i. e. Kālī who was once brown or tawny and not fair).

Harikrīḍāśayana or Harikrīḍāyana—on K. or Vai. 12th; tithi-vrata; Hari deity; place in a copper vessel filled with honey a golden image of Nṛsiṁha with four arms, with rubies for arms, coral for nails and other precious stones on the chest, ears, eyes and head, and fill the vessel with water; worship and *jāgara*; the performer has no danger in a forest or battle, secures wealth and long life; KKV 392–393, HV II. 376–377 (from Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa).

Haritālikāvrata—Vide above pp. 144–45.

Harinakta—see NS 21.

Haritithi—is 12th, acc. to SmK. 29.

Hariprabodhotsava—celebrating the supposed awakening of Viṣṇu in K. Vide pp. 109–111 above.

Harivāsara—The day of Hari. There is a divergence of views on this point; VKK 14 holds that Ekādaśī is really the day of Hari and not dvādaśī. Gar. I. 127. 12 and Nāradapurāṇa II. 24. 6 and 9 call Ekādaśī Harivāsara; KSS 43 quotes Mat. to the effect that if Āṣ. śu. 12th falls on Wednesday and has Anurādhā nakṣatra and if Bh. śu. 12 falls on Wednes-

day and has Śravaṇa nakṣatra and if K. śu. 12 falls on Wednesday and has Revatī nakṣatra, these are called Harivāsara. SmK 29 holds that Dvādaśī is Haritithi.

Harivrata—(1) a person should practise ekabhakta on Pūrṇimā and Amāvāsyā; he does not go to Hell; on those tithis he should worship Hari with 'puṇyāhavācana' and words like 'jaya': he should feed one brāhmaṇa, bow to him and feed other brāhmaṇas and the blind, helpless and distressed persons; HV II. 373 (from Narasiṁhapurāṇa), KKV 389-390; for puṇyāhavācana, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 216; (2) a person who gives up food on 12th tithi goes to heaven; HV I. 1172 (from Var.).

Hariśayana—the sleeping of Viṣṇu in Āṣ.; vide above pp. 109-111.

Halaṣaṣṭhī—Bh. kṛ. 6 is so called; NS 123.

Haviṣya—sacrificial substances that can be partaken of on certain vratas; KR 400, TT 109, NS 106 and H of Dh. vol. IV. p. 149 note 334.

Hastagaurīvrata—on Bh. śu. 3; told by Kṛṣṇa to Kuntī for recovering a kingdom endowed with wealth and grain. Vratārka, folios 50b-52b, AK 280b; contemplation of Gaurī, Hara and Heramba (Gaṇeśa) for 13 years and udyāpana in 14th year.

Himapūjā—worship the Moon, the left eye of Viṣṇu on Pūrṇimā with flowers, *naivedya* of milk, give salt to cows, honour one's mother, sister and daughter with new red garments; if one is near Himālaya, then one should offer to pitṛs ice mixed with honey, sesame and ghee and where there is no ice he should repeat the words 'ice, ice' and should feed brāhmaṇas with māṣa food full of ghee; festival with songs and dance should be held and Śyāmā-devī worshipped, fresh wine should be drunk by those used to drinking; KR 471-72 (from Brah.)

Hṛdayavidhi—Vide KKV 19-20, HV II. 526; vide above p. 268 under 'Ādityavāra'.

Homavidhi—For procedure of *homa* in the Gṛhyasūtras, vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 207-210 and for homa in medieval times, vide HV I. 309-310.

Holikā—Vide above pp. 327-341.

SECTION II

KĀLA, MUHŪRTA, the influence of Astrology on DHARMAŚĀSTRA and CALENDAR

CHAPTER XIV

Conception of Kāla

Among the first of the great problems of philosophy is that of the nature of Space (*dik*) and Time (*kāla*).

The questions that arise are: Are Space and Time ultimately real? Is the world we apprehend spaceless and timeless or has the universe a beginning in time; are Space and Time themselves things or real, attributes or relations of things. Great divergence of views has prevailed on these problems from ancient times to this day. It is therefore advisable to indicate briefly the speculations on Time contained principally in Sanskrit works.

The word Kāla occurs only once in the Ṛgveda[651] 'as a gambler collects the *kṛta* (highest stake) at the (proper) time' (Ṛg. X. 42. 9, 'Kṛtam yac śvaghnī vicinoti kāle'). The Atharvaveda contains two hymns (XIX. 53. 1–10 and XIX. 54. 1–5) embodying a most sublime conception of Kāla. A few striking verses[652] are translated here: 'Kāla (Time) carries (as) a horse with seven reins, thousand-eyed, ageless, endowed with

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651. Compare कृतं न श्वघ्नी विचिनोति देवने। ऋ. X. 43.5 (= अथर्व. XX. 17.5) with ऋ. X. 42.9 (= अथर्व. VII. 50.6 and XX. 89.9 कृतमिव श्वघ्नी विचिनोति काले); vide also 'श्वघ्नीव यो जिगीवाँल्लक्षमादत्' ऋ. II. 12.4; Ṛg. X. 43.5 is explained by Chān. Up IV. 1.4 'यथा कृताय विजितायाधरेयाः संयन्ति.' (as the lower throws of dice all go to the highest throw, to the winner'.

652. कालो अश्वो वहति सप्तरश्मिः सहस्राक्षो अजरो भूरिरेताः। तमा रोहन्ति कवयो विपश्चितस्तस्य चक्रा भुवनानि विश्वा॥ स एव सं भुवनान्याभरत् स एव सं भुवनानि पर्यैत्। पिता सन्नभवत्पुत्र एषां तस्माद्वै नान्यत्परमस्ति तेजः॥ काले मनः काले प्राणः काले नाम समाहितम्। कालेन सर्वा नन्दन्त्यागतेन प्रजा इमाः॥ कालः प्रजा असृजत कालो अग्रे प्रजापतिम्। स्वयम्भूः कश्यपः कालात्तपः कालादजायत॥ अथर्व. XIX. 53.1, 4, 7, 10; कालो ह भूतं भव्यं च पुत्रो अजनयत्पुरा। कालादृचः समभवन्यजुः कालादजायत॥ इमं च लोकं परमं च लोकं पुण्यांश्च लोकान् विधृतीश्च पुण्याः। सर्वाँल्लोकानभिजित्य ब्रह्मणा कालः स ईयते परमो नु देवः॥ अथर्व. XIX. 54. 5. कश्यप is styled a ऋषि in ऋ. IX. 114.2 and is in later mythology the husband of अदिति who is called mother, father and son in ऋ. I. 89.10; so probably कश्यप here is the same as प्रजापति. In अथर्व. VIII. 5.14 कश्यप is said to have created the amulet jewel 'कश्यपस्त्वामसृजत कश्यपस्त्वा समैरयत्'. विधृति probably means here 'boundaries separating the worlds'.

plentiful seed (power); the wise poets mount him (as one mounts a chariot); all worlds are his wheels (53. 1); he (Kāla) himself brought together the worlds and he himself went round (all) worlds together; being the father, he became the son of them (worlds); there is indeed no other brilliance that is higher (or beyond) him (53. 4); in Time is mind, in Time is breath; in Time is placed name; all these beings are glad by time when it arrives (53. 7); Time created beings; in the beginning Kāla (created) Prajāpati; the self-existent Kaśyapa sprang from Kāla and (so did) *tapas* spring from Kāla (53. 10); Kāla, the son, created past and the future, from Time arose the ṛk (verses) and the *yajus* (sacrificial formulas) were born from time (54. 3); this world and the highest world, holy worlds and holy *vidhṛtis* having completely conquered these worlds by the *brahman* Time goes on (abides) as the highest god' (54. 5).

From these passages it appears that the word Kāla was used even in very early Vedic times in two senses, viz. time in general (as in modern Sanskrit and modern Indian languages) and Time as identical with the Supreme Being or the source of creation. This latter sense, it will be shown a little later on, is also emphasized in many Sanskrit works (including the Purāṇas).

In the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa the word Kāla is often used in the sense of 'time' or 'proper time'[653] e. g. 'he (Rudra angry because he was excluded from a share in offerings) flew up towards the north at the time when *sviṣṭakṛt* offering was to be made' (I. 7. 3. 3); Prajāpati (when cattle approached him) said 'whenever you may get anything at the (proper) time or at an improper time you may eat it' (II. 4. 2. 4).

A few passages from some of the Upaniṣads regarded as ancient by most scholars may be cited here; the Chān. Up. II.[654] 31. 1 (while speaking of Vāmadevya Sāman and its parts) uses the word Kāla as equal to 'end' or 'finish'. The Bṛ.[655] Up. I. 2.4

653. स आयततयोत्तरत उपोत्पेदे य एष स्विष्टकृतः कालः। शत. ब्रा. I. 7 3 3; यदैव यूयं कदा च लभाध्वै यदि काले यद्यनाकालेऽथैवाश्नाथेति॥ II. 4. 2.4.

654. कालं गच्छति तन्निधनं पारं गच्छति तन्निधनमेतद्वामदेव्यं मिथुने प्रोतम्। छा. उप. II. 13.1.

655. सोऽकामयत द्वितीयो म आत्मा जायेतेति ... न पुरा ततः संवत्सर आस तमेतावन्तं कालमबिभः। यावान्संवत्सरः। तमेतावतः कालस्य परस्तादसृजत। बृह. उप. I. 2.4, नैनं पुरा कालात् प्राणो जहाति। ... नैनं पुरा कालान्मृत्युरागच्छति। बृह. II. 1. 20 and 21; नो एव स्वयं नास्य प्रजा पुरा कालात्संमोहमेति। ...नो एव स्वयं नास्य प्रजा पुरा कालात्प्रमीयते। कौषी. उप. IV. 12 and 13.

says "He desired 'would that a second self of me were produced' ... He bore him for a time as long as a year; after that long time he brought him forth". In the dialogue between Gārgya and king Ajātaśatru in the same Upaniṣad Gārgya put forward several objects which he reverenced (*upāsana*) as *brahma* when the king replied as to those cases in these words '*Prāṇa* (breath) does not leave him before the time' and 'death does not come to him before time'. Here the word 'Kāla' is used in the sense of 'proper or appointed time'. In the passage of the Kauṣītaki Br. that corresponds to Bṛ. Up. II. 1. 10 and 12 the words are 'neither he himself nor his progeny pass into unconsciousness before the time' and 'neither he nor his progeny dies before the time'. In some passages of the Śvetāśvatara Up. some thinkers are stated to have put forward Kāla as the cause or source of creation e. g. 'what is the cause?[656] Is it Brahma? Whence are we born? Whereby do we live? On what are we established (or where are we going?) ... Time or inherent nature or necessity or chance or elements or *yoni* (prakṛti) or the person, it is to be considered (whether one of these is cause)'; 'Some sages discourse upon inherent nature (as the cause) while other deluded persons speak of Time (as the cause).' Here Kāla is represented as the cause of creation, which is the 2nd meaning of the word Kāla set out from the Atharvaveda. In another passage[657] of the same Up. Kāla is said to have been generated by Him who is intelligent and omniscient. The first meaning of Kāla (time in general) is also found in Śvetāśvatara Up. 'He (God) is the beginning, the efficient cause of (all) combinations, He is beyond the three times and is also without parts'. The Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad avers that Omkāra is beyond the threefold time viz. past, present and future.

The Maitrī Upaniṣad[658] has a long but somewhat rambling disquisition on time (VI. 14–16). It first says "Then it has been

656. किं कारणं ब्रह्म कुतः स्म जाता जीवाम केन क्व च संप्रतिष्ठाः। ··· कालः स्वभावो नियतिर्यदृच्छा भूतानि योनिः पुरुष इति चिन्त्यम्। श्वे. उप. I. 1–2; स्वभावमेके कवयो वदन्ति कालं तथान्ये परिमुह्यमानाः। श्वे. उप. VI. 1. The बृहत्संहिता of वराह appears to refer to this last when it says (in I. 7) 'कालं कारणमेके स्वभावमपरे परे जगुः कर्म'.

657. येनावृतं नित्यमिदं हि सर्वं ज्ञः कालकारो गुणी सर्वविद्यः। श्वे. उप. VI. 2; आदिः स संयोगनिमित्तहेतुः परस्त्रिकालादकालोऽपि दृष्टः। श्वे. उप. VI. 5; compare माण्डूक्योप० 'भूतं भवद्भविष्यमिति सर्वमोङ्कार एव। यच्चान्यत्त्रिकालातीतं तदप्योङ्कार एव।'.

658. अथान्यत्राप्युक्तं-अन्नं वा अस्य सर्वस्य योनिः कालश्चान्नस्य सूर्यो योनिः कालस्य। ... एवं ह्याह। कालात्स्रवन्ति भूतानि कालाद् वृद्धिं प्रयान्ति च। काले चास्तं नियच्छन्ति कालो

(*Continued on next page*)

said elsewhere 'Food is indeed the source of this whole world, and time of food; the Sun is the source of time'. Then a little later on it proceeds "Thus one has said 'From Time flow beings, from Time they reach growth, and in Time they come to disappear; Time is a form (i. e. has definite shape or limits) and is (also) formless". Then it propounds 'There are indeed two forms of *brahma*, Time and Timeless. That which is prior to the Sun is Timeless (form of Brahma) and it is without parts. But that which begins with the Sun is Time that has parts; year is the form of the Time that has parts. All these beings are produced from the year, through the year these beings when born grow, and they disappear in the year. Therefore the year is Prajāpati, is time, is food, is Brahma nest (or abode) and is Ātman. And it has been said 'Time cooks (ripens or digests) all beings in the Great Self; that man knows the (real import of) Veda who knows that in which Time is cooked". Here the Maitrī Up. speaks of Time in its two senses, contains the germ of the later conception of the experience of Time as due to the actions or movements of the Sun, and refers to Time in the same terms in which the Tai. Up. (III. 1) speaks of *brahma*. It is unnecessary to set out passages from other Upaniṣads such as the Mahānārāyaṇa (XI. 14 aham-eva kālo nāham kālasya) where Kāla is identified with God (Nārāyaṇa).[659]

The Mahābhārata recurs to the theme of Kāla time and again. In the Ādiparva it is said 'Kāla creates beings and Kāla destroys people; Kāla extinguishes Kāla that is engaged in destroying people; Kāla brings about good or evil states (or things); Kāla reduces all people and again sends them forth; Kāla is (the only one) awake when all are asleep (i. e. dead or

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मूर्तिरमूर्तिमान्॥ द्वे वाव ब्रह्मणो रूपे कालश्चाकालश्चाथ यः प्रागादित्यात्सोऽकालोऽकलोऽथ य आदित्याद्यः स कालः सकलः सकलस्य वा एतद्रूपं यत्संवत्सरः संवत्सरात्खल्विमाः प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते संवत्सरेणेह वै जाता विवर्धन्ते संवत्सरे प्रत्यस्तं यन्ति तस्मात्संवत्सरो वै प्रजापतिः कालोऽन्नं ब्रह्मनीडमात्मा चेत्येवं ह्याह। कालः पचति भूतानि सर्वाण्येव महात्मनि। यस्मिंस्तु पच्यते कालो यस्तं वेद स वेदवित्॥ मैत्री. VI. 14-15. With कालात्स्रवन्ति etc. and संवत्सरात्खल्विमाः etc. compare 'यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते येन जातानि जीवन्ति यत्प्रयन्त्यभिसंविशन्ति॥ तद्विजिज्ञासस्व तद् ब्रह्मेति।' तै. उप. III. 1.

659. कालः सृजति भूतानि कालः संहरते प्रजाः। संहरन्तं प्रजाः कालं कालः शमयते पुनः॥ कालो हि कुरुते भावान् सर्वलोके शुभाशुभान्॥ कालः संक्षिपते सर्वाः प्रजा विसृजते पुनः॥ कालः सुप्तेषु जागर्ति कालो हि दुरतिक्रमः। आदिपर्व 1. 248-250; कालः पचति भूतानि कालः संहरते प्रजाः। कालः सुप्तेषु जागर्ति कालो हि दुरतिक्रमः॥ स्त्रीपर्व 2.24. The words कालो··· क्रमः occur in शान्ति. 221. 41 and गरुड I. 108.7.

liberated); for Kāla is invincible'. The Strīparva has the following 'Kāla cooks all beings and Kāla destroys people; Kāla is invincible'. The Śāntiparva[660] in chapters 224 and 227 contains a long disquisition on the formidable influence of Kāla on all including gods like Indra. In the Śāntiparva it is asserted 'beyond the mind is the Great Intelligence and beyond the latter, is the Great Time; beyond Time is the adorable Viṣṇu to whom belongs the whole world'. In another place the Śāntiparva, after detailing nineteen *guṇas* the last being *dvandva-yoga* (pairs of opposites such as pleasure and pain), remarks that the 20th *guṇa* beyond the nineteenth is Kāla and that one should know these twenty to be the source and end of all beings. The Āśvamedhika-parva describes (chap. 45) the wheel of Time in an elaborate metaphorical way (verses 1-9) and remarks that the man who well knows the action of Kāla and its sublation is never deluded and reaches the highest goal. In Vanaparva Kṛṣṇa is identified with Brahma, Rudra, the Sun, the Moon, Dharma, Yama, Kāla &c. Vide for further references Śāntiparva 25. 5 ff, 224–225.

In the Bhagavadgītā the word kāla is used in the sense of 'time in general or proper time' in several passages (such as IV. 2, VIII. 7 and 27, VIII. 23, XVII. 20) and Kāla is identified with Kṛṣṇa as Supreme Lord in one of his super-eminent manifestations in X. 30 and 33 (I am Kāla among those that seize and I am Kāla that is imperishable) and XI. 32 (I am Kāla, that has increased (in strength) and that brings about the destruction of the worlds).

Pāṇini employs the word kāla in his sūtras many times, but in the sense of time in general or the divisions of time or proper time. Patañjali on Pāṇini III. 3. 167 (Kālasamayavelāsu tumun) quotes a half verse about Kāla, which is the same as the one quoted above from the Mahābhārata (in note 659) and which appears to have been cited by Patañjali as a well-known verse. In another place Patañjali while explaining Vārtika 2 on Pāṇini (II. 2. 5) states a very important theory about Kāla.

660. मनसो महती बुद्धिर्बुद्धेः कालो महान् स्मृतः। कालात् स भगवान् विष्णुर्यस्य सर्वमिदं जगत्॥ शान्तिपर्व 206.13. (= cr. ed. 199. 11); ऊर्ध्वं चैकोनविंशत्या कालो नामापरो गुणः। इतीमं विद्धि विंशत्या भूतानां प्रभवाप्ययम्। शान्ति॰ 320. 108–109; स त्वं नारायणो भूत्वा हरिरासीः परन्तप। ब्रह्मा सोमश्च सूर्यश्च धर्मो धाता यमोऽनलः। वायुर्वैश्रवणो रुद्रः कालः खं पृथिवी दिशः। वनपर्व 12. 21–22; कालः कलयतामहम्। गीता X. 30 (here the word काल is derived from the root कल् 10th conj. to compute, to grasp).

He says [661] "People speak of that as Kāla whereby the increases (or growths) and decreases in solid bodies are observed and the same (time) is called day and night when conjoined with some activity. What is that activity? (the reply is): the motion of the Sun. When that (motion of the Sun) is repeated again and again there is a month and a year'. This means that Kāla does not exist except as a convenient name or word for the manner of measuring change or becoming in what we observe by comparing one series of changes with another.

In the Manusmṛti the Supreme [662] Lord is said to have created time and its divisions (I. 24 Kālam kālavibhaktīśca) and to have, after He produced the universe, disappeared in himself again and again, squeezing one period of time by means of another period (I. 51).

Coming to the philosophical systems, it may be noted that the Sāṅkhya system does not include Kāla as a separate *tattva* in its twenty-five tattvas. But Kāla was not altogether forgotten in that system. The Sāṅkhyakārikā [663] states that the *karaṇas* are thirteen, three being *ābhyantara* (internal i. e. inside the body) and ten being *bāhya*; the latter are concerned with the present, while the former are concerned with the three times (past, present and future).

The Vaiśeṣika-sūtra treats [664] Kāla as included in the nine dravyas (substances, I. 5) and states that the indications of the

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661. येन मूर्तीनामुपचयाश्चापचयाश्च लक्ष्यन्ते तं कालमाहुः। तस्यैव हि कयाचित्क्रियया युक्तस्याहरिति च भवति रात्रिरिति च। कया क्रियया। आदित्यगत्या। तयैवासकृदावृत्तया मास इति भवति संवत्सर इति च। महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 2 on पाणिनि II. 2.5 'कालाः परिमाणिना' (Kielhorn's ed. vol. I. p. 409.).

662. आत्मन्यन्तर्दधे भूयः कालं कालेन पीडयन्॥ मनु० I. 51. The idea is that creation is destroyed by the time of pralaya, as Kullūka says 'सृष्टिकालं प्रलयकालेन नाशयन्.'

663. अन्तःकरणं त्रिविधं दशधा बाह्यं त्रयस्य विषयाख्यम्। साम्प्रतकालं बाह्यं त्रिकालमाभ्यन्तरं करणम्॥ सांख्यकारिका 133. The सांख्यतत्त्वकौमुदी of वाचस्पति explains 'अन्तःकरणं त्रिविधं बुद्धिरहङ्कारो मन इति। शरीराभ्यन्तरवर्तित्वादन्तःकरणम्। ... तत्र बुद्धीन्द्रियाण्यालोचनेन कर्मेन्द्रियाणि तु यथास्वं व्यापारेण।' (Nirn. ed. 1940) p. 372.

664. द्रव्य is one of the seven (in ancient times six) पदार्थs. पदार्थ means any object that can be named and is known and not merely things that are physically apprehended. अपरस्मिन्नपरं युगपच्चिरं क्षिप्रमिति काललिङ्गानि। द्रव्यत्वनित्यत्वे वायुना व्याख्याते तत्त्वंभावेन। नित्येष्वभावादनित्येषु भावात्कारणे कालाख्येति। वैशेषिकसूत्र II. 2 6-9. प्रशस्तपाद comments in his भाष्य as follows: 'कालः परापरव्यतिकरयौगपद्यायौगपद्यचिरक्षिप्रप्रत्ययलिङ्गम्।' p. 26 and 'कालकृतयोः (परत्वापरत्वयोः)

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existence of Kāla are the apprehensions of a thing as po sterior or prior, the apprehension of simultaneity of certain things, the apprehension of a thing as lasting long or as being momentary, that it is *nitya,* one and the (efficient) cause of all things that are created. Praśastapāda gives the instance of an old man and a young man being seen by a person in one place and direction or in different directions, who apprehends after looking at a young man that another man called old differs from a young man as regards a grown-up moustache or beard, wrinkles on the body and baldness and so apprehends that the old man is remote from the young man and therefore apprehends him as beyond (*para*) while he thinks of the young man as near, posterior and so *apara.*

There were certain philosophers who held that Time is either past or future and denied that there is present time (vartamāna). The Nyāyasūtra refutes this view and holds that time is either past, present or future (II. 1. 39–43). From Patañjali's [665] Mahābhāṣya it appears that even in his day there were philosophers that held that there was no time called present and that those people quoted certain verses in support.

The Nyāyamañjarī [666] of Jayantabhaṭṭa (K. S. S. 1936) has a long discussion on Kāla. It first sets out the views of those who deny the very existence of Kāla as a separate entity. These latter say that Kāla is not perceptible like a jar &c. and that

(*Continued from last page*)

कथम् । वर्तमानकालयोरनियतदिग्देशसंयुक्तयोर्युवस्थविरयो रूढश्मश्रुकार्कश्यवलिपलितादिसान्निध्ये सत्येकस्य द्रष्टुर्युवानमवधिं कृत्वा स्थविरे विप्रकृष्टा बुद्धिरुत्पद्यते । ततस्तामपेक्ष्य परेण कालप्रदेशेन संयोगात् परत्वस्योत्पत्तिः ।' pp. 77–78. The न्यायवार्तिक on न्यायसूत्र II. 1. 36 (p. 255) remarks 'यथैकस्मिन् पुरुषे अनेकसम्बन्धभेदानुविधायिन्यभिन्ने पिता पुत्रो भ्रातेति प्रत्यया भवन्ति तद्वदेकः कालः कार्यकारणविशेषापेक्षः परापरादिप्रत्ययहेतुरिति । एवमुपपादितः कालः ।'

665. अपर आह नास्ति वर्तमानः काल इति । अपि चात्र श्लोकानुदाहरन्ति । ...अपर आह । अस्ति वर्तमानः काल इति । आदित्यगतिवन्नोपलभ्यते । महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 4 (सन्ति च कालविभागाः । on पा. III. 2.123 वर्तमाने लट्).

666. अत्र चोदयन्ति । काले सति त्रैकाल्यं चिन्त्यम् । स एव तु दुरुपपादः, तदभावे कस्य वर्तमानादिविभागो निरूप्यते । न तावद् गृह्यते कालः प्रत्यक्षेण घटादिवत् । चिरक्षिप्रादिबोधोपि कार्यमात्रावलम्बनः ॥ ...यदि त्वेको विभुर्नित्यः कालो द्रव्यात्मको मतः । अतीतवर्तमानादिभेदव्यवहृतिः कुतः ॥ एवमाक्षिप्ते सति, प्रत्यक्षगम्यतामेव केचित्कालस्य मन्वते । विशेषणतया कार्यप्रत्यये प्रतिभासनात् ॥ क्रमेण युगपत्क्षिप्रमचिरात्कृतमितीदृशाः । प्रत्यया नावकल्पन्ते कार्यमात्रावलम्बनाः ॥ अनुमेय एव कालः । अप्रत्यक्षत्वमात्रेण न च कालस्य नास्तिता । युक्ता पृथिव्यधोभागचन्द्रमःपरभागवत् ॥ तस्मादस्ति युगपदादिव्यवहारहेतुः कालः । तस्मादेकोप्ययं कालः क्रियाभेदाद् विभिद्यते ॥ न्यायमञ्जरी (K. S. S., 1936) pp. 123–127.

the ideas of quickness or slowness depend merely on the observed effects. The same theorists raise the further objection that if Kāla is a *dravya* (substance) that is all-pervading and permanent, as the Vaiśeṣikas assert, then how is it that Kāla is spoken of as past, present and future. To these objections some reply: Kāla is directly perceived, since it appears to the mind as distinguishing the various perceptions of effects, that the several experiences such as 'these matters happened simultaneously, this happened after long, this happened quickly' cannot be perfectly explained if one denies the existence of Kāla and holds that these experiences depend solely on the perceived objects or actions. Others hold that Kāla is really inferred and not directly perceived. They argue: merely because Kāla is not directly perceived it does not follow that it does not exist; to infer that Kāla exists is proper as it is proper to infer that the other side of the moon exists though we see only that face of the moon that is below the earth; therefore Kāla exists as a separate entity to which is due the common experience of simultaneity, quickness or slowness &c. The differing observations about persons being young or old cannot be well explained without admitting the existence of Kāla, which like *ākāśa* is one, all-pervading and permanent. To the objection how, if Kāla is one, all pervading and *nitya*, it is spoken of as having three divisions, the reply is: in reality there are no divisions in Kāla, but divisions are imagined in Kāla on account of the *upādhi* (a limiting or restrictive adjunct) viz. *kriyā* (activity). When we speak of a man as cooking rice in the present (*odanam pacati*), that is due to the distinguishing nature of the result (boiled rice) which is brought about by several activities (*kriyās*) beginning with the placing of the cooking pot on the fire up to its being taken down on the ground. Then we use the word 'present'. But when we bear in mind the series of activities that produced the boiled rice we use the expression 'he cooked' (in the past tense) for the activities that have ended. In this way we speak of time also as past on account of the distinguishing characteristic of the activities that have ended.

It may be noted that Raghunātha on 'Padārtha-nirūpaṇa' (a work of Navyanyāya school) held the view that Space, Time and God are all one and the same thing and not separate substances.[667]

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667. Vide Prof. Ingalls' 'Materials for the study of Navyanyāya' (Harvard) p. 38 n. 36.

In the Yogasūtrabhāṣya on III. 51 there is a brief but very interesting and abstruse disquisition on Kāla. The sūtra runs[667a] 'by constraint (*saṁyama*) upon moments (kṣaṇa) and their sequence (or succession) (arises) knowledge due to discrimination'. The bhāṣya explains: just as an atom is substance or matter (*dravya*) reaching the limit of minuteness, so a *kṣaṇa* (moment) is time that reaches the highest limit of minuteness, or a kṣaṇa (moment) is time taken by an atom in leaving the position in space it occupies or the time taken in reaching the next point in space; *krama* (sequence) is the non-cessation of the flow of moments; moments and their succession do not form a collection (or combination) of actual (or perceptible) things. Muhūrta (30th part of day and night), day and night and others are combinations made by the mind (or by mental conceptions). This time, though devoid of being a real thing by itself, is indeed only a creation of mental conceptions and results from knowledge derived from words (alone) and appears as if it were an actual object to ordinary people whose doctrines are divergent (or confused). But kṣaṇa (moment) falling among (i. e. being mixed up with) real perceptible things appears (to the human mind) as dependent on or constituting sequence (or succession). *Krama* (sequence) is of the nature of uninterrupted succession. This sequence is called Kāla by Yogins who know (the real nature of) time. For, two kṣaṇas cannot exist together (simultaneouly). It is impossible that there should be a sequence of two moments that exist simultaneously. When a later moment comes after an earlier one without interruption, that is called *krama*. In the present there is only one moment and there are no earlier and later moments in the present. Therefore there can be no combination of two moments (in reality). But those moments that have passed away and those that are yet to come are to be interpreted or described as

667a. क्षणतत्क्रमयोः संयमाद्विवेकजं ज्ञानम्। योगसूत्र III.52; भाष्य on this is: यथा अपकर्षपर्यन्तं द्रव्यं परमाणुरेवं परमापकर्षपर्यन्तः कालः क्षणो यावता वा समयेन चलितः परमाणुः पूर्वदेशं जह्यादुत्तरदेशमुपसंपद्येत स कालः क्षणः तत्प्रवाहाविच्छेदस्तु क्रमः क्षणतत्क्रमयोर्नास्ति वस्तुसमाहार इति। बुद्धिसमाहारो मुहूर्ताहोरात्रादयः। स खल्वयं कालो वस्तुशून्योऽपि बुद्धिनिर्माणः शब्दज्ञानानुपाती लौकिकानां व्युत्थितदर्शनानां वस्तुस्वरूप इवावभासते। क्षणस्तु वस्तुपतितः क्रमावलम्बी। क्रमश्च क्षणानन्तर्यात्मा तं कालविद काल इत्याचक्षते योगिनः। न च द्वौ क्षणौ सह भवतः। क्रमश्च न द्वयोः सहभुवोरसम्भवात् पूर्वस्मादुत्तरस्य भाविनो यदानन्तर्यं क्षणस्य स क्रमः। तस्माद्वर्तमान एवैकः क्षणः न पूर्वोत्तरक्षणाः सन्तीति तस्मान्नास्ति तत्समाहारः। ये तु भूतभाविनः क्षणास्ते परिणामान्विता व्याख्येयास्तेनैकेन क्षणेन कृत्स्नो लोकः परिणाममनुभवति तत्क्षणोपारूढाः खल्वमी सर्वे धर्मास्तयोः क्षणतत्क्रमयोः संयमात् तयोः साक्षात्करणं ततश्च विवेकजं ज्ञानं प्रादुर्भवति॥. विवेक in the सूत्र means प्रकृतिपुरुषविवेक.

connected with the (constant) flux of changes (in the world). Therefore the whole world experiences change in each single moment. So all these (external) aspects of the world are dependent on one moment (in the present).

This disquisition shows that the Yogasūtra and its bhāṣya held that time was not a *dravya* and not a tangible reality, but that it was merely a word, a mental concept inseparable from the perception or experience of physical objects as a characteristic (viśeṣaṇa or upādhi), that it attaches itself to the changing realities, that we measure it according to the movements of or changes in things and that it was not merely like a hare's horn.

I have confined myself to Sanskrit works and particularly to works of the Vedic school type.[668] Buddhist and Jaina thinkers had to say a good deal on Kāla. For example, the Pramāṇa[669]-vārtika-bhāṣya or Vārtikālaṅkāra of Prajñākaragupta (about 700 A. D.) combats the view of the Vaiśeṣikasūtra and Praśastapāda (quoted above) and holds that there is no separate entity like Kāla, that it is not possible to have the ideas of distant time and near time if Kāla be without beginning and be endless, that the ideas of being distant or near or quick are not distinct from the activities about which they are predicated. This Buddhist view practically amounts to saying that time is not a thing, but only an idea, only a subjective condition of human sensorial experiences and intuitions and is non-existent in itself, apart from the subject. On the other hand Jaina[670] writers hold that there are six *padārthas* viz. jīva, dharma, adharma, ākāśa, *pudgala* and kāla i. e. Time has separate existence.

668. It is surprising that in the two volumes of 'the History of philosophy, Eastern and Western,' published under the auspices of the Govt. of India (London, 1952), and compiled by an Editorial Board presided over by such a world-famous philosopher as Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, not a word is said about the conception of Time in the Vedic Literature and in the Vaiśeṣika and other systems and only a meagre account is given of the Buddhist and Jain ideas on the subject (vol. I, pp. 159, 175-76 and p. 144).

669. अनादिनिधनात्कालात्कथं क्षिप्रादिबुद्धयः । चिरक्षिप्रादिबुद्धीनां ग्राह्यः कालो यदीष्यते ॥ verse 35; चिरादयोपि नैवामी क्रियातो व्यतिरेकिणः । चिरं कृतमितीत्थं हि क्रियारूपप्रवेशतः ॥ 40, pp. 476-497 of प्रमाणवार्तिकभाष्य ed. by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana (1953).

670. अजीवकाया धर्माधर्माकाशपुद्गलाः । जीवाश्च । कालश्च । सोऽनन्तसमयः । तत्त्वार्थसूत्र of उमास्वाति ed. with वृत्ति of श्रुतसागरसूरि (1949, Benares) in the Jñānapīṭha Jain-granthamālā.

Some of the Purāṇas contain disquisitions on Kāla. The nature of Time is described in the Kūrmapurāṇa as follows: This adorable[671] Kāla is without beginning and without end, it is ageless and immortal; it is a great Lord because it is all-embracing, it is independent and is the self of all; there may be many Brahmās, Rudras and Nārāyaṇas and other gods. It is declared that the divine Lord is one and is omniscient and is Kāla; they (the gods) are created by Kāla, which again swallows (or makes them disappear); the gods Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa and Īśa (Śiva) are said to undergo *prākṛta* disappearance by the power of Kāla and also spring again therefrom as highest Brahma, the elements, Vāsudeva and Śaṅkara. Therefore the whole world has its soul in Kāla. He alone is the highest Lord.' The Viṣṇudharmottara[672] has a similar long disquisition on Kāla the gist of a few verses of which may be set out here 'Kāla is without beginning and without end, it is Rudra that seizes all (or it is Saṅkarṣaṇa); it is called Kāla because it carries off or drives all beings. Kāla is great and the highest Lord, because it is beginningless and endless; it is more subtile than the winking of one's eye, very much more subtile than the subtilest. Its subtileness cannot be understood even by Yogins. When a thousand lotus leaves are pierced by a needle ignorant people think that the piercing of all leaves is at the same time, but really the leaves are pierced at separate units of time. This is the subtileness of Kāla. But though Kāla is very very subtile, it is also great and measurement of it can be computed because of the motions of planets.' The Vāyu and Kūrma both say 'Time creates beings and again destroys them; all are under the rule of Time, while Time is not under the dominance of

671. अनादिरेष भगवान् कालोऽनन्तोऽजरोऽमरः । सर्वगत्वात् स्वतन्त्रत्वात् सर्वात्मत्वान्महेश्वरः । ब्रह्माणो बहवो रुद्रा ह्यन्ये नारायणादयः । एको हि भगवानीशः कालः कविरिति स्मृतः । कालेनैव च सृज्यन्ते स एव ग्रसते पुनः । ब्रह्मनारायणेशानां त्रयाणां प्राकृतो लयः । प्रोच्यते कालयोगेन पुनरेव च सम्भवः । परं ब्रह्म च भूतानि वासुदेवोऽपि शङ्करः । तस्मात् कालात्मकं विश्वं स एव परमेश्वरः । q. by हे. on काल p. 6 from कूर्मपुराण. These are कूर्म I. chap. 5 but the order of verses is different. For प्राकृतलय vide विष्णुपुराण I. 2.25.

672. अनादिनिधनः कालो रुद्रः सङ्कर्षणः स्मृतः । कलनात् सर्वभूतानां स कालः परिकीर्तितः । अनादिनिधनत्वेन स महान् परमेश्वरः । निमेषादपि सूक्ष्मत्वात् सूक्ष्मात्सूक्ष्मतरो ह्यति । तस्य सूक्ष्मातिसूक्ष्मस्य कालस्य परमेष्ठिनः । दुर्विभाव्या महाभाग योगिनामपि सूक्ष्मता । पद्मपत्रसहस्रं तु सूच्या वै भिद्यते यदा । समकालं तु तद्भिन्नमबुधो मन्यते जनः । कालक्रमेण तद्भिन्नं सा तस्य द्विज सूक्ष्मता । तस्य सूक्ष्मातिसूक्ष्मस्य तथापि महतो द्विजाः । मानसंख्या बुधैर्ज्ञेया ग्रहगत्यनुसारतः ॥ q. by हे. on काल pp. 6-7 from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 72. 1-7; कालः सृजति भूतानि कालः संहरते प्रजाः । सर्वे कालस्य वशगा न कालः कस्यचिद्वशे ॥ कूर्म II. 3. 16; वायु 32. 29-30 (reads पुनः संहरति क्रमात्).

any one.' The Viṣṇupurāṇa[673] holds that Brahma which is one, unborn, permanent, ageless appears in the form of Kāla, which is without beginning or end. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa[674] also regards Kāla as inferred in regard to its minuteness and its grossness is all-pervading, and holds that it is supposed to have units from the subtlest (atom) to the highest.

Among astronomical works the Sūryasiddhānta states[675] 'Kāla is the destroyer of worlds; another (kind of time) is of the nature of calculation; Kāla is of two kinds, gross and subtile, which are also called *mūrta* (physically apprehensible) and *amūrta* (not so apprehended); (the divisions of) time called prāṇa (respiration) and the like are mūrta, while *truṭi* and the like are *amūrta*.' The Caraka-saṁhitā[676] includes Kāla among nine dravyas and holds that it is *acetana* (non-sentient). Thus it agrees with the Vaiśeṣika view. In the Suśrutasaṁhitā it is declared 'Kāla is indeed self-existent, without beginning, middle or end; the poverty or richness of substances that have (one or more of the six) flavours (rasas) and the life and death of human beings are dependent on Kāla. It is called Kāla because it does not remain sticking to even the smallest division or because it heaps together (beings by leading beings to death) or drives them together. Of that adorable Kāla which assumes the character of year, the divine Sun produces by his special movements the divisions called twinkling of the eye, kāṣṭhā &c.

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673. तद् ब्रह्म परमं नित्यमजमक्षयमव्ययम्। ...तदेव सर्वमेवैतद् व्यक्ताव्यक्तस्वरूपवत्। तथा पुरुषरूपेण कालरूपेण च स्थितम्॥ परस्य ब्रह्मणो रूपं पुरुषः प्रथमं द्विज। व्यक्ताव्यक्ते तथैवान्ये रूपे कालस्तथापरम्॥ ...अनादिर्भगवान्कालो नान्तोऽस्य द्विज विद्यते। विष्णुपुराण I. 2. 13-15, 26.

674. एवं कालोऽप्यनुमितः सौक्ष्म्ये स्थौल्ये च सत्तम। संस्थानभुक्त्या भगवानव्यक्तो व्यक्तभुग्विभुः। स कालः परमाणुर्वै यो भुङ्क्ते परमाणुताम्। ततोऽविशेषभुग्यस्तु स कालः परमो महान्। अणुर्द्वौ परमाणू स्यात्त्रसरेणुस्त्रयः स्मृतः। जालार्करश्म्यवगतः खमेवानुपतन्नगात्। त्रसरेणुत्रिकं भुङ्क्ते यः कालः स त्रुटिः स्मृतः। शतभागस्तु वेधः स्यात्तैस्त्रिभिस्तु लवः स्मृतः। निमेषस्त्रिलवो ज्ञेय आम्नातस्ते त्रयः क्षणः। भागवत III. 11. 3-7.

675. लोकानामन्तकृत्कालः कालोऽन्यः कलनात्मकः। स द्विधा स्थूलसूक्ष्मत्वान्मूर्तश्चामूर्त उच्यते॥ प्राणादिः कथितो मूर्तस्त्रुट्याद्योऽमूर्तसंज्ञकः। षड्भिः प्राणैर्विनाडी स्यात् तत्षष्ट्या नाडिका स्मृता। नाडीषष्ट्या तु नाक्षत्रमहोरात्रं प्रकीर्तितम्॥ सूर्यसिद्धान्त I. 10-11.

676. खादीन्यात्मा मनः कालो दिशश्च द्रव्यसङ्ग्रहः। चरक, सूत्रस्थान I. 480; कालो हि नाम स्वयम्भुरनादिमध्यनिधनः। अत्र रसव्यापत्सम्पत्ती जीवितमरणे च मनुष्याणामायत्ते। स सूक्ष्मामपि कलां न लीयत इति कालः सङ्कलयति कालयति वा भूतानीति कालः। तस्य संवत्सरात्मनो भगवानादित्यो गतिविशेषेणाक्षिनिमेषकाष्ठाकलामुहूर्ताहोरात्रपक्षमासर्त्वयनसंवत्सरयुगप्रविभागं करोति। तत्र लघ्वक्षरोच्चारणमात्रोऽक्षिनिमेषः। पञ्चदशाक्षिनिमेषाः काष्ठा त्रिंशत्काष्ठाः कला विंशतिकलो मुहूर्तः कलादशभागश्च त्रिंशन्मुहूर्तमहोरात्रं पञ्चदशाहोरात्राणि पक्षः। सुश्रुत II. 3-5.

Similarly, philosophical grammarians like Bhartṛhari[677] (author of the Vākyapadīya) holds that Kāla is a substance (dravya), all-pervading and permanent apart from activities, that it is the efficient cause of all created things, that it is divided into years, seasons &c. on account of the different activities, just as the same man may be called a carpenter or a blacksmith &c. (on account of his different activities). For reasons of space it is not advisable to pursue the subject of the nature of time from other Sanskrit works of medieval and modern times. For those who desire to make a further study of this subject I would recommend the 'Kālasiddhānta-darśinī' composed and published by Shri Haranchandra Bhaṭṭācārya of Calcutta in 1941, which exhaustively deals with the philosophical conceptions about Kāla held by different sects, schools and Sanskrit writers.

There is a great temptation to compare Indian ancient and medieval conceptions about Time arrived at more than a thousand years ago with similar or corresponding conceptions on the same subject in modern Western philosophical works such as Kant's 'Critique of pure reason', Prof. S. Alexander's 'Space, Time and Deity' (1927, London, two volumes), 'Time and Western Man' by Wyndham Lewis (London, 1927), Pierre Burgelin's 'L' Homme et Le Temps' (1945), Bergson's 'Time and Freewill', S. G. F. Brandon's 'Time and Mankind' (1953). But as this volume has already grown to large proportions, comparisons with Western philosophical views have to be given up.

From very ancient times minute divisions of time have been mentioned. The Vāj. S. states[678] 'that all winkings of the eye (and similar units of time) were produced from the (supreme). Person that is brilliant (like lightning)'. This half verse occurs in the Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad also. It is stated in the Bṛ. Up.[679] that under the dominion of this imperishable *brahma* the Sun and the Moon are held apart, as also *nimeṣas*, *muhūrtas*, days, and nights, half months, months, seasons, and years stand apart

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677. व्यापारव्यतिरेकेण कालमेके प्रचक्षते । नित्यमेकं विभु द्रव्यं परिमाणं क्रियावताम् ॥ उत्पत्तौ च स्थितौ चैव विनाशे चापि तद्वताम्। निमित्तं कालमेवाहुर्विभक्तेनात्मना स्थितम् ॥ क्रियाभेदाद्यथैकस्मिंस्तक्षाद्याख्या प्रवर्तते । क्रियाभेदात्तथैकस्मिन्नृत्वाद्याख्योपजायते ॥ वाक्यपदीय, प्रकीर्णककाण्ड, कालसमुद्देश, verses 1, 3, 32.

678. सर्वे निमेषा जज्ञिरे विद्युतः पुरुषादधि । वाज. सं. 32. 2, महानारायण-उप. I. 8.

679. एतस्य वा अक्षरस्य प्रशासने गार्गि सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ विधृतौ तिष्ठतः। ...एतस्य वा अक्षरस्य प्रशासने गार्गि निमेषा मुहूर्ता अहोरात्राण्यर्धमासा मासा ऋतवः संवत्सरा इति विधृतास्तिष्ठन्ति । बृह. उप. III. 8. 9.

The Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad' (I. 8–9) mentions as units of time 'Nimeṣas, Kalā, muhūrta, kāṣṭhā, ahorātra, half months, months, ṛtus, year.' Manu I. 64 provides that 18 nimeṣas are equal to kāṣṭhā, 30 kāṣṭhās to kalā, 30 kalās to muhūrta, 30 muhūrtas are equal to one day and night. Early and very exhaustive enumeration of the several units of time from subtlest to the highest are contained in Bṛhat-saṁhitā of Varāha and in the bhāṣya of Praśastapāda on Vaiśeṣikasūtra[680] viz. 'Kāla is the cause of the popular usage about the units being *kṣaṇa*, *lava*, *nimeṣas*, *kāṣṭhā*, *kalā*, muhūrta, yāma (prahara or ⅛th of a day), ahorātra (day and night), ardhamāsa (half month), māsa (month), ṛtu (season), ayana, saṁvatsara (year), yuga, manvantara, kalpa, pralaya and mahāpralaya. The Purāṇas also dilate upon the units of time from nimeṣa to pralaya or kalpa. Vide Brahma 231. 6–12, Kūrma I. 5. 6–14, Padma V. 3. 4–20, Vāyu 57. 6–35. Nimeṣa (lit. winking of the eye) is defined by the Vāyu and Viṣṇudharmottara as the time required for pronouncing a short letter and the latter adds that a smaller unit than it cannot be (physically) apprehended. There is great divergence of views about the number and names of the minute units of time and their mutual relations. A few examples alone can be cited. Manu (I. 64) furnishes the following table: 18 nimeṣas = kāṣṭhā, 30 kāṣṭhās = kalā, 30 kalās = muhūrta, 30 muhūrtas = ahorātra (day and night). The Arthaśāstra[681] of Kauṭilya provides: 2 truṭas (i?) = lava, 2 lavas = nimeṣa, five nimeṣas = kāṣṭhā, 30 kāṣṭhās = kalā, 40 kalās = nāḍikā, 2 nāḍikās = muhūrta, 30 muhūrtas = ahorātra. Some of the purāṇas contain the same[682] verse on the names and relations of small units of time viz.

680. (स कालः) क्षणलवनिमेष-काष्ठा-कला-मुहूर्तयामाहोरात्रार्धमास-मासर्त्वयनसंवत्सर-युग कल्प-मन्वन्तर-प्रलय-महाप्रलय-व्यवहारहेतुः। प्रशस्तपादभाष्य on वैशेषिकसूत्र II. 2. 6 p. 27 (Kashi S. series, 1923); तत्र ग्रहगणिते पौलिशरोमकवासिष्ठसौरपैतामहेषु पञ्चस्वेतेषु सिद्धान्तेषु युगवर्षायनर्तुमासपक्षाहोरात्रयाममुहूर्त-नाडीप्राणत्रुटित्रुट्याद्यवयवादिकस्य कालस्य क्षेत्रस्य च वेत्ता॥ बृह. सं. II. p. 22; निमेषकालतुल्यं हि विद्याल्लघ्वक्षरं च यत्। वायु. 57.6.; लघ्वक्षरसमा मात्रा निमेषः परिकीर्तितः। अतः सूक्ष्मतरः कालो नोपलभ्यो भृगूत्तम॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 73. 1 q. by हे. (on काल) p. 7.

681. कालमानमत ऊर्ध्वम्। त्रुटो लवो निमेषः काष्ठा कला नाडिका मुहूर्तः पूर्वापरभागौ दिवसो रात्रिः पक्षो मास ऋतुरयनं संवत्सरो युगमिति कालाः। द्वौ त्रुटौ लवः। द्वौ लवौ निमेषः। पञ्च निमेषाः काष्ठा। त्रिंशत्काष्ठाः कला। चत्वारिंशत्कलाः नाडिका। ...द्विनाडिका मुहूर्तः। पञ्चदशमुहूर्तौ दिवसो रात्रिश्च चैत्रे मास्याश्वयुजे मासे च भवतः। अर्थशास्त्र II. chap. 20 (41 from beginning), pp. 107–108 (of Shamshastri's edition.).

682. काष्ठा निमेषा दश पञ्च चैव त्रिंशच्च काष्ठा गणयेत्कलास्ताः। त्रिंशत्कलाश्चैव भवेन्मुहूर्तस्तैस्त्रिंशता रात्र्यहनी समेते॥ वायु 50. 169 = वायु 57. 7 = मत्स्य 142.4, विष्णुपुराण II. 8. 59, ब्रह्माण्ड II. 29.6, शान्तिपर्व 232. 12.

15 nimeṣas = kāṣṭhā, 30 kāṣṭhās = kalā, 40 kalās = nāḍikā, 2 nāḍikās = muhūrta, 30 muhūrtas = day and night together. It should be noticed that here the relation of nimeṣas to kāṣṭhā is different from that in Manu and Kauṭilya The Arthaśāstra[683] of Kauṭilya does not stand alone in speaking of *truṭa* (? i) as the smallest unit of time. The Sūryasinddhānta (quoted above) provides that truṭi is the smallest unit of time, that it is *amūrta* (not apprehended physically), that the prāṇa is the first *mūrta* (physically apprehended) unit of time, that 6 prāṇas are equal to a vināḍī, that 60 vināḍīs are equal to a nāḍikā, 60 nāḍīs are equal to an ahorātra. Utpala[681] on Bṛ. S. quotes verses from Pauliśa-siddhānta and Brāhmasphuṭa-siddhānta to the effect that six prāṇas are equal to a vināḍikā, 60 vināḍikās are equal to a nāḍikā or ghaṭikā and 60 ghaṭikās are equal to a day (i. e. ahorātra). A smṛti quoted in the Tithitattva states that two truṭis make a lava, 2 lavas make a nimeṣa, so that truti is equal to ¼th of nimeṣa. Hemādri on Kāla (p. 7) quotes a verse that truṭi is equal to two nimeṣas and 10 truṭis are equal to prāṇa. The Amarakośa follows Manu as to eighteen nimeṣas being equal to kāṣṭhā, but it introduces a unit called *kṣaṇa* between kalā and muhūrta, so that its scheme is : 18 nimeṣas = kāṣṭhā, 30 kāṣṭhās = kalā, 30 kalās = kṣaṇa, 12 kṣaṇas = muhūrta, 30 muhūrtas = ahorātra. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa (III. 11. 3–10) puts forward a far more elaborate scheme : two atoms (of Time) = aṇu, 3 aṇus = trasareṇu, 3 trasareṇus = truṭi, 100 truṭis = vedha, 3 vedhas = lava, 3 lavas = nimeṣa, 3 nimeṣas = kṣaṇa, 5 kṣaṇas = kāṣṭhā, 15 kāṣṭhās = laghu, 15 laghus = nāḍikā, 2 nāḍikās = muhūrta, 30 muhūrtas = ahorātra. In the Ātharvaṇa-jyotiṣa the table is : 12 nimeṣas = lava, 30 lavas = kalā, 30 kalās = truṭi, 30 truṭis = muhūrta. This agrees with none. Further units of time from ahorātra to *pralaya* will be dwelt upon a little later.

Before proceeding further clarification is required on certain points. At least several centuries before Christ Jyotiṣa had attained the position of being one of the six *aṅgas* (auxiliary

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683. द्वौ निमेषौ त्रुटिर्ज्ञेया प्राणो दश त्रुटिः स्मृतः॥ विनाडिका तु षट् प्राणास्ताः षष्टिर्नाडिका मता॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 73. 2–3 q. by हे. (on काल) p. 7.

684. तथा च पौलिशे। षट्प्राणास्तु विनाडी तत्षष्ट्या नाडिका दिनं षष्ट्या। एतासां त्रिंशन्मासस्तैर्द्वादशभिरब्दः॥ उत्पल on बृह. सं. II. p. 24. भागवत (III. 11. 5) remarks that त्रसरेणु is visible (while परमाणु and अणु are not) and is the speck that is seen floating in the air when a pencil of the sun's rays comes through a window (जालार्करश्म्यवगतः खमेवानुपतन्नगात्).

studies) of the Veda. The Muṇḍakopaniṣad[685] states that the *aparā vidyā* (inferior exoteric knowledge) comprises Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, Atharvaveda, Śikṣā (Phonetics), Kalpa (ritual texts), Vyākaraṇa (grammar), Nirukta (Etymology), Chandas (metrics) and Jyotiṣa (astronomy and mathematics). The Āpastamba-dharmasūtra enumerates the same six aṅgas of the Veda. In the Pāṇinīya Śikṣā[686] the science of the movements of heavenly bodies is said to be the eye of the Veda. The Jyotiṣa which is Vedāṅga (of the Ṛgveda and Yajurveda) was concerned with purely astronomical matters. In the Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa[687] it is remarked : 'the Vedas arose for the purpose of (use in) sacrifices; sacrifices are enjoined according to the order of times; therefore he who knows Jyotiṣa which is the science laying down the (proper) times knows sacrifices. Just as a tuft of hair stands on the head of peacocks or a jewel (in the heads) of cobras, so *gaṇita* (astronomical calculations) stand at the head of all the sciences that are (spoken of as) Vedāṅgas'. This shows that the words Jyotiṣa and *gaṇita* are used as synonyms in the Vedāṅga-jyotiṣa. The Vṛddha-vāsiṣṭhasiddhānta (Benares S. Series) says 'this śāstra is indeed the eye of the Veda; therefore, among the *aṅgas* (limbs, subsidiary lores of Veda) it has got pre-eminence; a man endowed with all other limbs and therefore appearing to be perfect is worth nothing, if he is devoid of eyes.' Gradually, however, Jyotiṣa came to include three distinct branches (skandhas) viz. the determination of the motions of planets by means of calculations which was called Tantra, the second called *horā* that deals with horoscopes and (was also called *jātaka*) and the third called Śākhā which was an extensive branch and included many topics of divination which are summarised

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685. द्वे विद्ये वेदितव्ये इति ··· परा चैवापरा च। तत्रापरा ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्ववेदः शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणं निरुक्तं छन्दो ज्योतिषमिति। अथ परा यया तदक्षरमधिगम्यते। मुण्डकोप. I. 1. 4–5 ; षडङ्गो वेदः। छन्दःकल्पो व्याकरणं ज्योतिषं निरुक्तं शीक्षा छन्दोविचितिरिति। आप. ध. सू. II. 4. 8. 11. छन्दःकल्प means कल्पसूत्राणि and छन्दोविचिति means the science of metres.

686. छन्दः पादौ तु वेदस्य हस्तौ कल्पोऽथ पठ्यते। ज्योतिषामयनं चक्षुर्निरुक्तं श्रोत्रमुच्यते। शिक्षा घ्राणं तु वेदस्य मुखं व्याकरणं स्मृतम्। तस्मात्साङ्गमधीत्यैव ब्रह्मलोके महीयते॥ शिक्षा verses 41–42.

687. वेदा हि यज्ञार्थमभिप्रवृत्ताः कालानुपूर्व्या विहिताश्च यज्ञाः। तस्मादिदं कालविधानशास्त्रं यो ज्योतिषं वेद स वेद यज्ञम्। यथा शिखा मयूराणां नागानां मणयो यथा। तद्वद्वेदाङ्गशास्त्राणां गणितं मूर्धनि स्थितम्॥ वेदाङ्गज्योतिष (of यजुर्वेद) verses 3,4. = verses 35, 36 of (ऋग्वेद-ज्योतिषवेदाङ्ग) in Pandit Siddhesvara Dwivedi's ed. (1906, Prabhākarī Press).

against an enemy derived from the tithi, nakṣatra, the week-day, the muhūrta, the moon's position, dreams, throbbing of limbs, the cries of birds, and *vivāha* i. e. examining the horoscopes of the parties to a marriage (called Vivāhakāla or Vivāhapaṭala).

The usual practice of the Gṛhyasūtras and Dharmaśāstra works was to take their astronomical requirements and knowledge from astronomers. The Gobhila-gṛhyasūtra[691] provides: 'the work on this point is separate; one should study it or should obtain information about (the exact time of) the *parvan* (New moon and Full moon) from those who know it.' The astronomical knowledge of ancient and medieval India has been a subject riddled with acute controversies. Somewhat reluctantly I have come to the conclusion that discussions about the theories and practice of astronomy in ancient and medieval India should be omitted from the History of Dharmaśāstra. An adequate treatment of ancient and medieval Indian astronomy and discussion of the theories advanced by Western scholars (some of them quite unwarranted) would require a large volume by itself. Here and there I may have to refer to pure astronomical matters for certain purposes. But the two other branches of Jyotiṣa, viz. Horā (astrology) and Śākhā have exerted a vast influence on Dharmaśāstra and will have to be discussed within limits. Though Dharmaśāstra writers took their astronomy from astronomers, they did not hold that astronomers had the last word, but they rather held that if there was some conflict or contradiction between strict astronomical theory and Dharmaśāstra, the latter was to prevail. An example may be cited for illustrating this: Suppose that a man has resolved to undertake 'ekabhakta-vrata' on 7th tithi. The saṅkalpa for a vrata is as a general rule to be made in the morning. Suppose that 7th is mixed with 6th and 8th tithis and that 7th commences about 10 A. M. on a certain week-day; then according to Yugmavākya (vide p. 75 note 191 above) 7th mixed with 6th is to be preferred for the vrata and the saṅkalpa would have to be repeated in the morning when according to correct astronomical calculation the tithi might be only the 6th at that time. Devala declares that a tithi is, for the purposes of religious bath, gifts and vratas, to be regarded as covering the whole day if the Sun sets during the

691. पृथगेवैतस्य ज्ञानस्याध्यायो भवति, अधीयीत वा तद्विद्भ्यो वा पर्व आगमयेत । गोभिलगृह्य I. 5. 13. अध्यायो ग्रन्थः ज्योतिःशास्त्ररूपः; हे. on काल p. 378 quotes गोभिलगृह्य.

period[692] of that tithi. Vide Kṛtyaratnākara p. 299 and Smṛtikaustubha (on tithi p. 12) for other examples.

About Astronomy and Astrology as developed in India Western scholars such as Weber, Whitney, Thibaut have propounded many sweeping and unwarranted theories based on flimsy data. Here and there I may have to refer to them. But I must say in one place how and why their conclusions are often unacceptable. In the first place, they do not attach due importance to the fact that a vast literature in Sanskrit has perished beyond recovery (as it is admitted was the case in Greece after Ptolemy composed his Almagest)[693] and what we now have is a mere fraction of what once existed. In the second place, they forget or ignore that much of the literature that survives is religious and not intended to be a historical and full treatment of any topic i. e. most of the references to astronomical matters found in the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas are not made of set purpose but are incidental or casual. They hardly seem to be aware of the rule of caution and common sense that in ancient literature what is expressly stated may be used for drawing inferences, but the non-mention of certain matters cannot necessarily be a valid reason for arriving at the conclusion of non-existence, unless the subject matter was such that if something connected with it existed it should ordinarily have been mentioned. Further, and most important of all, mere similarities in institutions, usages and other matters should not be regarded as evidence of borrowing by one people from another people. Human mind is the same everywhere, its environment and the needs of human beings are often the same and no people, ancient or modern, can be regarded as having had the monopoly of great intellectual powers. Most of those who wrote on Indian literature and subjects in the 19th century were nurtured on the literature of the Greeks and Romans and on the vaunted superiority of the ancient Greeks in Philosophy, Mathematics, arts and other matters and of Egypt. But as ancient cuneiform tablets in Babylonia and the Middle East countries came to be deciphered, things began to be seen in

692. एकभक्तादीनां सङ्कल्पस्तु-प्रातः सङ्कल्पयेद्विद्वानुपवासव्रतादिकम्-इति वचनात् प्रातःकाले ज्योतिःशास्त्रप्रसिद्धग्राह्यतिथिसत्त्वाभावेपि, यां तिथिं समनुप्राप्येत्यादिसाकल्यप्रतिपादकवचनापादिततिथिसत्त्वमादाय प्रातःकाल एव कर्तव्यः। पु. चि. p. 53; अतः-अप्राप्ते भास्करे कन्यां सत्रिभागैस्त्रिभिर्दिनैः -इत्यादिवाक्यं ज्योतिःशास्त्रीयमनादेयं धर्मशास्त्रस्य ततो बलवत्त्वात् ब्रह्मपुराणार्थपरत्वेनैव नेतव्यं यथायथम्। कृ. र. p. 299.

693. Vide Prof. Neugebauer in 'Exact Sciences in Antiquity' (1951) p. 56.

proper perspective. Modern scholars have, it is refreshing to note, outgrown the stage when all arts were traced to Greek (see 'Sumerians' by Sir Leonard Woolley, 1928 p. 193, Glanville in 'Legacy of Egypt' p. 160 for the debt the Greeks owed to Egypt). Sir Thomas Heath was obliged to admit that the debt of the Greeks to the Babylonians was much greater than had been imagined.[694] Sarton in 'a History of Science' (London, 1953) has to say that it is childish to assume that science began in Greek (Preface p. IX). It has been found that the Greeks were inferior to the Babylonians in several respects, that their vaunted geometric lore was not as great intellectually as supposed, that out of 200 propositions in Euclid's twelve books only about a dozen are necessary as a preparation for modern mathematics and that the Greeks much developed geometry because they could not easily employ ordinary arithmetical methods owing to their dependence on the abacus.[695] It was further found that the sexagesimal system of degrees, minutes and seconds used by Ptolemy was of Babylonian origin and according to Herodotus (II. 109) the Greeks derived two kinds of Sun-dials and the division of the day into 12 parts from the Babylonians.[696] At present such nations as England, France, Germany, U. S. S. R. and U. S. A. are the foremost nations in Science, Technology and Industry but they clung for about 1400 years to the Almagest of Ptolemy as their astronomical Bible, were ignorant of the decimal place value system and the use of a sign for zero till the so-called 'Arabic numerals' (borrowed from India) were

694. Vide 'Greek Astronomy' (1932) by Sir Thomas L. Heath Intro. p. LIV. In 'Children of the Sun' by W. J. Perry (first published in 1923) on p. 428 (chap. 26) the author, after discussing the possible origin of the archaic civilization of North America, China and India, had the hardihood to say that no good reason could be found for believing that it developed in any of those areas ... and that it is in Egypt that the archaic civilization came into being, though he generously concedes that every element was not necessarily invented by the Egyptians, but he holds that it took shape in Egypt and was propagated thence.

695. Vide Prof. L. Hogben in his paper on 'Mathematics in Antiquity' in 'Antiquity' vol. 9, pp. 193-194 and Cajori's 'History of Elementary Mathematics' (London, 1896) p. 39 for the difficulties of using the abacus for division.

696. See Heath, *ibid.* Intro p. XVII, about the sexagesimal system, sun-dials and twelve parts of the day, Cajori in 'History of Elementary Mathematics' pp. 28, 84 about Greece borrowing Babylonian sexagesimal system and Sarton in JAOS, vol. 75 No. 3 at p. 168.

introduced into Europe.[697] The intolerance of ignorant and bigoted priests in Europe went so far as to condemn Galileo, one of the greatest intellects in mechanics and astronomy, to perpetual imprisonment at the age of 70 for no greater offence than holding fast to the Copernican theory. Hardly any parallel to such an attempt to suppress honest difference of opinion as regards heavenly bodies can be found in any non-European country claiming to have a civilization.

There are controversies about the relation of astronomy and astrology. The marvellous spectacle of the sky at night containing thousands of stars of different brightness all apparently in motion round the earth, the Sun's annual northward and southward passage in the sky, Full Moon and its disappearance for one day and its phases, eclipses of the Sun and the Moon, comets and falling stars—all these must have struck even the most primitive men with wonder and also with fear and forebodings. In course of time arose astronomy and astrology. In ancient times both words had the same meaning. The Cambridge Ancient History (1925, vol. III. pp. 238-239) holds that the whole science of astronomy is due to astrology. On the other hand Prof. Neugebauer and Mr. Peter Doig see no evidence for this theory.[698] In my humble opinion if we restrict ourselves to existing literatures of different peoples and eschew mere conjectures and speculation, both astronomy and astrology are equally ancient and must have acted and reacted on one another in very ancient times. In the following pages some evidence will be given from Vedic literature of the simultaneous cultivation in India of both astronomy and astrology (particularly natural). To a modern scientist, the lucubrations of astrologers in their available works appear to be sheer nonsense. But the fundamental principle assumed by astrology that heavenly bodies

697. Vide 'Arabic thought and its place in world History' by De Lacy O Leary (London, 1922) pp. 108-109 for an Indian bringing to Baghdad a treatise on Arithmetic and Astronomy and for the introduction of Indian numerals and their being passed on as Arabic numerals; also 'a history of Elementary Mathematics' by Dr. Cajori (pp. 11-13) for the discovery of the principle of position by the Hindus, the invention and adoption of the zero and for the introduction of the Hindu notation in Europe in the 12th century by the Arabs. Vide Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol. IX p. 119 for the statement that '*Sindhind*' (i. e. Siddhānta) was translated into Arabic in the reign of Mansur (754-775 A. D.).

698. Vide 'Exact Sciences in Antiquity' (1951) p. 161 by Prof. Neugebauer and 'Concise history of Astronomy' by Mr. Peter Doig (London, 1950) p. 2.

exert predictable influence on terrestrial things and persons is not different from the principles of astronomy or meteorology whereby one can predict tides, eclipses, storms, torrential rains, and the like which affect the world and human beings.

Whether the stars and planets exert some influence on earthly things is not the real question. Probably they do, but the really important question is whether astrological works and astrologers have discovered correct methods and reached correct knowledge about the influence of planets on the human mind and on the day-today activities of human beings.

The astronomical and astrological literature in Sanskrit falls into three slightly overlapping periods. The first period is that of the Vedic Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas from the mists of antiquity to about 800 B. C. The second is represented by the Vedāṅgajyotiṣa, the Śrauta, Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras, Manu and Yājñavalkya, Garga and Jain works like the Sūryaprajñapti and ended about the 3rd century A. D. The third period begins at the commencement of the Christian era and is represented by the works called Siddhānta and gave rise to the works of Āryabhaṭa (born 476 A. D.), of Varāhamihira (about 475 to 550 A. D.), Brahmagupta (born in 598 A. D.) and so on. Those who want to make a deep study of the History of Hindu Astronomy should carefully read the work in Marathi written by Shankar Balkrishna Dixit in 1896 (2nd edition in 1931 by his son). Even Thibaut who is generally chary of praising any Indian achievement in astronomy was constrained to observe that Dikshit's work is the richest source of Indian astronomical material and that his treatment from Brahmagupta onwards is particularly detailed (Grundriss, p. 3). Dikshit held that the scientific system of Indian astronomy is essentially independent and rests on Indian observations. In my humble opinion this view is far sounder than the view that the scientific astronomy of India was derived from or was greatly influenced by Greek astronomy. I have decided (as stated above p. 480) not to enter into detailed discussions about astronomical matters. Therefore, I shall rest content with mentioning some of the important works and contributions that should be studied by those desirous of intimate knowledge of the History of Indian Astronomy. Davis on 'Astronomical computations of the Hindus' in Asiatic Researches, vol. III. pp. 209-277; Bentley's 'Historical view of Hindu Astronomy' in Asiatic Researches, vol. VI. pp. 537-588; Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays (1837) vol. II.

pp. 321–373 (on Hindu and Arabic divisions of the Zodiac), pp. 374–416 (on equinoxes), pp. 417–450 (on Hindu Algebra); Warren's ' Kāla-saṅkalita (deals with South Indian astronomical calculations and calendars); ' Indian Metrology ' by J. B. Jervis; Kern's Introduction to his edition of the Bṛhat-saṁhitā; the Sūryasiddhānta translated by Burgess and Whitney and with notes by Whitney and a reply by Burgess in JAOS, vol. VI pp. 141–498 and Whitney's criticism of the views of Biot, Weber and Max Müller in JAOS vol. VIII pp. 1–94; the Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira edited by Dr. G. Thibaut and Pandit Mahāmahopādhyāya Sudhakar Dvivedi with text (from two Mss.) and amended text with Sanskrit Commentary by the Pandit and translation by Thibaut (1889, reprint in 1930 by Motilal Banarsidas); Prof. Weber's ' Uber den Vedakalendar, Namens Jyotisham ' (Berlin, 1862), Max Müller's Introduction to the 4th volume (of his four volume edition of the Ṛgveda) particularly pp. XXXVIII-LXVI; notes of Burgess on Hindu Astronomy in JRAS for 1893 pp. 717–761; B. G. Tilak's ' Orion ' and ' Arctic Home in the Vedas '; Thibaut on the Babylonian origin of the lunar Zodiac of the Hindus, Arabs and Chinese in JASB (1894, Part I pp. 744-63, refutes the theory of that origin); S. B. Dikshit's ' History of Indian Astronomy ' (in Marathi); Thibaut on ' Indian Astronomy, Astrology and Mathematics ' in the Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research (referred to in this book as Grundriss), Alberuni's ' India' translated by Dr. Sachau; I. A. vol. XXIII pp. 154-159 (Jacobi on date of Ṛgveda), pp. 238–249 (Bühler on Jacobi and Tilak's Orion), I. A. vol. 24 pp. 85–100 (Thibaut on the antiquity of the Vedic civilization); Memoir No. 18 of the Archaeological Survey of India on Hindu Astronomy by G. R. Kaye (1924); Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. IV for 1928 pp. 68–77, Indian Historical Quarterly vol. V pp. 479–512 on ' Scope and development of Gaṇita '; C. O. S. Menon's 'Ancient Astronomy and Cosmogony' (1931); 'History of Hindu Mathematics' by B. Datta and A. N. Singh; Dr. K. L. Daftari's ' Bhāratīya-jyotiḥ-śāstra-nirīkṣaṇa ' (Nagpur, 1929) in Marathi; Prof. P. C. Sen-Gupta's paper ' Āryabhaṭa, the father of Indian Epicyclic Astronomy ' (in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. XVIII pp. 1-56, a scholarly piece of work); Dr. Mrs. Bina Chatterjee's paper on ' motion of the Sun, Moon, and five planets as found in Ptolemy and Hindu Astronomical works' (a learned, systematic and balanced piece of work) in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Science, part I vol. XV, 1949 pp. 41–89.

CHAPTER XV

Units of Kāla

We shall now turn to the units of time from *yuga* backwards to muhūrta, leaving aside *Manvantara*, *Kalpa* and *Pralaya* for the moment.

The word 'yuga' occurs at least 33 times in the Ṛgveda and appears to have been used in several senses. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 886-890. Two senses stand out as prominent, viz. a short period or a very long period. For the first sense we may cite Ṛg. I. 158. 6 ('Dīrghatamas, the son of Mamatā, became old in the 10th Yuga, he became brahmā high priest and leader of the waters flowing to their goal'.[699] Here yuga cannot mean a period of more than ten years and probably means a period of five years; in Ṛg. III. 26.3 we read 'like a neighing horse by its mother, Vaiśvānara (Agni) is kindled by the Kuśikas in each yuga'; vide Ṛg. III.55.18.[700] In the Vedāṅgajyotiṣa[701] (verses 1 and 5) yuga is said to comprise five years. There is nothing to prevent us from taking this sense in the two passages cited from the Ṛgveda. In Ṛg. III. 55. 18 it is possible to recognize a recondite reference to five year units of time each divided into six seasons. In the Ṛgveda *saṁvatsara* means a year in several passages such as I. 110. 4, I. 140. 2, I. 161. 13, I. 164. 44, VII. 103. 1, 7, 9, X. 190. 2. In Ṛg. X. 87. 17 we have the derivative form 'Saṁvatsarīṇa'[702] from saṁvatsara 'O Agni that observest what men do! May the demon possessing magic devices not partake of the cow's milk that springs after a year'. In Ṛg. X. 62. 2 we have

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699. दीर्घतमा मामतेयो जुजुर्वान्दशमे युगे । अपामर्थं यतीनां ब्रह्मा भवति सारथिः ॥ ऋ. I. 158.6 ; अश्वो न क्रन्दञ्जनिभिः समिध्यते वैश्वानरः कुशिकेभिर्युगे युगे । ऋ. III. 26. 3; सायण explains 'युगेयुगे' as प्रतिदिनम् ।'. Vide बृहद्देवता IV. 24ff for the story of दीर्घतमस्.

700. वीरस्य नु स्वश्व्यं जनासः प्र नु वोचाम विदुरस्य देवाः । षोळ्हा युक्ताः पञ्चपञ्चा वहन्ति महद्देवानामसुरत्वमेकम् ॥ ऋ. III. 55. 18. Here वीरस्य refers to Indra and the 2nd half means 'groups of five years bring him in six ways' i. e. groups of five years (युग) each divided into six seasons.

701. पञ्चसंवत्सरमयं युगाध्यक्षं प्रजापतिम् । वेदाङ्गज्योतिष, verse 1; माघशुक्लप्रपन्नस्य पौषकृष्णसमापिनः । युगस्य पञ्चवर्षस्य कालज्ञानं प्रचक्षते ॥ *ibid*. verse 5.

702. संवत्सरीणं पय उस्रियायास्तस्य माशीद्यातुधानो नृचक्षः । ऋ. X. 87. 17. (=अथर्ववेद VIII. 3. 17). Probably there is *double entendre* here, one meaning being 'May no magician prevent us from having all cows' milk that would be ours for a year (after the cow is calved)'; the other is 'may not a demon

(*Continued on next page*)

the word *parivatsara* 'those ancestors that shattered Vala by righteousness and forced out the wealth consisting of cows' and in Ṛg. VII. 103. 8 the word 'parivatsarīṇa'. Saṁvatsara and Parivatsara are two of the five names bestowed on the five years of a yuga in the other saṁhitās. Just as the word yuga was used in several senses even in the Ṛgveda it is quite possible that the words 'saṁvatsara' and 'parivatsara' meant simply year and also successive years of a cycle of five years. In the Tai. S. (V. 5. 7. 1–3) *namaskāra* (salutation) is offered to Rudra with Saṁvatsara, to his bow towards the right with Parivatsara, to his bow behind with Idāvatsara, to the bow towards the north with Iduvatsara and to the bow above with Vatsara. The Vāj. S. (27. 45) names these five separately with Idāvatsara in place of Iduvatsara; similarly, in Atharva VI. 55.3 salutation is offered to Idāvatsara, Parivatsara and Saṁvatsara. In Tai. Br. (I. 4. 10. 1[703]) Agni, Āditya, Candramas and Vāyu are identified with Saṁvatsara, Parivatsara, Idāvatsara and Anuvatsara and it should be noticed that the four names of years are brought in close relation to the four cāturmāsyas, viz. Vaiśvadeva, Varuṇapraghāsa, Sākamedha and Śunāsīrīya. Thus even in the Saṁhitās names (generally five) are mentioned in a certain fixed order. There is no reason why this should be so unless they formed a fixed series in a cycle. Thibaut in his Grundriss (p. 9) hammers on the fact that sometimes only two or three or four out of the five are mentioned and argues (rather obstinately) that knowledge of the five year yuga cannot be assumed for the Vedic times. It should be noted that Kauṭilya speaks of the yuga of five saṁvatsaras and of the insertion of two intercalary months, one at the end of 2½ years and the other at the end of five years.[704]

(Continued from last page)

hold up the water that falls down after a year'. उस्रिया means a cow and may also mean a cloud. Vide ऋ. III. 55. 13 where a cloud is referred to as cow or its udder. पाणिनि (V. 1. 91–92) has two sūtras to explain संवत्सरीण and परिवत्सरीण 'वत्सरान्ताच्छश्छन्दसि । संपरिपूर्वात्ख च ।'.

703. अग्निर्वाव संवत्सरः। आदित्यः परिवत्सरः। चन्द्रमा इदावत्सरः। वायुः पुनरनुवत्सरः। यद्वैश्वदेवेन यजते। अग्निमेव तत्संवत्सरमाप्नोति। तस्माद्वैश्वदेवेन यजमानः संवत्सरीणां स्वस्तिमाशास्त इत्याशासीत। यद्वरुणप्रघासैर्यजते। आदित्यमेव तत्परिवत्सरमाप्नोति। ...यत्साकमेधैर्यजते चन्द्रमसमेव तदिदावत्सरमाप्नोति। ...यत्पितृयज्ञेन यजते देवानेव तदन्ववस्यति। अथवा अस्य वायुश्चानुवत्सरश्चाप्रीतावुच्छिद्येते। यच्छुनासीरीयेण यजते वायुमेव तदनुवत्सरमाप्नोति। तै. ब्रा. I. 4.10.1–3.

704. पंचसंवत्सरो युगमिति।... एवमर्धतृतीयानामब्दानामधिमासकम्। ग्रीष्मे जनयतः पूर्वं पञ्चाब्दान्ते च पाश्चिमम्॥ अर्थशास्त्र II. chap. 20 (देशकालमान) p. 109.

The Mahābhārata knows of the yuga of five years[705] (in Sabhāparva 11. 38). The Pitāmahasiddhānta,[706] which is not extant now, stated, according to the Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira, that yuga means five years of the Sun and the Moon and that an intercalary month was added after thirty months.

The next question is: what was the extent of the year in the Vedic age. Some Ṛk. verses may be cited in this connection. 'The wheel[707] of *ṛta* has twelve spokes; it revolves round the heavens; it does never wear out. O Agni! in this (wheel) seven hundred and twenty sons in pairs abide. Some say that the father (Sun) who sends down water has five feet and twelve forms and remains endowed with fulness in the distant half (part) of heavens while others say that he (the Sun), the all-seeing, is placed in a lower (place) that has seven wheels and six spokes; all the worlds abide in the revolving wheel with five spokes; one wheel and twelve rims (of the wheel) and three naves–who is there that knew these (thoroughly); in that (wheel i. e. year) are placed together three hundred and sixty very unstable nails' (Ṛg. I. 164. 11–13 and 48). In these passages the sage poses a riddle or puzzle in very metaphorical and mystic language about a year divided into three, five or six seasons, twelve months, 360 days and 720 days and nights (when calculated separately). It is possible to hold that the wheel of *ṛta* means the zodiacal belt

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705. क्षणा लवा मुहूर्ताश्च दिवारात्रिस्तथैव च। अर्धमासाश्च मासाश्च ऋतवः षट् च भारत॥ संवत्सराः पञ्चयुगमहोरात्रश्चतुर्विधः। सभा 11. 37–38.

706. रविशशिनोः पञ्च युगं वर्षाणि पितामहोपदिष्टानि। अधिमासस्त्रिंशद्भिर्मासैरवमो द्विषष्ट्या तु॥ पञ्चसि. XII. I. Acc. to वराह, the पैतामहसिद्धान्त employed *śake* 2 (80 A.D.) as its epoch i. e. a new yuga began with śaka year 2 (elapsed). It is therefore probable that it was composed about 80 A.D.

707. द्वादशारं नहि तज्जराय वर्वर्ति चक्रं परि द्यामृतस्य। आ पुत्रा अग्ने मिथुनासो अत्र सप्त शतानि विंशतिश्च तस्थुः॥ पञ्चपादं पितरं द्वादशाकृतिं दिव आहुः परे अर्धे पुरीषिणम्। अथेमे अन्य उपरे विचक्षणं सप्तचक्रे षळर आहुरर्पितम्॥ पञ्चारे चक्रे परिवर्तमाने तस्मिन्ना तस्थुर्भुवनानि विश्वा। ......द्वादश प्रधयश्चक्रमेकं त्रीणि नभ्यानि क उ तच्चिकेत। तस्मिन्त्साकं त्रिशता न शङ्कवोऽर्पिताः षष्टिर्न चलाचलासः॥ ऋ I. 164. 11, 12, 13, 48. The whole hymn Ṛg. I. 164 is full of riddles. In Ṛg. I. 164. 2 it is said that seven horses are yoked to a chariot (the Sun) that has only one wheel but three naves. The wheel means the year, three naves would be three seasons, summer, rains, winter. The wheel is also said in verses 12 and 13 to have six spokes or five spokes; the twelve spokes or rims of wheel (pradhi) represent months. Vide निरुक्त IV. 27 for explanations of these verses; compare आदिपर्व 3. 60 for a verse similar to Ṛg. I. 164. 11–13.

divided into twelve parts (dvādaśāra). But it is a very difficult matter to keep in view the twelve divisions correctly. In Ṛg. I. 164. 15 it is said ' They say that the 7th of those that are born together is born of one; there are only six twin sages born of the gods '. Here there is a reference to seasons, six of which have two months each, the 7th has only one (viz. 13th or intercalary month) and that the 13th month is not fit for religious rites. The Atharvaveda V. 35. 4 [708] also states that saṁvatsara has twelve spokes and the months have 30 spokes. This explains Ṛg. I. 164. 11–13 and 48. In the Brāhmaṇas also the year is said to have 360 days and 720 days and nights together; Śatapatha IX. I. 1. 43, Ait. Br. VII. 7 also say the [709] same. We have also to recognize that the Vedic saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas speak of a 13th month that was intercalated. About Varuṇa the Ṛgveda says [710] ' He knows the twelve months with their progeny (the days) and also the month that is added.' The Tai. S. (IV. 6. 7. 1–2) refers to a year of twelve months and also of 13 months. The Kauṣītaki Br. 19. 2 speaks of the 13th month. The Tai. S. (I. 14. 4, VI. 5. 3. 4) expressly mentions the 13th month called ' Saṁsarpa or Aṁhaspatya '. It is called Aṁhasaspati in Vāj. S. (VII. 30 and XXII. 31) and Saṁsarpa in Maitrāyaṇī S. III. 12. 13. The Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa connects the 13th month with the Śunāsīrīya sacrifice. [711] The Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā (I. 10. 8) draws a distinction between a ṛtuyājī and cāturmāsya-yājī, the former being one who offers sacrifice thinking ' now Vasanta has started, rainy season has started, *śarad* has started while the

708. यस्मान्मासा निर्मितास्त्रिंशदराः संवत्सरो यस्मान्निर्मितो द्वादशारः । अथर्व V. 35. 4.

709. त्रीणि च शतानि षष्टिश्चानूच्यानि यज्ञकामस्य । त्रीणि वै शतानि षष्टिश्च संवत्सरस्याहानि । तावान्संवत्सरः संवत्सरः प्रजापतिः प्रजापतिर्यज्ञः ।...सप्त च वै शतानि विंशतिश्च संवत्सरस्याहोरात्राः । ऐ. ब्रा. VII. 7; तदाहुः कथमस्यैतच्छतरुद्रियं संवत्सरमग्निमाप्नोति कथं संवत्सरेणाग्निना सम्पद्यत इति । षष्टिश्च ह वै त्रीणि च शतान्येतच्छतरुद्रियमथ त्रिंशदथ पञ्चत्रिंशत् । ततो यानि षष्टिश्च त्रीणि च शतानि तावन्ति संवत्सरस्याहानि तत्संवत्सरस्याहान्याप्नोति । अथ यानि त्रिंशत् त्रिंशन्मासस्य रात्रयस्तन्मासस्य रात्रीराप्नोति तदुभयानि संवत्सरस्याहोरात्राण्याप्नोति । अथ यानि पंचत्रिंशत्स त्रयोदशो मासः स आत्मा त्रिंशदात्मा प्रतिष्ठा द्वे प्राणा द्वे शिर एव पञ्चत्रिंशदेतावान्वै संवत्सरः । शतपथ IX. I.1. 43. Here the additional month is said to have been of 35days. This was probably another way of adjusting the Sāvana year of 360 days to the solar year of 365 days and about a quarter more. In six such years about 6 days for each year appear to have been calculated and added as a 13th month of 35 days.

710. वेद मासो धृतव्रतो द्वादश प्रजावतः । वेदा य उपजायते ॥ ऋ. I. 25. 8.

711. त्रयोदशं वा एतं मासमाप्नोति यच्छुनासीर्येण यजत एतावान्वै संवत्सरो यदेष त्रयोदशो मासस्तदत्रैव सर्वः संवत्सर आप्तो भवति ॥ कौ. ब्रा. V. 8.

Cāturmāsya-yājī is one who offers sacrifice in view of the 13th month '.[711a] How and when the month was inserted in the Ṛgveda times or the times of the Tai. S. is not clear. What is clear is that one whole month was added. Therefore, Thibaut overstates the case when he asserts emphatically (Grundriss p. 7) that all Vedic texts agree that the year was exclusively of 360 days. A year in which one month was added (i. e. of 390 days) was also well-known to the Ṛgvedic Indians. Therefore, in order to explain the facts we have here probably to postulate two calendars, one a purely sacrificial (or religious) of 360 days (12 months of 30 days) probably inherited by the Vedic Indians from their ancestors about whom we know next to nothing, and another calendar where a month was added in order to bring the year in line with visible astronomical data. It is known that the ancient Egyptians[712] had an official calendar of 360 days (12 months of 30 days each) plus five days added at end i. e. of 365 days only and no intercalary day was inserted in a year. The result was that the opening day of this calendar would shift back through the solar year until a whole cycle of that year had been completed in 1456 or 1506 years. This calendar called sliding calendar was in use for about 3000 years in Egypt from proto-dynastic period until the Roman period. There was also another calendar against which this sliding calendar moved. A year of 360 days (divided into 12 months of 30 days each) was not peculiar to ancient Vedic India nor to ancient Egypt, but played an important role also in Mesopotamia, which had a strictly lunar calendar. The co-existence of months of various

711a. ऋतुयाजी वा अन्यश्चातुर्मास्ययाज्यन्यो, यो वसन्तोभूत्मावृडभूच्छरदभूदिति यजते स ऋतुयाज्यथ यस्त्रयोदशं मासं सम्पादयति त्रयोदश मासमभियजते स चातुर्मास्ययाजी ॥ मैत्रायणीसंहिता I.10.8. Vide a very informing paper in Acta Orientalia, vol. IV (1926) pp.124-133 on 'the 13th month in ancient Hindu chronology' by B. Faddegon of Amsterdam, in which the learned writer tries to explain Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā I. 10. 8 and certain passages from the Lāṭyāyana-śrauta-sūtra and the Nidānasūtra which appear to have puzzled Weber and Thibaut.

712. Vide 'Origins of Egyptian calendar' in Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol. 1. p 396-398 (by Prof. Neugebauer); 'the Legacy of Egypt' by S. R. K. Glanville (Oxford, 1942) pp. 2-5; 'Origin of ancient Egyptian calendar ' by H. E. Winlock in Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 83 (1940) pp. 447-463, particularly 460-463; ' Burden of Egypt ' by J. A. Wilson (Chicago) p. 30; ' Calendars of ancient Egypt ' by R. A. Parker (Chicago, 1953), where p. 56 says that from about 2500 B. C. Egyptians had three calendars all of which continued to be in use to the very end of pagan Egypt.

lengths for later times is vouchsafed by the Arthaśāstra p. 108 (Sham Shastri's ed. of 1919). A year of 360 days was in later times in India called a *Sāvana* one (from 'savana' meaning extracting of soma juice in a sacrifice) and a month was added after about 30 months to bring the lunar year (of 354 days) in line with the solar year.

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (II. 1. 3. 2.)[713] the Sun's apparent passage for six months in the north and for six months in the south is referred to, though the word *ayana* is not employed in this passage. The word 'ayana' occurs in the sense of 'motion or path' in the Ṛgveda (āyan-n-āpo ayanam-icchamānāḥ, Ṛg. III. 33. 7). *Uttarāyaṇa* and *Dakṣiṇāyana* in later literature mean no more than the sun's (apparent) motion or path in the northern celestial sphere and in the southern sphere respectively. The Sun's movement in the north for six months and in the south for six months is mentioned in Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 15-16 also. Thibaut (Grundriss p. 10 para 6) cites Kauṣītaki Br. 19. 3 as stating that the Sun stands still after it has gone for six months towards the south in order to turn again to the north and then observes that no one has a right to assume, from this statement in the Kauṣītaki[714] Br. that for six months the Sun goes north or south, that the halves of the year are to be understood. What Thibaut is driving at is not clear to me. We have in this passage six months passages of the Sun in the north and also in the south. A year has ordinarily only twelve months. Therefore it must be assumed that halves of a year are meant. Thibaut does not explain what part of the year these six months in the north and south correspond to. Thibaut is probably swayed by the fact that in the Śatapatha and elsewhere Vasanta, Grīṣma and Varṣā are lumped together as the seasons (ṛtus) for the gods but Uttarāyaṇa does not exactly correspond with these three ṛtus. That may be so, but the rule or maxim is that names are given on the basis of what is principal or eminent (*prādhānyena vyapadeśā bhavanti*). Vasanta and Grīṣma are important parts

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713. स यत्रोदगावर्तते देवेषु तर्हि भवति। ...यत्र दक्षिणावर्तते पितृषु तर्हि भवति। शतपथ II. 3. 2. 3.

714. स वै माघस्यामावास्यायामुपवसत्युदङ्ङावर्त्स्यन्नुपेमे वसन्ति। ...स षण्मासानुदङ्ङेत्वा तिष्ठते। दक्षिणावर्त्स्यन्नुपेमे वसन्ति वैषुवतीयेनाह्ना। कौषीतकि ब्रा० 19.3. This shows that the winter solstice, when the sun is farthest from the equator and appears to pause or rest before turning towards the north, occurred on the amavāsyā of Māgha.

of Uttarāyaṇa; therefore, by association with these two and for the sake of symmetry *varṣā* is also held to be a *ṛtu* for the gods.

As regards the seasons, there are varying statements. In Ṛg. I. 15 the word 'ṛtunā' occurs several times, but once we have 'ṛtūn' also 'O Indra' drink Soma according to the seasons from the wealth (i. e. the richly filled vessel) of the brāhmaṇa.' Ṛg. II. 36 and 37 are styled Ṛtavya hymns. The Ṛgveda itself names five seasons, viz. Vasanta (X. 161. 4, X. 90. 6), Grīṣma (X. 90. 6), Prāvṛṣ (VII. 103. 3 and 9), Śarad (over 25 times, as in II. 12, 11, VII. 66. 11, X. 161. 4), Hemanta (X. 161. 4), but the Ṛg. does not expressly mention Śiśira. Three seasons are metaphorically meant in Ṛg. I. 164. 48 and six in Ṛg. I. 164. 15. The Atharvaveda[714a] (VI. 55. 2) mentions all the six, but not in the usual order. The Ait. Br. says that the year has five ṛtus[715] by putting together Hemanta and Śiśira. The Maitrāyaṇī Saṁ. in I. 7. 3 speaks of Saṁvatsara as having five ṛtus and again as having six ṛtus and the Śat. Br. (II. 1.3.16) says that saṁvatsara comprises six ṛtus. In Śatapatha XII. 8.2.33 the ṛtus are said to be three viz. Grīṣma, Varṣā and Hemanta and in the very next passage they are said to be six. There is mention of seven ṛtus in Atharvaveda VI. 61.2. But one should not be puzzled by this. The 7th ṛtu is probably meant to represent the 13th intercalary month as it is expressly mentioned in Atharva. (V. 6.4). Thibaut surprisingly asserts that the lists of the names of the seasons are only priestly inventions and the Vedic texts exhibit no practical use for them (Grundriss p. 11). Thibaut appears to be obsessed with the influence of priests and offers no good reasons why the names should be regarded as inventions and not as correctly registering what was current in the then society. In Tai. S.[716] IV. 4.11.1 the six ṛtus with two months for each are mentioned. Vasanta is mentioned as the first of ṛtus (mukhaṁ vā etad-ṛtūnāṁ yad-vasantaḥ) in Tai. Br. I. 1.2.6. The Śatapatha[717] provides that Vasanta, Grīṣma

714 a. ग्रीष्मो हेमन्तः शिशिरो वसन्तः शरद्वर्षाः स्विते नो दधात । अथर्व. VI. 55.2.

715. पञ्चर्तवः संवत्सरस्य हेमन्तशिशिरयोः समासेन । ऐ. ब्रा. I. 1., often quoted as पञ्चर्तवः…समासेन.

716. मधुश्च माधवश्च वासन्तिकावृतू शुक्रश्च शुचिश्च ग्रैष्मावृतू नभश्च नभस्यश्च वार्षिकावृतू इषश्चोर्जश्च शारदावृतू सहश्च सहस्यश्च हैमन्तिकावृतू तपश्च तपस्यश्च शैशिरावृतू । तै. सं. IV. 4.11.1. Pāṇini (IV. 3. 18-21) appears to have this passage in view.

717. वसन्तो ग्रीष्मो वर्षाः । ते देवा ऋतवः । शरद्धेमन्तः शिशिरस्ते पितरो य एवापूर्यतेऽर्धमासः स देवा योऽपक्षीयते स पितरोऽहरेव देवा रात्रिः पितरः पुनरह्नः पूर्वाह्णो देवा अपराह्णो पितरः । ते वा एत ऋतवः । …ब्राह्मणो वसन्त आदधीत । शतपथ II. 1.3.1-5.

and Varṣā are the seasons of gods, Śarad, Hemanta and Śiśira are seasons of the pitṛs; similarly the bright half of a month, the day and the forenoon of a day are the times for gods and the dark half of a month, the night, the afternoon of a day are the times for pitṛs and it winds up with the prescription that a brāhmaṇa should consecrate the sacred fires in Vasanta, a kṣatriya in Grīṣma and a vaiśya in Śarad.[718] At least as early as the edicts of Aśoka the words 'varṣa' (which etymologically means 'rains') and 'saṁvatsara' are both used in the same sense viz. a year in the Brahmagiri inscription (vide C. I. I. I. p. 175).

There are Western scholars that deny the knowledge of the planets to the Vedic Indians. But Thibaut (Grundriss p. 6) and Kaye (p. 33) both concede that it is inconceivable that the Vedic Indians did not observe and distinguish at least the larger planets in early times, but they contend that the Vedic passages cited as proving knowledge of the planets on the part of Vedic Indians cannot be accepted as evidence of the record of observations about planets and that the mere mention of the number seven or five (about Ādityas in Ṛg. X. 72. 8–9 or oxen) cannot be relied upon. Both Thibaut and Kaye approach these problems with a peculiar mentality. Their criticism is mainly destructive and has a flavour of special pleading against things and ideas Indian. They hardly ever propose their own explanations of the disputed passages and when they rarely do they do not show how their explanations are more satisfactory than the ones they criticize. One typical case may be cited here. Almost all scholars agree that Kṛttikās are the same as Pleiades; but Kaye (Archaeological survey memoir No. 18 p. 24 and I. A. vol. 50, p. 45) appears to doubt this, yet he has not the goodness to say positively what other cluster Kṛttikās stand for and why. The principal reason for the paucity of references to planets probably

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718. Vide Prof. Renou's article on 'Vedic ṛtus' in 'Indian Culture,' vol. 15 pp. 21–26, where he endeavours to establish that ṛtu in the Ṛgveda has no restricted sense but means simply time or suitable time for sacrifice or sometimes 'rule or usage', and that 'ṛtunā' or 'ṛtubhiḥ' in the Ṛg. means 'according to the division or distribution.' I demur to this conclusion. In some passages the meaning of ṛtu would have to be 'season.'; for example in Ṛg. I. 49.3 'O fair Uṣas!' winged birds, two-footed (beings) and four-footed (animals) go forth according the several seasons from the ends of the sky for thee (to meet thee)' (वयश्चित्ते पतत्रिणो द्विपच्चतुष्पदर्जुनि । उषः प्रारन्नृतूँरनु दिवोऽ अन्तेभ्यस्परि ॥). Similarly, in Ṛg. I. 95. 3 'ऋतून्' would have no connection with distribution or division.

is that the cult of the worship of planets that we find well developed in Yāj. I. 295–308 had not yet arisen in Vedic times. At least Bṛhaspati (Jupiter) appears to be clearly meant in two Vedic verses. 'Bṛahaspati,[719] first appearing in the highest heaven of the great Luminary (the Sun), destroyed darkness &c;' 'Bṛhaspati, when first appearing, rose in front of Tiṣya (Puṣya) constellation'. 'The seven[720] priests guard the dear and fixed seat of the bird (Agni) along with the five adhvaryus; oxen, going eat, ageless, delight in the east; the gods follow the ordinances of gods' (Ṛg. III. 7.7.). Here the (five) oxen are taken to be the five planets. Similarly, ' He (Indra) filled heaven and earth and the mid-region; he superintends in various ways the five gods, the 49 gods (Maruts) at the proper seasons together with the thirty-four lights similar to his own but each accordiug to the different ordinances governing each'[721] (Ṛg. X. 55. 3); 'these five oxen that stand in the midst of the great heaven' (Ṛg. I. 105. 10). Vena[722] may betaken to be the brilliant Venus in Ṛg. X.

719. बृहस्पतिः प्रथमं जायमानो महो ज्योतिषः परमे व्योमन्। सप्तास्यस्तुविजातो रवेण वि सप्तरश्मिरधमत्तमांसि ॥ ऋ. IV. 50.4 = अथर्व 20.88.4; बृहस्पतिः प्रथमं जायमानस्तिष्यं नक्षत्रमभिसम्बभूव। श्रेष्ठो देवानां पृतनासु जिष्णुः दिशोऽनु सर्वा अभयं नो अस्तु ॥ तै. ब्रा. III. 1.1.5. तिष्य is the same as पुष्य and its presiding deity is बृहस्पति in तै. ब्रा. III. 1.1.5; even in such later works as गोभिलगृह्य III. 3.14 तैषी means पौषी (पौर्णमासी). तिष्य occurs in Ṛg. V. 54.13 (Treasure that does not fail as तिष्य does not form the heavens.) and X. 64.8 ' we invoke the three times seven flowing rivers, the great waters, Kṛśānu, Tiṣya and Rudra'. सायण paraphrases the first as आदित्य and the second as नक्षत्र. Vide Fleet's interpretation of Ṛg. V. 54.13 in JRAS for 1911 at page 516 which differs.

720. अध्वर्युभिः पञ्चभिः सप्त विप्राः प्रियं रक्षन्ते निहितं पदं वेः। प्राञ्चो मदन्त्युक्षणो अजुर्या देवा देवानामनु हि व्रता गुः ॥ ऋ. III. 7.7. The expression सप्त विप्राः occurs frequently in the ऋ.; vide III. 31.5, IV 2.15, VI 22 2.

721. आ रोदसी अपृणादोत मध्यं पञ्च देवाँ ऋतुशः सप्तसप्त। चतुस्त्रिंशता पुरुधा वि चष्टे सरूपेण ज्योतिषा विव्रतेन ॥ ऋ. X. 55.3. The verse is rather enigmatic. It is in praise of Indra. The five gods are the planets that do not appear all at once but according to their respective seasons (ऋतुशः). The 34 lights are the Sun, Moon, the five planets and 27 nakṣatras. Ludwig and Oldenberg accept this interpretation. No other satisfactory explanation of 34 has been given by any one.

722. अप्सरा जारमुपसिष्मियाणा योषा बिभर्ति परमे व्योमन्। चरत्प्रियस्य योनिषु प्रियः सीदत्पक्षे हिरण्यये स वेनः ॥ ऋ. X. 123.5. In the first verse of this hymn Vena is described as ज्योतिर्जरायुः i. e. surrounded by a sack of light as a foetus is surrounded by a sack and as pushing (towards earth) the waters that are in the bosom of the variegated one. Vena is called Randharva situated high in the heaven. Gandharva appears to have meant ' any bright heavenly body '.

(*Continued on next page*)

123. 1 and 5 the latter of which may be translated as follows: 'The young lady (Uṣas or lightning), approaching with a smile her lover, bears in the highest heaven Vena, the dear one, and she moves about, in the places of the dear (Vena) and sits down with him on a golden wing (a cloud)'. This would be a fine description of Venus rising in the east at dawn.

About months a good deal would have to be said later on. The word is either 'mās' or 'māsa'. We have 'mās' in Ṛg. I. 25. 8, IV. 18. 4, X. 52. 3 'He (Agni) appears every day and every month' and we have 'māsa' in Ṛg. III. 31. 9, V. 78. 9 (may the boy lying in the womb of his mother for ten months come out alive &c.), X. 184. 3. 'Mās' (the measurer) also means the Moon, as in Ṛg. VIII. 94. 2, X. 12.7 ('sūrye jyotir-adadhur-māsyaktūn,' the gods placed light in the Sun and darkness in the Moon), X. 64. 3, X. 68. 10, X 92. 12, X. 93. 5. The words 'mās' (moon) and 'māsa' (month) are Indo-European, as variants of the same occur in many languages of the so-called Aryan family of languages.

Nakṣatras have been a matter of serious discussions in numerous works. The word 'Nakṣatra' has in all three senses (1) star in general; (2) 27 equal parts of the zodiac; (3) asterism in the zodiacal belt (which may each consist of one or more stars). In my opinion the first and the 3rd are the most frequent meanings of the word in the Vedic saṁhitās. It may be that the zodiacal belt was divided into 27 equal parts called nakṣatras, but the easier, more natural and probably the earlier way was to mark some conspicuous star groups like Kṛttikās, Mṛgaśiras and to refer to them as nakṣatras. The word 'nakṣatra' occurs frequently in the Ṛgveda and the other Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas; 'the nakṣatras like thieves go away along with

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For example, in वाज सं. IX. 7 'वातो वा मनो वा गन्धर्वाः सप्तविंशतिः । ते अग्रेऽश्वमयुञ्जंस्तेऽस्मिन्जवमादधुः ॥' the गन्धर्वs and the 27 (नक्षत्रs) are separately mentioned. In वाज. सं. 18.40 we have 'सुषुम्णः सूर्यरश्मिश्चन्द्रमा गन्धर्वस्तस्य नक्षत्राण्यप्सरसो भेकुरयो नाम' which is explained in शतपथ IX. 4.1.9. In अथर्व II. 2.5 the Apsarases are called 'wives of Gandharvas.' In तै. सं. III. 4. 7. 1-3ff गन्धर्व is metaphorically identified with पर्जन्य, यज्ञ, मृत्यु, काम and so on and अप्सरसः are identified with दक्षिणा, विश्व, प्रजा, आधि respectively and so on. It is therefore rather difficult to say what गन्धर्व primarily meant in the early Vedic age, but when वेन is called गन्धर्व and उषस् is called अप्सरस् in ऋ. X. 123.5 it would not be altogether wrong to hold that the morning star Venus is called गन्धर्व वेन and उषस् is called अप्सरस्.

nights (to make room) for the Sun that sees the world '[723] (Ṛg. I. 50. 2); ' May the earth, the heaven, the waters, the Sun along with the nakṣatras and the wide sky listen to us ' (Ṛg. III. 54. 19); ' he (Varuṇa) urges on in two ways the big and high heaven (the Sun) and nakṣatras and also spreads the earth ' (Ṛg. VII. 86. 1); ' when he (the Sun) comes up, nakṣatras are not seen in the heavens, no one knows truly (how this happens) ' Ṛg. X. 111. 7 ; ' The Ādityas are strong through Soma, the earth is great through Soma and then Soma is placed in the lap of these nakṣatras ' (Ṛg. X 85. 2). In some passages like Ṛg. VII. 81. 2 and X. 88. 13, it is difficult to say what ' nakṣatram ' stands for. Nakṣatra in most of the above passages means a star in general. But in Ṛg. X. 85. 2 and in X. 68. 11 (the pitṛs adorned the heavens with nakṣatras)[723a] nakṣatra appears to mean the 27 well-known asterisms. So also when the Śatapatha contrasts the Kṛttikās (that do not swerve from the east) with other nakṣatras (that do swerve), nakṣatra should be taken to mean asterisms in the Zodiacal belt, the 27 (or 28) constellations in the Zodiacal belt in which the moon appears to move. Another word is ' stṛ ' (that is an Indo–European word), which always occurs in the instrumental plural in the Ṛgveda (as in I. 68. 5, I. 87. 1, I. 166. 11, II. 2. 5, II. 34. 2, IV. 7. 3, VI. 49. 3 and 12) and is often connected with decking the sky. The word ' ṛkṣa ' in the sense of ' star ' occurs in Ṛg.[724] I. 24. 10 ' these ṛkṣas that are established high up (in the sky) are seen at night, but where did they go by day '. This refers to the constellation of the seven sages (Ursa Major). In the Atharvaveda VI. 40. 1, the constellation of the seven sages is expressly mentioned : " May Heaven and Earth confer on us freedom from danger here ; may the Sun and the Moon do the same for us ; may the wide mid regions confer on us freedom from danger and may there be *abhaya* for us on account of the oblation offered to the Seven Sages". The Śatapatha states that the seven sages were formerly called ' ṛkṣāḥ ' (note 727 below). In Ṛg. V. 56. 3, VIII. 24. 27, VIII, 68. 15 the word *ṛkṣa* means either 'bear' or something else. It has been pointed out above p. 494 that in Ṛg. X.55.3 there is a reference to twenty-seven

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723. अप त्ये तायवो यथा नक्षत्रा यन्त्यक्तुभिः । सूराय विश्वचक्षसे ॥ ऋ. I. 50. 2.

723a. Compare अभिश्यावं न कृशनेभिरश्वं नक्षत्रेभिः पितरो द्यामपिंशन् ॥ ऋ. X. 68. 11 with ऋ. I. 68. 5 पिपेश नाकं स्तृभिः. कृशन appears to mean ' pearl or mother of pearl '.

724. अमी य ऋक्षा निहितास उच्चा नक्तं ददृश्रे कुहचिद् दिवेयुः ॥ ऋ. I. 24. 10; compare उच्चा दिवि दक्षिणावन्तो अस्थुर्ये अश्वदाः सह ते सूर्येण । ऋ. I. 107. 2.

nakṣatras.[725] Apart from that the Ṛgveda mentions the nakṣatras Tiṣya (as above) and Aghā and Arjunī[726] (in Ṛg. X. 85. 13) which two latter correspond to Maghā and Phalgunīs according to the Atharvaveda. It is possible to hold either that Aghā and Maghā were names for the same nakṣatra in Ṛgvedic times or that Aghā was changed to Maghā by the time of the Tai. S. and the Atharvaveda hymns. If the latter alternative be accepted the change in the names of the two nakṣatras (Aghā and Arjunī) could not have taken place in a short time, but would require at least a hundred years between the time of Ṛg. X.85 on the one hand and Tai. S. and Atharva 19. 7 on the other. This would strongly militate against Max Müller's assignment of two hundred years to the Saṁhitās which are purely hypothetical and the minimum dates (vide Intro. p. XV to the 4th volume of his 4 volume ed. of the Ṛgveda). Apart from Aghā and Arjunī which it is agreed are two of the 27 nakṣatras, it is probable that the Ṛgveda refers to Mṛgaśiras, Punarvasu, Śatabhiṣak and one or two more by name. The Nakṣatras are 27 or 28 (adding Abhijit after Uttarā-

725. For a myth about the disappearance of Abhijit from the list of nakṣatras, vide Vanaparva 230. 2–11. There it is said that Abhijit, the younger sister of Rohiṇī, coveted the position of eldership and went to a forest for practising *tapas*. Skanda was approached by the wives of sages, says Mārkaṇḍeya, and he said that he would consult Brahmā. Then Brahmā arranged that time began with Dhaniṣṭhā and the Kṛttikās went to the heavens. This has been interpreted by modern writers on ancient Indian Astronomy to mean that the vernal equinox happened to be in the Kṛttikās before the time of Yudhiṣṭhira and that Abhijit was accepted as one of the nakṣatras. Vide J. of Ganganatha Jha R. I. vol. XIII at pp. 82–84 (by Prof. T. Bhaṭṭāchārya). With the greatest respect for the learned writer, I cannot accept all this. Discussion of his theory has to be given up for reasons of space.

726. सूर्याया वहतुः प्रागात्सविता यमवासृजत्। अघासु हन्यन्ते गावोऽर्जुन्योः पर्युह्यते॥ ऋ. X. 85. 13 = अथर्व XIV. 1. 13 (सूर्याया......सृजत्। मघासु हन्यन्ते गावः फल्गुनीषु व्युह्यते।). Ṛg. X. 85 is a marriage hymn, referring to the myth of the marriage of Sūryā, daughter of Savitṛ, to Soma, In this verse reference is made to the sending of presents (chiefly of cows, it seems) on A hā i. e. Maghā nakṣatra and the taking away of the bride after marriage on Arjunī (i. e. Pūrvā or Uttarā Phalgunī) the next day or after one day more. The शतपथ (II. 1. 2. 10–11) asserts that Phalgunyaḥ is the recondite name of Arjunyaḥ. हन्यन्ते in Ṛg. X. 85. 13 does not mean 'are killed' but 'are beaten' or 'driven' (from the house of Sūryā's father to the house of the bridegroom). The Marathi equivalent 'हाण' means 'to beat or drive'. Vide आप. गृ. I, 3. 1–2 'मघाभिर्गावो गृह्यन्ते। फल्गुनीभ्यां व्यूह्यते।; रोहिणी मृगशिर्षमुत्तरे फल्गुनी स्वातीति विवाहस्य नक्षत्राणि। बौ. गृ. I. 1. 20.

ṣāḍhā and before Śravaṇa in ancient authorities). In the Vedic literature, Vedāṅgajyotiṣa and even in Yājñavalkya-smṛti they are enumerated from Kṛttikā to Apabharaṇī (or Bharaṇī) while in works from the 3rd or 4th century A. D. and in modern times they are enumerated from Aśvinī to Revatī.

It is time now to set out in a list the names of nakṣatras, deities governing them, their gender and the number of stars in each. There is some divergence of views as regards the names and the deities, which will also be pointed out in the appended table: complete lists occur in Tai. S. IV. 4.10. 1-3, Tai. Br. I. 5 and III. 1, Atharvaveda XIX. 7. 2-5, Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā 39.13, Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā II. 13.20 and Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa. For European equivalents of the Indian nakṣatras, vide Colebrooke in Asiatic Researches vol. IX chart opposite p. 322, Dikshit's Marathi work (2nd ed. p. 459) and Burgess in J. R. A. S. for 1893 p. 756. It is not unlikely that there is a veiled reference to Revatī, Punarvasū and Puṣya nakṣatras in Ṛg. X. 119. 1-3[728]; and Ṛg. X. 86.22 appears to refer[729], as Tilak says in ' Orion ' p. 166 ff., to the Mṛgaśiras nakṣatra; 'Vṛṣākapi ! O Indra ! when you dashing upwards came to the house, where was that Mṛga guilty of a good deal of sin, to whom did that Mṛga, that confounds people, go? Indra is superior to all'. From Ṛg. I. 161.11 and 13 and IV. 33.7, Atharvaveda IV. 11.11 it appears that the dog-star (Sirius) is referred to, and that twelve days were added at the end of the year during which the Ṛbhus slept or took rest or enjoyed the hospitality of the Sun.[730] In Ṛg. I. 124.9 ' śatam te

727. अभयं द्यावापृथिवी इहास्तु नोऽभयं सोमः सविता नः कृणोतु । अभयं नोऽस्तूर्वन्तरिक्षं सप्तऋषीणां च हविषाभयं नोऽस्तु ॥ अथर्ववेद VI. 40.1.; ऋक्षाणां ह वा एता अग्रे पत्न्य आसुः सप्तर्षीन्नु ह स्म वै पुरर्क्षा इत्याचक्षते । शतपथ II. 1. 2. 4. एताः refers to कृत्तिकाs.

728. निवर्तध्वं मानु गातास्मान्सिषक्त रेवतीः । अग्नीषोमा पुनर्वसू अस्मे धारयतं रयिम् ॥ पुनरेता नि वर्तन्तामस्मिन् पुष्यन्तु गोपतौ । इहैवाग्ने नि धारयेह तिष्ठतु या रयिः ॥ ऋ. X. 19. 1 and 3 (addressed to cows or rain waters). Both Grassmann and Geldner hold that पुनर्वसू refers to the constellation so called.

729. यदुदञ्चो वृषाकपे गृहमिन्द्राजगन्तन । क१स्य पुल्वघो मृगः कमगञ्जनयोपनो विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥ ऋग्वेद X. 86. 22. It has to be supposed that this is addressed by some one else (Indrāṇī probably). निरुक्त XIII. 3. explains this verse. Prajāpati guilty of the sin of incest is said to have jumped up as a deer in the sky pursued by Rudra. Vide ऐ. ब्रा. XIII. 10 " स विद्ध ऊर्ध्व उदप्रपतत्तमेतं मृग इत्याचक्षते य उ एव मृगव्याधः स उ एव सः । या रोहित्सा रोहिणी । "

730. सुषुप्वांस ऋभवस्तदपृच्छतागोह्य क इदं नो अबूबुधत् । श्वानं बस्तो बोधयितारमब्रवीत्संवत्सर इदमद्या व्यख्यत ॥ ऋ. I. 161. 13; द्वादश द्यून् यदगोह्यस्यातिथ्ये रणन्नृभवः ससन्तः । ऋ. IV. 33. 7. The first may be translated as follows: ' O Ṛbhus!

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rājan bhiṣajaḥ sahasram' it is possible to see a reference to the Śatabhiṣak nakṣatra of which Varuṇa is said be the devatā in the Tai. Br. III. 1, especially as in the following verse (amī ya ṛkṣā nihitāsa uccā) there is a special reference to the Great Bear or to nakṣatras in general.

Some remarks on the nakṣatras in general and on individual nakṣatras would not be out of place. In the Ātharvaṇa Nakṣatrakalpa (the first of the Atharvapariśiṣṭas edited by Bolling and Negelein) in chapter 4 verses 1-8 the devatās (deities) of the nakṣatras are given and chap. 2 states the number of stars in each nakṣatra. In some Purāṇas also such as the Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 83. 13-21) the presiding deities of nakṣatras are set out. In the Bṛhat-saṁhitā Varāhamihira (chap. 97. 4-5) specifies the deities of the nakṣatras from Aśvinī to Revatī (including Abhijit) as noted below. The Bṛhat-saṁhitā (96. 1-3), the Ātharvaṇa-nakṣatra-kalpa (I. 2) and the Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 88 4-7) specify the number of single stars in each nakṣatra (which are from one to six), those having six stars being Kṛttikā, Āśleṣā and Maghā. Vide JASB. vol. 62 part 1 p. 14 where Hoernle gives a table, from a ms. of Puṣkarasāri's work, of nakṣatras, the stars in each, the *muhūrtas*, the *gotra*, *devatā* of each. According to Hoernle the work is very old. Some notes are added on individual nakṣatras (mentioned in the Vedic works). Kṛttikā—The Tai. Br. III. 1. 4. 1 specifies the names of seven Kṛttikās as Ambā, Dulā &c. Pāṇini refers to Kṛttikā as Bahulā (in IV. 3. 34). J. C. Hickey in 'Introducing the universe' (pp. 119–120) says that persons of unusually keen [731] vision under favourable atmospheric conditions can see even eleven. Mṛgaśīrṣa—Tai. Br. III. 1. 4. 3 mentions both names viz. Mṛgaśīrṣa and Invakā. Punarvasū—In the Kāṭhaka and Mai. S. this is masculine singular; Pāṇini states (I. 2. 61) that in the Veda the word 'Punarvasu' is employed optionally in the singular (i. e.

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after having slept you asked this 'O Agohya (the Sun who cannot be concealed by any one)! who is here that awakened us? The goat (the Sun) replied that the dog was the awakener at the end of year and that this was announced that day.' Tilak in 'Orion' (pp. 168 ff) explains at great length the meaning of these verses. Though one may not agree with everything that he says, his main contentions seem to be probable.

731. मृगशीर्षमिति नक्षत्रमूर्तिसमूहनाम। इन्वका इति मूर्तिविशेषाणां नाम। सायण on तै. ब्रा. III.1.4.3; छन्दसि पुनर्वस्वोरेकवचनम्। पा. I.2.61. The काशिका has 'पुनर्वसुर्नक्षत्रमदितिर्देवता। पुनर्वसू नक्षत्रमदितिर्देवता।.' पुष्यसिध्यौ नक्षत्रे। पा. III.1.116. The काशिका explains पुष्यन्त्यस्मिन्नर्था इति पुष्यः। सिध्यन्त्यस्मिन्निति सिध्यः।. फल्गुनीप्रोष्ठपदानां च नक्षत्रे। पा. I. 2. 60; काशिका explains कदा पूर्वे फल्गुन्यौ कदा पूर्वाः फल्गुन्यः; कदा पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे कदा पूर्वाः प्रोष्ठपदाः।. आश्वि-यम-दहन-कमलज-शशि-शूलभृद्-अदिति-जीव-फणि-पितरः। योनि-अर्यम-दिनकृत्-त्वष्टृ-पवन-शक्राग्नि-मित्राश्च॥ शक्रो निर्ऋतिस्तोयं विश्वे ब्रह्मा हरिर्वसुर्वरुणः। अजपादोऽहिर्बुध्न्यः पूषा चेतीश्वरा भानाम्॥ बृहत्सं. 97. 4–5. योनि stands for भग the presiding deity of पूर्वाफल्गुनी (in the वेदाङ्गज्योतिष and आथर्वणनक्षत्रकल्प I. 4). The आथर्वणनक्षत्रकल्प differs from बृहत्सं. as to some of the regents of नक्षत्रs.

sometimes in the dual, sometimes in the singular). Kālidāsa employs the dual Punarvasū in Raghuvaṁśa XI. 36 'gām gatāviva divaḥ Punarvasū.'

Tiṣya—Pāṇini uses the word Tiṣya in I. 2. 63 and 3. 34 and the words Puṣya and Sidhya in the sense of 'on which undertakings prosper or succeed.'

Phalgunī—Pāṇini provides that the words Phalgunī and Proṣṭhapadā as nakṣatras are optionally used in the dual or plural.

Niṣṭyā—Mai. S. shows that this is neuter singular. Niṣṭya in Ṛg. VI, 75. 19, VIII. 1. 13, X 133. 5 appears to mean 'outsider or outcaste'.

Viśākhā—Pāṇini (I. 2. 62) provides that in the Veda 'Viśakhā' is sometimes used in the singular, sometimes in the dual, while in his day it was used in the dual.

Anurādhā—The mantra in Tai. Br. III. 1. 2. 1 appears to use it as masculine plural.

Rohiṇī—Jyeṣṭhā is called Rohiṇī in Tai. S. and Tai, Br. (I. 5). Jyeṣṭhā is styled Jyeṣṭhaghnī in Atharva VI. 110. 2. Vide note 753 below.

Mūla—In Tai. S, Vicṛtau is used for Mūla. The Atharvaveda brings together Vicṛtau and Jyeṣṭhaghnī in VI. 110. 2–3 and has 'Vicṛtau nāma tārake' in II. 8. 1 and VI. 121. 3. In Ṛg. X. 87. 10 (tridhā mūlaṁ yātudhānasya vṛśca) Mūla means 'root, foot'. The word 'Mūlabarhaṇa' occurs in Atharva VI. 110. 2 and Mūlabarhaṇī in Tai. Br. I. 5. 1. 4.

Abhijit—not mentioned in Tai. S. and Kāṭhaka, though mentioned in Tai. Br., Atharva and Mai. S. It is sometimes mentioned in later works e. g. the Anuśāsanaparva (64. 5–35) mentions the consequences of gifts to brāhmaṇas on 28 nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī.

Śroṇā—Atharva calls it Śravaṇa and Kāṭhaka speaks of it as Aśvattha. In Pāṇini IV. 2. 22 Aśvattha is mentioned as a nakṣatra, The word Śroṇa in Ṛg. I, 112. 8 means 'lame or cripple'.

Proṣṭhapadā—Atharvaveda speaks of 'dvayā Proṣṭhapadā'.

It would be noticed that some of the names of nakṣatras differ such as Invakā (in Tai. Br. I. 5.1 and Kāṭhaka) for Mṛgaśīrṣa, Bāhū for Ārdrā (in Tai. Br. I. 5.1, Kāṭhaka S. and Maitrāyaṇī S.), Tiṣya for Puṣya, Niṣṭyā for Svātī (in Tai. Br.), Rohiṇī (in Tai. Br. I. 5.4 and Tai. S.) for Jyeṣṭhā, Vicṛtau in Tai. S. for Mūla (in other Vedic texts), Śroṇā (in Tai. S., Tai. Br. and Mai. S.) and Aśvattha in Kāṭhaka S. for Śravaṇa (in Atharva.), Śraviṣṭhā for (medieval and modern) Dhaniṣṭhā, Apabharaṇī for Bharaṇī (in Atharva., Mai. S. and modern times). The deities also differ, the most striking being the change of place between Bhaga and Aryaman as presiding deities of Āṣāḍhās in the Kāṭhaka, Vedāṅgajyotiṣa, Śāṅ gṛ., and Indra as deity of Citrā in Tai. S. and Tvaṣṭṛ in Tai. Br.

List of nakṣatras in the Vedic Saṁhitās, names, deities, &c. with remarks where necessary.

No. Vedic name	Modern name	Vedic deity generally	Tai. Saṁ. IV. 4.10. 1-3	Tai. Br. I. 5	Tai. Br. III. 1. 4-5	Atharvaveda XIX. 7. 2-5	Kāṭhaka Saṁ.39. 13	Maitrāyaṇī S. II. 13. 20	Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa verses 25-26. (Ṛg), 36. 40 (Yajurveda) sets out only deities	Gender	Number of stars
1 Kṛttikā	Kṛttikā	Agni	Kṛttikā	Kṛttikā	Kṛttikā	mentions no deity for any nakṣatra	Kṛttikā	Kṛttikā	Agni	F.	Tai. Br. III. 1. 4.1 specifies the seven names as Ambā dulā &c.
2 Rohiṇī	Rohiṇī	Prajāpati	Rohiṇī	Rohiṇī	Rohiṇī	Rohiṇī	Rohiṇī	Rohiṇī	Prajāpati	F.	one
3 Mṛgaśirṣa	Mṛgaśirṣa	Soma	Mṛgaśirṣa	Invakā	Mṛgaśiras or Invakā	Mṛgaśiras	Invakā (deity Maruts)	Invakā deity Maruts	Soma	N. F.	one Plural in Tai. Br. 1.5, Kāṭhaka, Mai.
4 Ārdrā	Ārdrā	Rudra	Ārdrā	Bāhu	Ārdrā	Ārdrā	Bāhu	Bāhu	Rudra	F.	Two in Tai. Br. I. 5 and one in Tai. S., Kāṭhaka and Mai (and M.)
5 Punarvasū	Punarvasū	Aditi	Punarvasū	Punarvasū	Punarvasū	Punarvasū	Punarvasū	Punarvasū	Aditi	M. M.	two one in Kāṭhaka and Mai.

6 Tiṣya	Puṣya	Bṛhas-pati	Tiṣya	Tiṣya	Tiṣya	Puṣya	Tiṣya	Tiṣya	Bṛhaspati	M.	one
7 Āśreṣā	Āśleṣā	Sarpāḥ	Āśreṣā	Āśreṣā	Āśreṣā	Āśleṣā	Āśleṣā	Āśleṣā	Sarpāḥ	F.	Plural
8 Maghā	Maghā	Pitaraḥ	Maghā	Maghā	Maghā	Maghā	Maghā	Maghā	Pitaraḥ	F.	Plural
9 Phalgunī	Purvā (Phal-gunī)	Arya-man	Phal-gunī	Pūrvā Phal-gunī	Phal-gunī	Pūrvā Phal-gunī	Phal-gunīḥ (Bhaga deity)	Phal-gunīḥ (Bhaga deity)	Bhaga	F.	Plural; dual in Atharva, Tai. Br. I. 5 and III. 1 and singular in Tai. S.
10 Phalgunī	Uttarā Phalgunī	Bhaga	Phal-gunī	Uttarā Phal-gunī	Phal-gunī	not men-tioned	Uttarā Phal-gunīḥ (Arya-man	Phal-gunī (deity Arya-man)	Aryaman	F.	one; dual in Tai. Br. I. 5 and III. 1. 4. 10
11 Hasta	Hasta	Savitṛ	Hasta	Hasta	Hasta	Hasta	Hasta	Hasta	Savitṛ	M.	singular; dual in Kāṭhaka
12 Citrā	Citrā	Indra	Citrā	Citrā	Citrā deity Tvaṣṭṛ	Citrā	Citrā (Tvaṣṭṛ)	Citrā (Tvaṣṭṛ)	Tvaṣṭṛ	F.	one
13 Svātī	Svātī	Vāyu	Svātī	Niṣṭyā (Vāyu)	Niṣṭyā (Vāyu)	Svātī	Niṣṭyā (Vāyu)	Niṣṭyam (Vāyu)	Vāyu	F. N.	one in Mai.

List of nakṣatras in the Vedic Saṁhitās, names, deities, &c. with remarks where necessary.

No. Vedic name	Modern name	Vedic deity generally	Tai. Saṁ. IV. 4. 10. 1-3	Tai. Br. I. 5	Tai. Br. III. 1. 4-5	Atharvaveda XIX. 7. 2-5	Kāṭhaka Saṁ. 39.13	Maitrāyaṇī S. II. 13. 20	Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa verses 25-26 (Ṛg), 36. 40 (Yajurveda) sets out only deities	Gender	Number of stars
14 Viśākhā	Viśākhā	Indrāgnī	Viśākhe	Viśākhe	Viśākhe	Viśākhe	Viśākham	Viśākham	Indrāgnī	F. N.	Two singular in Kāṭ, Mai.
15 Anūrādhā	Anurādhā	Mitra	Anūrādhā	Anūrādhā	Anūrādhā	Anurādhā	Anurādhā	Anūrādhā	Mitra	F. M.	Plural plural in Tai. Br. III. 1. 5. 1.
16 Rohiṇī	Jyeṣṭhā	Indra	Rohiṇī	Rohiṇī	Jyeṣṭhā	Jyeṣṭhā	Jyeṣṭhā (Indra)	Jyeṣṭhā (Varuṇa)	Indra	F.	one
17 Vicṛtau	Mūla	Pitaraḥ	Vicṛtau (Pitaraḥ)	Mūlabarhaṇī (Nirṛti)	Mūla (Nirṛti)	Mūlam	Mūlam (Nirṛti)	Mūlam (Nirṛti)		M or F N. F.	two (when vicṛtau) one (Mūla) in Kāṭ., Tai. Br. III. 1.5.3 one (Mūlabarhaṇī)
18 Aṣāḍhā	Pūrvāṣāḍhā	Āpaḥ	Aṣāḍhā	Pūrvāṣāḍhā	Aṣāḍhāḥ	Aṣāḍhā	Aṣāḍhā	Āṣāḍhā	Āpaḥ	F.	Plural
19 Aṣāḍhā	Uttarāṣāḍhā	Viśvedevāḥ	Aṣāḍhā	Uttarāṣāḍhā	Aṣāḍhāḥ	Uttarā	Uttarāṣāḍhā	Aṣāḍhā	Viśve-devāḥ	F.	Plural

20 Abhijit	Abhijit (not counted)	Brahmā	not men-tioned	Abhijit (deity not m.)	Abhijit (Bra-hmā)	Abhijit	not men-tioned	Abhijit (Bra-hmā)	not men-tioned	N.	one
21 Śroṇā	Śravaṇa	Viṣṇu	Śroṇā	Śroṇā	Śroṇā	Śravaṇa	Aśva-ttha	Śroṇā (Viṣṇu)	Viṣṇu	F.	one
22 Śraviṣṭhā	Dhani-ṣṭhā	Vasavaḥ	Śra-viṣṭhā	Śra-viṣṭhā	Śra-viṣṭhā	Śra-viṣṭha	Śra-viṣṭhā	Śra-viṣṭhā	Vasavaḥ	F.	Plural
23 Śata-bhiṣak	Śata-bhiṣak	Indra	Śata-bhiṣak	Śata-bhiṣak (Indra)	Śata-bhiṣak (Varuṇa)	Śata-bhiṣak	Śata-bhiṣak (Varuṇa)	Śata-bhiṣak (Indra)		M. N.	one in Atharva, Mai.
24 Proṣṭha-padā	Pūrvā Bhādra-padā	Aja Ekapād	Proṣṭha-padā	Proṣṭha-padā	Proṣṭha-padā		Proṣṭha-padā	Proṣṭha pade (Ahirbu-dhnya	Aja Ekapād	M. F.	Plural in Tai Br. I. 5 and III. 1 in others
25 Proṣṭha-padā	Uttarā Bhādra-padā	Ahirbu-dhniya	Proṣṭha-padā (Ahirbu-dhniya)	Proṣṭha-padā (Ahirbu-dhniya)	Proṣṭha-padā (Ahirbu-dhniya)	Proṣṭha-padā	Uttare Proṣṭha-pada (Ahirbu-dhniya)	Proṣṭha-padā (Aja Ekapād)	Ahirbu-dhnya	M.	(or F.?) Plural
26 Revatī	Revatī	Pūṣan	Revatī	Revatī	Revatī	Revatī	Revatī	Revatī	Pūṣan	F.	one
27 Aśva-yujau	Aśvinī	Aśvinau	Aśva-yujau	Aśva-yujau	Aśva-yujau	Aśva-yujau	Aśva-yujau	Aśva-yujau	Aśvinau	M.	dual
28 Apabha-raṇī	Bharaṇī	Yama	Apabha-raṇī	Apabha-raṇī	Bharaṇī	Bha-raṇyaḥ	Apabha-raṇīḥ	Bhara-nīḥ	Yama	F.	Plural

and Kāṭhaka S., Pitaraḥ as deity for Mūla in Tai. S. but Nirṛti in almost all other texts; Indra as deity of Śatabhiṣak in Tai. S. and Mai. S. but Varuṇa in Tai. Br. (III. 1.) and Kāṭhaka. Further, it was also specified whether a nakṣatra had only one star or had a cluster of two or three or more. Besides, the important point for consideration is; why does the Tai. S. differ from the Tai. Br. and Tai. Br. I. 5 from Tai. Br. III. 1 in the number of nakṣatras, in the names and the deities also of some of them. No satisfactory explanation can be given except this that the Tai. S. passage is earlier by some centuries than the Tai. Br. section (III. 1) or the Tai. S was composed in a country far away from the place where the Tai. Br. was composed. This latter does not appear to be probable since one part of Tai. Br. (I. 5) differs from another part (III. 1). The latter section speaks of a nakṣatra-iṣṭi in which oblations are offered to 28 nakṣatras (including Abhijit) and their deities (one nakṣatra being dealt with on each day from Kṛttikās) together with *puronuvākyās* (invitatory verses) and *yājyās* (oblation verses) which are different for each nakṣatra. The first fourteen nakṣatras from Kṛttikā (up to and including Viśākhā) are called Devanakṣatras and the fourteen nakṣatras from Anūrādhā to Apabharaṇī or Bharaṇī are called Yamanakṣatras. After Viśākhā, the Tai. Br. (Nakṣatreṣṭi) inserts Paurṇamāsī with appropriate puronuvākyā and yājyā verses and after apabharaṇī an offering to Amāvāsyā with a puronuvākyā (which is the verse 'Nivesanī saṅgamanī vasūnām' Tai. S. III. 5.1.1) and a yājyā (which is the verse 'yat te devā adadhur', Tai. S. III. 4. 1. 1). Besides, it was laid down that the sacrificer had to invoke gods in the sacrifice by a name (to be kept secret) derived from the presiding deity of the nakṣatra on which he was[732] born (i. e. if

732, नक्षत्रदेवता ह्येता एताभिर्यज्ञकर्मणि । यजमानस्य शास्त्रज्ञैर्नाम नक्षत्रजं स्मृतम् ॥ वेदाङ्गज्योतिष verse 28. Western scholars usually ascribe the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa to about 400 B. C. For example, 'L' Inde classique' edited by Prof. L. Renou and others, Tome II. para 1711 assigns, after saying that the date is undetermined, 400 B. C as its probable date. I should like to place it not later than 8th century B.C. for several reasons. If the observation referred to above (p.496) about kṛttikās were made about 12th century B.C. (14th century B.C. as some scholars hold) and if 400 or 300 B.C. was accepted as the date of the Vedāṅgajyotiṣa, it would have to be supposed that the writer of it either did not notice (or purposely ignored) the fact that winter solstice had shifted about 11 or 12 degrees from the originally observed position. This is rather difficult to believe A difference of four or five degrees may not be dwelt

(*Continued on next page*)

born on Kṛttikā, then some name like Agnimitra &c., if on Puṣya, Bṛhaspatimitra &c.).

If the nakṣatras (27 or 28) had been borrowed at one time *en bloc* from a foreign source the divergences in the names of the nakṣatras, in the presiding deities, and in the gender and number should ordinarily not have arisen to the extent they do. But, if they were an indigenous growth then differences of opinion would naturally have been evolved in the passage of centuries. The only asterisms first specialised and named in Greece and Syria were the Pleiades in Job. 38. 31, Homer and Hesiod; Orion in Job. 39.31, Homer and Hesiod; Arcturus in Job. 9.9 and in 39.32, Homer and Hesiod; the great Bear in Homer and Hesiod, Aldebaran in Homer and Hesiod and three more including Sirius (vide 'Dawn of Astronomy' by Norman Lockyer, 1884 p. 33). This is several centuries later (if not thousands) than the early Vedic texts wherein the whole scheme of nakṣatras appears.

Further details contained in the Tai. Br. and Baudhāyana śrauta-sūtra (28. 3-4) are not set out here. The Nakṣatreṣṭi in the Tai. Br. (III. 1) has been competently dealt with by Prof. Paul Emile Dumont in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 98, No. 3 (1954) with text, English translation and notes. The nakṣatras had been closely observed and many legends arose from imaginary resemblances of star groups to certain familiar animals and also fanciful interpretations of the constellations observed in the sky. The nakṣatras were closely concerned not merely in a religious rite called Nakṣatreṣṭi, but they were of prime importance in the basic śrauta rite, viz. consecration of the sacred fires (Agnyādhāna). In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (II. 1. 2) reference is made to several nakṣatras from Kṛttikā onwards together with their presiding deities as being fit for Agnyādhāna (viz. Kṛttikā, Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśīrṣa, Pūrvā Phalgunī, Uttarā Phalgunī, Hasta, Citrā). The Tai. Br. recommends spring, summer and śarad for Agnyādheya in the case of

(Continued from last page)

upon. Besides, the facts that the Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra has a similar passage, that Kauṭilya follows the five year cycle and says that there is an intercalary month at the end of 2½ years and another intercalary month at the end of the cycle of five years (II. 2 on p. 109) and the fact that the Mahābhārata (Virāṭaparva 52. 3-5) speaks of adding two intercalary months every five years rather suggest an earlier date for the Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa. Vide Swamikannu Pillai's 'Indian Ephemeris' vol. I part I. p. 448 ff for discussion on the probability of the antiquity of the वेदाङ्गज्योतिष.

brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya or vaiśya sacrificer respectively. The Śatapatha appears to condemn setting up of sacred fires in relation to nakṣatra alone and recommends that Agnyādheya should be performed on the New Moon of Vaiśākha on which there is Rohiṇī nakṣatra;[732a] but these rules did not apply when a person had resolved upon performing Soma sacrifice and he should not in that case stop to consider the season or nakṣatra.

Very interesting information and legends are given in the Vedic texts about some of the nakṣatras. About the Kṛttikās the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[733] states 'other nakṣatras contain one star, or two or three or four stars, but these Kṛttikās are many; the sacrificer reaches plenty; therefore one should set up sacred fires on the Kṛttikās. These (Kṛttikās) indeed do not swerve from the east, while all other nakṣatras do swerve from the eastern direction.' The recondite allusion in Ṛg. I. 164. 33 (atra pitā duhitur–garbham–ādhāt) and X. 61. 7 (pitā yat svām duhitaramadhiṣkan) are developed into a myth, a lengthy account of which is given in the Ait. Br. XIII. 10 and Śatapatha I. 6. 2. 1–4 (Prajāpati approached his daughter, some say the heaven and others say it was Uṣas &c.) and about Rohiṇī, Mṛga, the Mṛgavyādha (Sirius) and the three stars in the belt of Orion. Prajāpati[734] is said to have had 33 daughters which he gave in marriage to king Soma, who was fond of Rohiṇī and on account of that suffered from Rājayakṣman (Tai. S. II. 3. 5. 1).

Why the nakṣatra lists begin with the Kṛttikās in the Vedic Literature and why with Aśvinī in classical Sanskrit literature can be explained only on astronomical considerations. The ver-

732 a. तस्मान्न नक्षत्र आदधीत।···योसौ वैशाखस्यामावास्या तस्यामादधीत सा रोहिण्या सम्पद्यते। आत्मा वै प्रजा पशवो रोहिणी।···शतपथ XI. 1.1.3 and 7.

733. एकं द्वे त्रीणि चत्वारीति वा अन्यानि नक्षत्राण्यथैता एव भूयिष्ठा या कृत्तिकास्तद्भूमानमेवैतदुपैति। तस्मात्कृत्तिकास्वादधीत। एता ह वै प्राच्यै दिशो न च्यवन्ते सर्वाणि ह वा अन्यानि नक्षत्राणि प्राच्यै दिशश्च्यवन्ते। शतपथ II. 1. 2. 2–3. It should be noted that the present tense (*cyavante*) is used here, whence it follows that this passage was composed when the position of the Kṛttikās on the equator was an observed fact and their declination was nil. From this S. B. Dikshit deduced the date 3000 B. C. (I. A. volume 24 pages 245–257). The कृत्तिकाs are said to be seven in Maitrāyaṇī S. I. 6.9 and Tai. Br. III 1. 4. 1.

734. प्रजापतेस्त्रयस्त्रिंशद् दुहितर आसन्। ताः सोमाय राज्ञेऽददात्। तासां रोहिणीमुपैत्। तै. सं. II. 3. 5. 1; प्रजापतिर्वै सोमाय राज्ञे दुहितृरददान्नक्षत्राणि स रोहिण्यामेवावसत्। काठकसं. XI. 3. The number 33 is arrived at by adding 7 कृत्तिकाs and the remaining 26 नक्षत्रs.

nal equinox was in Kṛttikā about 2300 B. C. Instead of admitting this as a probable date for the Vedic works, Fleet boldly asserts that the list of nakṣatras beginning with Kṛttikās has no basis in fact, but belongs entirely to ritual and astrology (JRAS for 1916 p. 570). No detailed arguments are deemed necessary. Fleet does not specify cogent evidence, nor does he assign reasons why priests later on changed the beginning of the list from Kṛttikā to Aśvinī, nor does he vouchsafe how the list of nakṣatras in the Vedic age began in fact for ordinary folk if the Kṛttikā list was a pure priestly invention. Even Thibaut (in I. A. vol. 24 at p. 100) had to admit that the beginning of the nakṣatra series with Kṛttikā instead of with Aśvinī seriously affects Max Müller's assignment of 1500 B. C. to 800 B. C. to the Vedic period. In the Tai. S. VII. 4. 8 there is a discussion about the time for undergoing the dīkṣā in a Sāṁvatsara-satra'.[735] It is proposed there that the dīkṣā may be performed on the Full Moon in Phalgunī because that is the beginning of the year; then an objection is raised against this and it is proposed that the dīkṣā may be taken on Full Moon in Citrā, because that was the beginning of the year. If the year began with the winter solstice in those days this reference would have to be placed at 4000 or 6000 B. C. This passage probably embodies traditions that the year began in different months in different periods of antiquity.

Great controversies have raged over the question whether the Indian nakṣatras are indigenous or were borrowed from some other people. The great French astronomer Biot held that Indians borrowed the nakṣatra system from the Chinese and Whitney followed Biot. There were others who held that Indians borrowed them either from the Babylonians or the Arabs. I cannot enter here into the merits of these discussions. The Arabs themselves admit that they borrowed their astronomy from Indian Siddhāntas and there is hardly anything to show that they knew the complete nakṣatra system as early as at least 1500 B. C. Therefore, we may leave the Arabs out of account altogether (vide Thibaut in Grundriss p. 14). Great scholars are often blinded by prejudices and shut their eyes to basic facts. The Chinese system of Sieu had at first only 24 and then it became one

735. फल्गुनीपूर्णमासे दीक्षेरन् मुखं वा एतत् संवत्सरस्य यत्फल्गुनीपूर्णमासो मुखत एव संवत्सरमारभ्य दीक्षन्ते । तस्यैकैव निर्या यत्सांमेध्ये (द्ये?) विषूवान्संपद्यते चित्रापूर्णमासे दीक्षेरन् मुखं वा एतत्संवत्सरस्य यच्चित्रापूर्णमासो मुखत एव संवत्सरमारभ्य दीक्षन्ते। तस्य न काचन निर्या भवति। तै. सं. VII. 4.8. निर्या appears to mean 'defect'.

of (it is said) 28 at about 1100 B. C. (as said by Thibaut in Grundriss p. 13.) There are no clear traces in the Vedic texts that nakṣatras were held to be 24 during the times of those texts. We should not accept at their face value the assumptions of the antiquity of astronomy in China that are sometimes advanced (vide 'East and West', Rome, vol. VI. p. 288.) Besides, neither in Babylonia nor in China were the asterisms thoroughly integrated with the religious system. In Vedic times one was not entitled to perform solemn sacrifices unless he had already set up sacred fires on certain nakṣatras. Further, the months (Māgha, Phālguna, Caitra &c.) were named after certain nakṣatras and exist only in Sanskrit, not in Greek, Latin or Chinese. The deities that were deemed to preside over the nakṣatras from such ancient days as those of the Tai. S. and Tai. Br. are almost all of them exclusively Vedic and have no counterparts in Babylonia or China. Besides, though thousands of cuneiform tablets have been found in Babylonia no one has, so far as I know, pointed to a single tablet where all the nakṣatras appear in an orderly series of 27 or 28, as we find in Vedic Saṁhitās. It is at least clear that long before the Taittirīya Saṁhitā the Vedic people had fixed the number of the nakṣatras (at 27 or 28), their names and order and their presiding deities and had made the nakṣatras a most integral part of their sacrificial system. Furthermore, almost all of the Indian names of nakṣatras are siginficant or have ancient legends connected with them. For example, Ārdrā means 'wet' and the nakṣatra was called Ārdrā because when the sun was in it rains set in. Punarvasu was probably so called because the grains of paddy or barley sown in the ground sprout up as new wealth after being buried; Puṣya, was so called because the young sprouts grow and become nourished; Āśreṣā or Āśleṣā, because the grown-up plants of paddy or barley grow high enough to embrace each other; Maghā, because the paddy or other plants are putting forth the standing crop which is wealth in itself; Kṛttikā, because they (being six or seven), look like the skin of the spotted deer on which a religious student was to sit for Vedic study. In these circumstances the burden to prove borrowing of the nakṣatra system by Indians was very heavy on those who affirmed it. What is the evidence? There is very little evidence except prejudice and speculation. The main tangible evidence they can and do rely on is that the Chinese or Babylonians had also 28 nakṣatras as the Indians had. But these scholars, though very learned and farseeing in their own way, never stopped to consider how from

China and Babylon the nakṣatras could reasonably be supposed to have been derived by Indians more than 3500 years ago (on a most modest estimate) and allowed to be the very centre and basis of their religion of sacrifices, what were the means for the communication of the thoughts and ideas underlying the nakṣatra system and why one may not surmise that the real state of things was the other way about (viz. the Babylonians and Chinese derived the system from the ancestors of Indians) or that all systems were derived from a common prehistoric source. Another reason for discounting the theories of Biot, Weber and Whitney may also be advanced viz. the researches of Tilak in his 'Orion' (particularly pp. 61–95) and of Prof. Jacobi have at least made this clear that the Kṛttikā series is not the oldest arrangement of the nakṣatras known to Indians, but that the Indians had once an older arrangement, which placed Mṛgaśirṣa at the vernal equinox. Those who are interested in these somewhat novel and rather barren controversies raised by Biot, Weber and others may read Weber's 'der vedischen Nachrichten von den Nakṣatras', two volumes, I. A. vol. 23 pp. 154–159 (Jacobi on the 'date of the Ṛgveda'), pp. 238–249 (Bühler's note on Jacobi's theory and Tilak's Orion, I. A. pp. 85–100 (Thibaut on 'antiquity of Vedic civilization') and pp. 361–369 (Whitney), I. A. 48 pp. 95–97. The word 'nakṣatra' is derived by Yāska[736] from the root 'nakṣ' meaning 'to go', while the Śatapatha Br. (II. 1. 2. 17–18) and Tai. Br. II. 7. 18 derive it as from *na* plus *kṣatra* and Pāṇini (VI. 3. 75) accepts this derivatior. The word 'nakṣatra'(m) is applied even to the Sun in Ṛg. VI. 67. 6. Tai. Br. teaches how one is to mark the nakṣatra on which one has to perform a religious act, viz. he should mark about dawn and before the first rays light the sky the part of the sky where the nakṣatra appears and when the sun appears the nakṣatra would be to the west of the sun, at which time he should perform what he has to do. It is stated that sage Matsya established into eminence Yajñeṣu and Śatadyumna by this method (Tai. Br. I. 5. 2. 1.).

Even so early as the Ait. Br.[737] Vedic Indians had arrived at the conclusion that the Sun was one and never sets. 'This Sun

736. ऋक्षाः स्तृभिः–इति नक्षत्राणाम्। नक्षत्राणि नक्षतेर्गतिकर्मणः। नेमानि क्षत्राणि–इति च ब्राह्मणम्। निरुक्त III. 20. The first derivation is supported by तै. ब्रा. I. 5.2.10 'यो वा इह यजते अमुं लोकं नक्षते तन्नक्षत्राणां नक्षत्रत्वम्'.

737. स वा एष न कदाचनास्तमेति नोदेति। तं यदस्तमेतीति मन्यन्तेऽह्न एव तदन्तमित्वाथात्मानं विपर्यस्यते रात्रीमेवाधस्तात्कुरुतेऽहः परस्तात्। अथ यदेनं प्रातरुदेतीति मन्यन्ते

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indeed never sets nor rises. When people think that he (the Sun) sets what happens is he reaches the end of the day, reverses himself, creates night below and day above. When people think that he rises in the morning, that means that having reached the end of the night he reverses himself, makes day below and night above. He indeed never sets'. This is in very interesting contrast to the Jaina view in Sūryaprajñapti of two suns and two moons or the view of Heraclitus in Greece (6th century B. C.) that a new sun was born and died every day (Eisler p. 42.).

In the Brāhmaṇa period Indians had[737a] found out the day called Viṣuvat or Viṣuva (which is said to be in the middle of the sacrificial year) when the day and night were of equal length: 'As a person fastens the two wings or sloping sides of a hall (or shed) to the bamboo ridge or beam that is in the middle (of the shed), so people use the Divākīrtya day for stretching across the two sides (half years)'.

I have purposely devoted some space to the subject of the astronomical knowledge of people in the Vedic age. Several European scholars that have written on the astronomical achievements of ancient and medieval India, have indulged in very disparaging and contemptuous statements about Indians

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रात्रेरेव तदन्तमित्वाऽथात्मानं विपर्यस्यतेऽहरेवावस्तात्कुरुते रात्रिं परस्तात्। स वा एष न कदाचन निम्लोचति। ऐ. ब्रा. III, 44. This idea is taken up by soma Furāṇas also. For example, विष्णुपुराण II. 8.15 says नैवास्तमनमर्कस्य नोदयः सर्वदा सतः। उदयास्तमनाख्यं हि दर्शनादर्शनं रवेः।. ब्रह्मगुप्त in ब्राह्मस्फुटसि. XI. 3 criticises the Jain view "भानि चतुःपञ्चाशद्द्वावर्केन्दवौ जिनोक्तं यत्। ध्रुवमत्स्यस्यावर्तो भवति यतोह्वा ततस्तदसत्॥". The पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका (XIII. 8) also refers to this Jaina view.

737a. एकविंशमेतदहरुपयन्ति विषुवन्तं मध्ये संवत्सरस्य। ऐ. ब्रा. IV. 18 (18.4); यथा शालायै पक्षसी मध्यमं वंशमभिसमायच्छति एवं संवत्सरस्य पक्षसी दिवाकीर्त्यमभिसंतन्वन्ति नानिमार्च्छन्ति। तै. ब्रा. I. 2. 3. सायण explains on ऐ. ब्रा. 'दिवैव कीर्तनीयं मन्त्रजातं यस्मिन्विषुवत्यहनि तदहर्दिवाकीर्त्यम्।'. The ताण्ड्यब्राह्मण (IV. 6. 3-13 and IV. 7. 1) refers to विषुवत् day and provides that दिवाकीर्त्यसाम is to be sung that day since the Gods removed by Divākīrtya the darkness with which Svarbhānu, the son of an Asura, had pierced the sun and that विषुवत् is the soul of the year and two wings or two sides go round it. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. page 1240 for the arrangement of the 'Gavām-ayana', a sāṁvatasarika sattra and the position of the विषुवत् day. It should not be forgotten that the Equinox itself is more or less an astronomical fiction and cannot be accurately observed without scientific apparatus. As the sacrificial year had only 360 days and a day called विषुवत् was in the middle that would come to 361 days while the solar year is 365¼ days nearly and therefore विषुवत् would have been a day of equal day and night only approximately.

not only in astronomy, but generally. To take only one or two instances. Thibaut (Grundriss p. 3) is pleased to observe that what Indians knew before Greek influence is not much and is of a primitive character. This is how Whitney, a learned American scholar of Sanskrit, unburdens himself; 'there can be no question that, from what we know in other respects of the character and tendencies of the Hindu mind, we should not at all look to find the Hindus in possession of an astronomical science possessing so much of truth. They have been from the beginning distinguished by a remarkable inaptitude and disinclination to observe, to collect facts, to record, to make inductive investigations' (J. A. O. S. vol. VI p. 471). His coadjutor, Mr. Burgess, differed from him even in regard to astronomy (*ibid.* pp. 477–480).

One is tempted to return Whitney's compliments to Indians in the same coin by saying that for 1400 years from Ptolemy, the ancestors of Whitney and other highbrows hardly ever made any discovery of astronomical importance, stuck unthinkingly and slavishly to the Almagest and were literally in the dark about the true astronomical position during what are often called the Dark Ages of Europe. Even Luther who rebelled against the authority of the Pope denounced Copernicus as a fool, charged the latter with turning upside down the science of astronomy and relied upon the Bible, which, he said, declared that Joshua commanded the Sun to stand still and not the Earth (Joshua 10. 12). This betrays the old mentality that if there is a contradiction between the words of the Bible and Nature, the believers in Scripture must correct their ideas of Nature in accordance with the Bible and not the Bible in accordance with what is found to be Nature. This also reminds one of the maxim of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā that there is nothing too heavy for a sacred text.

I should request all Western authors interested in Indology and dazzled by some writings of a few Greeks to ponder deeply over the following words of Sir Norman Lockyer in his 'Dawn of Astronomy' (1894) 'Anaximander told us that the earth was cylindrical in shape and every place that was then known was situated on the flat end of the cylinder; and Plato, on the ground that the cube was the most perfect geometrical figure, imagined the earth to be a cube, the part of the earth known to the Greeks being on the upper surface. In these matters the vaunted Greek mind was little in advance of the predecessors

of the Vedic priests' (p. 8). If the Greeks forged ahead in one or two branches, there were several other peoples in the world that far surpassed them in other equally important matters. I would also recommend to them to read carefully what Sarton says in his Preface (p. IX) to 'A history of Science' where he charges Western writers with unpardonable omissions viz. ignoring the scientific efforts of Egypt, Mesopotamia and other countries and assuming childishly that science began in Greece and secondly hiding the superstitions which surrounded eminent Greeks. Writers at least in the 19th and 20th centuries should have no reason to run down one people and praise to the skies another people, but their endeavour should be to arrive at well-documented, well-balanced, impartial and cautious judgments upon the achievements of ancient peoples of the world.

The chronology of the Vedic age is far from certain. Jacobi, Dikshit, Tilak and some others would put the Vedic age back to 4000 B. C. or even earlier. Winternitz puts it as far back as 2500 B. C.; while Max Müller and following him many Western scholars would thrust all Vedic Literature between 1500 to 800 B. C. Even taking these latter timings the Vedic Literature shows a good deal of progress in astronomical matters which Indians could not have owed to Greece. There is no extant literature in Greece that can be placed earlier than about 900 or 800 B. C. with certainty. The Homeric poems and the works of Hesiod are the oldest surviving literary writings in Greek. Homer mentions the Sun, the Moon, the morning and evening star, the Pleiades, Hyades, Orion, Great Bear, Sirius (Orion's Dog), Bootes (Arcturus) and Hesiod mentions practically the same stars as Homer; Hesiod says that spring began sixty days after winter solstice, puts down moon's period at thirty days, but does not mention equinoxes.[738] It should be noted that Vedic astronomy several centuries (if not thousands of years) earlier than Homer and Hesiod was at least as advanced as that in the two Greek authors. The very ancient peoples (besides Indians and Chinese) are the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Hittites and Chaldeans. About the Egyptians, the Cambridge Ancient History (vol. II p. 218) states that there is very little trace of the application of Mathematics to Astro-

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738. Vide 'Greek Astronomy' by T. L. Heath (1932) introduction XI-XII and Sir Norman Lockyer's 'Dawn of Astronomy' (1894) p. 133 for the knowledge of only a few stars exhibited in the Book of Job and by Homer and Hesiod.

nomy in Egypt and that, though the length of the solar year had been fairly accurately determined, this was done by observation of the heliacal rising of Sirius or Sothis which happened to correspond rather closely with the first rise of the Nile and involved no calculation whatsoever. About Hittites and Chaldeans there is not much to be said as no one asserts that nakṣatras were borrowed from them. Even about 800 B. C. Homer's and Hesiod's knowledge of astronomy was meagre. Even Hipparchus, regarded as the greatest astronomer of antiquity who completed his catalogue about 130 B. C., had access to a continuous series of observations made in Mesopotamia reaching back to 747 B. C.[738a] Ptolemy wrote about 150 A. D.; his Almagest is based on the observations of Hipparchus, and almost all that is known about the predecessors of Ptolemy is derived from the latter's work, as, owing to the very excellence of Ptolemy's work, all writings of his predecessors ceased to be studied and have not been recovered. The theory of Greek influence in astrology will be dealt with a little later on, but a few words may be said here about the supposed influence of Greek astronomy on the Indian Siddhāntas[739] and later works. In the

738 a. Vide Rawlinson in 'Five monarchies of the Ancient World,' vol. II. p. 574; also Breasted in 'Ancient Times' p. 214 for the passing of the observations of Nabunassar and Kidinnu (who practically discovered the Precession of the Equinoxes) to the Greeks and for the Greek engineer Meton taking the length of the year from the tables of Nabu. A continuous record of dated observations began with the reign of Nabunassar (who began to rule in 747 B. C.), from which date the observations continued till Ptolemy's day; vide Heath's 'Greek Astronomy' p. XIV and pp. 142-143. Prof. Neugebauer has recently questioned the claims of Babylonian Kidinnu to have discovered the precession of the equinoxes (in JAOS for 1950, vol. 70 pp. 1-8) and Morris Jastrow (Jr.) in 'Hepatoscopy and Astrology' contributed to Proceedings of American Philosophical Society vol. XLVII at p. 671 appears to have done the same before him. Sarton (in JAOS vol. 75 No. 3 p. 169) supports Prof. Neugebauer, though he admits that some of the Babylonian observations made it easier for Hipparchus to discover precession of equinoxes.

739. पौलिशरोमकवासिष्ठसौरपैतामहास्तु सिद्धान्ताः। पञ्चभ्यो द्वावाद्यौ व्याख्यातौ लाटदेवेन॥ पौलिशकृतः स्फुटोसौ तस्यासन्नस्तु रोमकः प्रोक्तः। स्पष्टतरः सावित्रः परिशेषौ दूरविभ्रष्टौ। पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका I. 3-4. It is said here that पौलिश and रोमक were commented upon by लाटदेव, that the Sūryasiddhānta is most accurate, Pauliśa is accurate and Romaka approaches it in accuracy and that Vāsiṣṭha and Pitāmaha are far from accurate. Thibaut (in Intro. to पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका pp. XLIX-L) holds that Pauliśa-siddhānta known to Utpala (about 966 A.D.) was different from the one known to Varāhamihira, that both Romaka and Pauliśa known to Varāha could not be placed later than 400 A. D. (Intro. p. XXXIII).

first place no Indian work of the Siddhānta class admits that any Yavana knowledge was at the basis of the Indian astronomy nor do these ancient Sanskrit works on *astronomy* set out any large number of purely astronomical terms of Greek origin as Varāha does in astrology. The subjects to be dealt with in the Pañcasiddhāntikā are set out in chap. I. verses 5–7 and there is hardly any word therein that can be said to be originally Greek. Reliance is placed by Weber and others on the fact that two of the five Siddhāntas the characteristics of which are summarised by Varāhamihira in his *Karaṇa*[740] called Pañcasiddhāntikā are designated Romaka and Pauliśa and it is argued that this clearly suggests Greek influence. One should like to know the number of purely Greek astronomical words employed in the Siddhāntas (older than Varāha) and different from the 36 or 37 Greek words said to have been employed in Sanskrit astrology by Varāha and others. Conceding for argument that Romaka stands for the Alexandrian school that does not prove Greek influence on the Siddhāntas. There is hardly any evidence to show that any medieval work or calendar in India followed or was based mainly upon the data of the Romaka.[741] The length of its year is 365 days, 5 hours, 55 minutes and 12 seconds which exactly agrees with the determination of the extent of the year given by Hipparchus and accepted by Ptolemy (Thibaut in Grundriss p. 42). The rules set up by Varāha for *ahargaṇa* according to Romaka give results for the meridian of Yavanapura (and not for that of Ujjayinī). It did not occur to any Western scholar so far that the Romaka-siddhānta being in Sanskrit was most probably composed by some Greek[742] settled in India familiar with

740. Difference is made between a siddhānta work and a karaṇa. The latter is a compendious astronomical work which does not discuss astronomical theories at length (as the siddhāntas do) and furnishes a set of concise and approximately correct rules for the quick performance of the more important astronomical computations.

741. Not only was the Romaka not followed, but a comparatively early writer Brahmagupta (born 598 A. D.) condemns it as beyond the pale of smṛtis: युगमन्वन्तरकल्पाः कालपरिच्छेदकाः स्मृतावुक्ताः । यस्मान्न रोमके ते स्मृतिबाह्यो रोमकस्तस्मात् ॥ ब्राह्मस्फुटसिद्धान्त I. 13 quoted by S. B. Dikshit in I. A vol. 19 pp. 133–142, where Mr. Dikshit contends that the Romaka summarised in the Pañcasiddhāntikā is different from the Romaka of Śrīṣeṇa and that the former was composed before 150 A D.

742. The Pauliśa-siddhānta is supposed by Weber to have been borrowed from Paulus Alexandrinus (4th century A. D.). Kern (preface

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Sanskrit as well as with the Greek or Alexandrian astronomy that preceded Ptolemy and probably even Hipparchus and that therefore Varāha gave a summary of it in his *karaṇa*, just as in his famous work on Astrology, the Bṛhajjātaka, he mentions the views of the Yavanas and frequently differs from them. Further Varāha is generous in his appreciation of Greek astrology[743] 'Yavanas are indeed Mlecchas and this śāstra is well cultivated (or established) among them; even they (the Yavanas) are honoured as if they were sages. What need it be said about a brāhmaṇa well-versed in Astrology (he will be honoured much more)'. The word 'śāstra' in this verse when read along with 'daivavid' in the 2nd half must be taken in the sense

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to Bṛ. S. p. 49) rebukes Weber for proceeding to this conclusion on the slender ground of the identity of name, but Kern himself feels that Pauliśa was a Greek. D. E. Smith in 'History of Mathematics' (ed. of 1922, vol. I. p. 145) avers that Greek scholars settled in India after Alexander's time. In my paper on 'Yavaneśvara and Utpala' contributed to the J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. 30 parts 1 and 2 pp. 1-8 I refer to two extensive works on astrology in several thousands of fine Upajāti and Indravajrā verses composed by Sphujidhvaja and Mīnarāja, both of whom claim to be the overlords of Yavanas. The Besnagar column Vaiṣṇava inscription on the Garuḍadhvaja in honour of Vāsudeva by Heliodora, a devotee of Vāsudeva and son of Diya and hailing from Takṣaśilā (Taxila) who was a Yona (Yavana) ambassador of king Antalikita (Antalkidas) to the court of king Bhāgabhadra shows how even high-placed Greeks became devotees of Vāsudeva, settled in India and got the inscription engraved not in Greek nor in bilingual characters, but in the Indian language and *lipi*. Vide W. W. Tarn in 'Greeks in Bactria and India' pp. 313-14, 380-81, 390-91 for Greeks knowing Indian languages, for many Greeks becoming Indianized and J. R. A. S. for 1909 pp. 1053-1056, 1087-1094, J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. 23 p. 104 and I. H. Q. vol. VIII (for 1932) p. 611 for the Besnagar Inscription.

743. म्लेच्छा हि यवनास्तेषु सम्यक् शास्त्रमिदं स्थितम्। ऋषिवत्तेऽपि पूज्यन्ते किं पुनर्दैवविद् द्विजः॥ बृहत्संहिता II. 15 (Kern). Alberuni (Sachau, vol. I.p. 23) refers to this verse. In पाणिनि IV. 1.49 twelve words (इन्द्रवरुण...यवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक्) are mentioned to most of which the affix आनी is added in the sense of 'Wife'. The word यवन is an exact reproduction of the word Ionia, which was originally a strip of mountainous coast in Asia Minor about 20 to 30 miles broad. There is nothing to show, as Western writers are fond of saying, that Pāṇini refers to Alexander and the Greeks that came with and after him. Miletus was in the 6th century B. C. the richest city in the Greek world. In Pāṇini's days यवनानी meant the wife of a yavana while in Kātyāyana's days यवनानी meant only the yavana alphabet. Later on all Greeks came to be called Ionians. Vide Will Durant in 'Life of Greece' (1939) p. 134, Sarton in 'A History of Science' p. 162.

of 'horā-śāstra'. But Varāha nowhere pays a similar compliment to Yavanas about their proficiency in Astronomy and Mathematics. This would suggest that in astronomy he did not rate them high or did not think they had anything special to impart to Indians or at least he did not base his astronomical theories on the works of Greek astronomers. He hardly ever employs any Greek words that are not already employed in his work on astrology.

Thibaut (Grundriss, p. 42) holds that the name Puliśa has decidedly a non-Indian appearance. One fails to understand why these learned writers are so positive about a certain name being non-Indian. We have in Sanskrit such ancient names as Pulastya,[744] Pulaha, Paulastya (for Kubera) which contain most of the elements of the word Puliśa and are very similar to it. Even in these days Hindus bear such names as Nabobsingh. The siddhāntas are called Paitāmaha and Pauliśa because they were deemed to have been composed by Pitāmaha and Puliśa. Alberuni, Thibaut says, traces the name Puliśa to a Greek author Paulus; but Alberuni who was familiar with both Indian and Greek authors might have committed a mistake, as even such a scholar as Weber, whose vast reading and phenomenal industry are a marvel, was misled by mere similarity in name and one recalls what was said in the drama Śākuntala by the attendant of Śakuntalā's little son that the child was misled by the similarity of names. Thibaut himself admits that it cannot be proved that the Pauliśa siddhānta is related to the work of the Greek astrologer Paulus. Pauliśa-siddhānta appears to have restricted itself mostly to astronomical matters. We have seen (p. 488) that the Paitāmaha-siddhānta was composed about 80 A. D. Therefore, that Siddhānta could not have borrowed anything from Ptolemy (150 A. D.). Prof. Neugebauer again has [744a] no doubt that the original impetus to scientific Hindu

744. Pulastya is quoted about a dozen times by Aparārka (first half of 12th century A. D.) and about three dozen times by the Smṛticandrikā (first half of 13th century A. D.) as a writer on Smṛti and Pulaha also is quoted as a Smṛti writer by the latter work. Manu I. 35 speaks of Pulastya and Pulaha as two of the ten sons of Prajāpati. Pulastya and Pulaha are two of the seven sages (in Bṛ. S. 13. 11).

744 a. Vide 'Journal of Near Eastern Studies' vol. IV. at p. 30 (Prof. Neugebauer on 'History of Ancient Astronomy'). Whitney also (Sūrya-siddhānta in J. A. O. S. vol. VI. p. 474-75) suggested that it was pre-Ptolemaic astronomy that was transmitted to India and Prof. Neugebauer, relying

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astronomy came from Hellenistic astronomy, since he thinks that the use of the eccentric-epicyclic model alone is sufficient proof. But he is inclined to hold that the period of reception lies between Hipparchus and Ptolemy and hopes that a systematic study of Hindu astronomical works might reveal information about pre-Ptolemaic Greek astronomy no longer preserved in available Greek sources. It is doubtful whether that hope will ever be fulfilled. If ancient Indians were capable of analysing the elements of the Sanskrit language and raising such a system as Pāṇini's, if they could plumb the depths of the human mind and create a mental discipline like the Yoga, if they carefully noted centuries before Christ the parts of the glottis and other organs in the mouth in the production of the letters of their language and produced the Prātiśākhyas and Śikṣā works, if they could create a fable literature and invent the game of chess and make a gift of these two to the whole of mankind, if their knowledge of Algebra was of a superior order (vide Colebrooke's Essays, vol. II. at p. 446 and Cajori's 'a History of Elementary Mathematics' pp. 93–101), if they invented the decimal place value[744b] system for numbers and propagated it and the sign for a zero to Europe through the Arabs in the 12th century A. D., there is hardly any compelling reason for saying that it would not have been possible for them to arrive at their own eccentric and epicycle system (of which Prof. Neugebauer makes so much) independently of any other people to explain the

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only on a few translated Sanskrit texts, probably repeats what Whitney suggested without any substantial evidence. Prof. Neugebauer in J. A. O. S. vol. 70 (1950) p. 7 admits that scholars are very far from a real insight into the development of Hellenistic astronomy before Ptolemy. In his review of the work on Indian studies by Professors Renou and Filliozat Prof. Neugebauer seems to hold that the discussion of Greek influence on Hindu astronomy and mathematics is of very little interest, since most of the Greek material was well known in Mesopotamia in the middle of the 2nd millenium B. C. and might have spread from Mesopotamia towards the east (vide 'Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences' for April—June 1955 at p. 170).

744 b. Mesopotamians used 60 as their basic number instead of 10. With them each position counted for 60 and not for ten. 123 in our decimal place value system is equal to $1 \times 10^2 + 2 \times 10'$ plus 3. A similar notation in Mesopotamia would give $60^2 + 2 \times 60'$ plus $3 = 3723$. For numbers below 60 the notation was clumsy as a dividing line had to be used for the tens and integers.

supposed motions of the Sun, the Moon and the planets round the earth.

One more observation must be made here. The Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa[745] says 'The sun and the moon start towards the north in the month of Māgha at the beginning of Śraviṣṭhā (i. e. Dhaniṣṭhā) and the Sun starts towards the south in the middle of Āśleṣā in the month of Śrāvaṇa' i. e. winter solstice was in the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā. In the Bṛhatsaṁhitā Varāhamihira tells us that in his day the two *ayanas* of the Sun took place at the beginning of Karkaṭaka and of Makara respectively, that indeed at some time in the past *Uttarāyaṇa* began at the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā and *dakṣiṇāyana* commenced in the middle of Āśleṣā and that therefore it was so declared in former śāstras. This shows that, between about 505 A. D. when Varāha planned and probably wrote his Pañca-siddhāntikā and the observation contained in the Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa, the commencement of Dakṣiṇāyana had shifted from the middle of Āśleṣā to the last quarter of Punarvasu i. e. in all about 23 degrees and 20 minutes. Varāhamihira makes no effort to explain this. It is therefore quite reasonable to argue that he was probably not aware of the theory of the precession of the equinoxes. Authorities are not in complete agreement as to the yearly extent of precession. Taking it at 50·2 seconds per year, the total number of years between Varāha and the date of the observation in Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa would be about 1673 and deducting 505 years (the time of Varāha's epoch for a siddhānta calculation) the observation would refer itself to about 1168 B. C. If Varāha and his predecessors had borrowed scientific astronomy directly from the Greeks, they should have been quite aware of the precession of

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745. प्रपद्येते श्रविष्ठादौ सूर्याचन्द्रमसावुदक्। सार्पार्धे दक्षिणार्कस्य माघश्रावणयोः सदा॥ वेदाङ्गज्योतिष (of ऋग्वेद), verse 6 (and 7 of यजुर्वेदाङ्गज्योतिष); आश्लेषार्धाद् दक्षिणमुत्तरमयनं रवेर्धनिष्ठाद्यम्। नूनं कदाचिदासीद्येनोक्तं पूर्वशास्त्रेषु॥ सांप्रतमयनं सवितुः कर्कटकाद्यं मृगादितश्चान्यत्। बृहत्संहिता III. 1-2. सार्प means आश्लेषा, of which the presiding deity is serpents. पूर्वशास्त्रेषु refers to वेदाङ्गज्योतिष and similar works. The पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका (II. 21 p. 9) refers to this: आश्लेषार्धादासीद्यदा निवृत्तिः किलोष्णकिरणस्य। युक्तमयनं तदासीत्साम्प्रतमयनं पुनर्वसुतः॥. We find in the बौ. श्रौ. सूत्र a passage almost identical with वेदाङ्गज्योतिष verse 7, viz. माघमासे धनिष्ठाभिरुदग्भिरेति भानुमानर्धाश्लेषस्य श्रावणस्य दक्षिणेनोपनिवर्तत इति। (26.29). The words माघ'''भानुमान् form a half अनुष्टुप् verse.

equinoxes, since precession is said to have been discovered by Hipparchus, and was adopted by Ptolemy.[745a]

This consideration has special force in view of the fact that Varāha believed that the constellation of the Saptarṣis (Ursa Major) was in the Maghās at the time when Yudhiṣṭhira ruled, that that star group remains for one hundred years in each of the 27 nakṣatras and that therefore to complete one cycle through all nakṣatras the star group of Saptarṣis required 2700 years.[746]

There are other serious difficulties also in holding that the Sanskrit scientific astronomical treatises were acquainted with or borrowed from Ptolemy's work. Numerous discrepancies in essential matters exist between Ptolemy's work and Hindu astronomical works such as the assignment of different dimensions to the epicycles of the planets by Ptolemy and by Hindu writers. Therefore, it is altogether improbable that the Hindu works were directly based on Ptolemy's work. Nor is there any direct evidence to show that Hindu works were based on Hipparchus or the works

745 a. Vide 'Greek Astronomy' by Heath p. 611 and Prof. Neugebauer in Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol. IV. p. 24. In the Poona Orientalist vol. VIII. pp. 68-80 Mr. Raja Rao endeavours to prove that ancient Pravargya legend is based on a knowledge of the precession of the equinoxes. In the first place, too much has to be taken for granted to make that thesis probable and in the 2nd place it would have to be admitted that precession, though known in the Vedic age, was forgotten before the times of Varāhamihira who is apparently not aware of it. Prof. K. V. Abhyankar (in Dhruva commemoration vol. III. pp. 155-164) tries to show that 'precession of the equinoxes' had been discovered in India in ancient times, but his arguments are far-fetched and not at all convincing.

746. आसन्मघासु मुनयः शासति पृथिवीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ । षड्द्विकपञ्चद्वियुतः शककालस्तस्य राज्ञश्च ॥ एकैकस्मिन्नृक्षे शतं शतं ते चरन्ति वर्षाणाम् ॥. Several purāṇas mention that the Saptarṣis were in Maghā at the time of Parikṣit and that they are in one nakṣatra for a hundred years. Vide वायु 99. 421-23, मत्स्य 273. 42-44; on बृ. सं 13. 3-4, उत्पल quotes a verse of Vṛddha Garga who is earlier by some centuries than वराहमिहिर "कलिद्वापरसंधौ तु स्थितास्ते पितृदैवतम् । मुनयो धर्मनिरताः प्रजानां पालने रताः ॥." पितरः are the deity of मघा. In the विष्णुपुराण IV. 33. 34 it is said that at the time of king Parikṣit the Saptarṣis were in Maghā nakṣatra. In बृहत्सं. 13. 2 वराह promises that he would follow the doctrines of वृद्धगर्ग about the motion of Saptarṣis (Ursa Major). According to the Śalyaparva of the Mahābhārata (chap. 37. 14-15) Vṛddha-Garga was an adept in the computation of time and in auspicious and inauspicious phenomena and a holy place on the Sarasvatī river was named Gargasrotas, which Balarāma is said to have visited. Therefore, Vṛddhagarga must have preceded Varāha by many centuries.

of other Greek writers. No such Greek works are now available nor are even Greek elementary manuals of astronomers available which can be said to agree with Hindu scientific works. That an extensive Sanskrit literature on astronomy has perished is clear from Varāha-mihira's works and Utpala's quotations in his commentaries on the Bṛ. S. and Bṛhaj-jātaka. Modern Western writers would do well to observe at least for the present a non-committal attitude instead of repeating *ad nauseum* that Hindu scientific astronomy was derived from Greeks on slender similarities between the two systems and on obscure and ill-understood passages and extracts in old astronomical works (vide E. Burgess in J. A. O. S. vol. VI at p. 480).

After having briefly indicated the astronomical knowledge to be gathered from Vedic works, it is now necessary to show that astrological knowledge is also found in the Vedic texts from the oldest times. The human mind is very curious to know the future and is very prone to regard certain days, times and appearances as auspicious or favourable and others as inauspicious. Various means were adopted by ancient peoples to pry into the future. The word astrology is now generally understood[747] to mean the predictions about what would befall an individual based on the configurations of the Sun, the moon and the planets at the time of his birth. But this was not the sense or at least the only sense in which the word was used in very ancient times. Astrology known to us from the ancient Assyrians was concerned almost wholly with the interpretation of celestial phenomena and planetary configurations and the predictions about the immediate future in relation to the country, its people, its government or king, in such matters as the crops, floods, storms, invasions or other calamities. The events in the heavens, in the sky and even on the earth were supposed to intimate the thoughts of the gods, and to convey indications about impending happenings. This may be called natural astrology. Horoscopic astrology is a later development. Predictions were also derived by skilled diviners from various other happenings such as dreams, the flight and cries of birds, and the interpretation of the mysterious signs on the livers[748] of the sheep killed in sacrifices to gods in Babylon and Rome.

747. Vide Frankfort's 'Cylindrical seals' p. 157, Prof. Neugebauer in E. S. A. p. 163.

748. Vide Breasted in 'Ancient Times' p. 175, Cambridge Ancient History vol. I. p. 409. This lore called 'Hepatoscopy' does not appear to

(*Continued on next page*)

The first thing that we notice is that even in the Ṛgveda we have frequent references to 'auspiciousness of days' (*sudinatve ahnām*) in Ṛg. III. 8.5, III. 23.4, VII. 88.4, X. 70.1, ('sudinatvam. ahnām' in Ṛg. II. 21. 6 and 'sudineṣvahnām' in Ṛg. IV. 37.1). A few of these may be translated here. 'O Indra! establish amongst us abundance of wealth, freedom from injury to our bodies, sweetness of speech and luckiness of days' (Ṛg. II. 21.6); '(The sacrificial post) when planted on an auspicious day goes prospering in the sacrifice attended by many men' (Ṛg. III. 8.5);

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have been developed in India. Vide 'Hepatoscopy and Astrology in Babylonia and Assyria', a paper in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, vol. XLVII, pp. 646-676. Divination is either voluntary or involuntary. In the former marked arrows were used (apparently referred to in Ezekiel 21. 21) or birds were sent out and the directions in which they flew were noted and interpreted or such things as dipping buds or flowers in water and placing them at the feet of the images of gods in India and noting whether the flowers on the right or left side fell down first. Involuntary divination depends on all kinds of signs, phenomena and happenings that force themselves on one's attention such as aspects of the sun, the moon, planets, lightning and clouds, dreams, chirping of birds and falling of lizards on one's body and the like. The Babylonian and Assyrian priests attached to temples made very extensive collections of omens and portents, but the interpretations almost exclusively concerned general welfare (viz. crops, pestilence, war, famine, plenty &c.) and if an individual was referred to it was only the king. The theory underlying hepatoscopy was that the animal offered was assimilated to the deity and the soul of the animal entered into the inner being of the god. The seat of life and of the soul was supposed to be the liver. The chief parts of the liver were the right and left lower lobes. Among the Romans the heart and lungs also were examined, the right representing the favourable side and left the unfavourable side. The priests did not hesitate to announce to the king unfavourable results and applied their systems consistently. Astrology represented a comparatively more scientific view of the universe. The planets came to be regarded as gods even in the oldest astrological texts in which the five planets were identified with the chief gods of the Babylonian pantheon, viz. Jupiter with Marduk, Venus with Ishtar, Saturn with Ninib, Mercury with Nebo and Mars with Nergal, Jupiter (=Marduk p. 654) being always mentioned first. It was believed that through the planets and stars one can see gods at work. Prognostications varied according to the season or month of the year and the day. The Greek astrology offered a great contrast to the Babylonian, since in the former the individual came to be all in all. The Greek astronomers obtained from the Babylonians the names for the constellations of the eclipitic, which are used even now in Europe. Vide Jastrow's 'Religion of Babylon and Assyria' p. 370 for identification of Marduk, Ishtar and other Babylonian gods with planets and p. 371 for the fact that Ishtar (Venus) figures most prominently among the preserved astrological texts and 'Babylonian and Assyrian Religion' by S. H. Hooke pp. 24-30.

'O Agni! I establish thee on the best place of the earth (the *uttaravedi*), the place of worship and for libation, securing luckiness of day; may you shine opulently on the (river) Dṛṣadvatī, on the concourse of people, on the river Āpayā and on Sarasvatī (Ṛg. III. 23.4).[749].

There are several other passages in which a wish is expressed that the days would be auspicious or lucky for sacrificers etc. Vide Ṛg. IV. 4. 7, V. 60.5, VII. 11. 2, VII. 18. 21, I. 124.2 (May new dawns like the past ones shine for us with wealth and lucky days), X. 39.12.[749a]

It has already been seen above (note 726) that in Ṛgvedic times cows were driven (by way of dowry) to the bridegroom's house on Aghās (Maghās) and the bride was carried in a chariot to the bridegroom's house after the marriage on the Arjunī (or Phalgunī) nakṣatra. In accordance with this the nakṣatras on which marriage should be celebrated are enumerated in the Baud. gṛ. as Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśīrṣa, Uttarā-Phalgunī and Svātī.

It has already been shown above (on p. 506) how *Agnyādheya* (the setting up of the sacred fires) was to be performed on one of seven nakṣatras or in spring, summer and autumn according to the *varṇa* (class) of the performer (vide Kāṭhaka S. 8.1, Śat. Br. II. 1.2, Tai. Br. I. 1.2.6–7). But an exception was recognized in the case of one performing a Soma sacrifice. It was provided that whenever a man had a desire to perform a Soma sacrifice he might establish the sacred fires in any season and that would bring prosperity to him.[750].

In ancient Vedic passages no clear line of demarcation appears between what may be called natural astrology and

749. पोषं रयीणामरिष्टिं तनूनां स्वाद्मानं वाचः सुदिनत्वमह्नाम् ॥ ऋ. II. 21, 6; जातो जायते सुदिनत्वे अह्नां समर्य आ विदथे वर्धमानः । ऋ. III. 8. 5; नि त्वा दधे वर आ पृथिव्या इळायास्पदे सुदिनत्वे अह्नाम् । दृषद्वत्यां मानुष आपयायां सरस्वत्यां रेवदग्ने दिदीहि ॥ ऋ. III. 23. 4.

749 a. The Greeks held the waxing moon lucky and the waning moon unlucky. Hesiodic system (which is at least several centuries later than the Ṛgveda) furnishes the earliest evidence for lucky and unlucky days, though Hesiod admits that there was divergence of opinion on that point. Hesiod puts a special ban on the 5th day of the month, while the 7th day was sacred to Apollo in Greece and was held sacred in Babylon also. Vide L. R. arnell in 'Greece and Babylon' p. 294.

750. अथो खलु यदैवैनं यज्ञ उपनमेदथाग्निमादधीत । सैवास्यर्धिः । तै. ब्रा. . I. 1. 2. 8; सोमेन यजा इति वा अग्निमाधत्ते यस्मिन्नेव कस्मिंश्चर्तावादधीत सोमेन यक्ष्यमाणः। काठक 8 1.

individual astrology. For example, in the Tai. Br.[751] it is provided that people plough their fields on Anurādhā nakṣatra, of which Mitra is the presiding deity. The Pāraksaragṛhya prescribes in the same strain that a man should put the ploughshare (in his field) on an auspicious day or on Jyeṣṭhā nakṣatra of which Indra is the presiding deity (and rains are in the hands of Indra). On the other hand, the same Brāhmaṇa[752] (Taittirīya) provides that if a man desires that his daughter should be dear to her husband he should get her married when the moon is in Niṣṭyā (Svātī) nakṣatra and that if he does so his daughter becomes dear to her husband and never comes back to her father's house. The nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Viśākhā have been declared to be Devanakṣatras and whatever rites are performed on them are declared to have been performed on a holy day (*puṇyāha*). Even as early as the Atharvaveda[753] it appears to have been believed that a boy born on Jyeṣṭhā or on Vicṛt (i. e. Mūla nakṣatra) or on a day called tiger-like (on an evil or terrible nakṣatra) might himself die or bring about the death of his father or mother. The two verses may be translated as follows: '(the boy) is born on Jyeṣṭhaghnī (i. e. Jyeṣṭhā) or on Vicṛt which belongs to Yama; guard him against being uprooted; may (Agni) take him beyond all evil results in order that he may reach the long life of a hundred autumns. This valiant son was born on a tiger-like day and nakṣatra; may he not, while he grows, kill his father or his mother that gave him birth.'

Thus it appears that some nakṣatras were called *puṇya* (auspicious or holy) as in Tai. Br. I. 5. 2. 1 or III. 1, 2. 8, while

751. मैत्रेण कृषन्ते। तै. ब्रा. I. 8. 4. 2; पुण्याहे लाङ्गलयोजनं ज्येष्ठया वेन्द्रदैवत्यम्। पारस्करगृह्य II. 13.

752. यां कामयेत दुहितरं प्रिया स्यादिति तां निष्ट्यायां दद्यात् प्रियैव भवति नैव तु पुनरागच्छति। तै. ब्रा. I. 5. 2. This very passage is quoted in the आप. गृ. I. 3. 3-5 (यां कामयेत...गच्छतीति ब्राह्मणावेक्षो विधिः। इन्वकाशब्दो मृगशिरसि निष्ट्याशब्दः स्वातौ) and in भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 12.

753. ज्येष्ठघ्न्यां जातो विचृतोर्यमस्य मूलबर्हणात्परिपाह्येनम्। अत्येनं नेषद् दुरितानि विश्वा दीर्घायुत्वाय शतशारदाय॥ व्याघ्रेह्न्यजनिष्ट वीरो नक्षत्रजा जायमानः सुवीरः। स मा वधीत्पितरं वर्धमानो मा मातरं प्र मिनीज्जनित्रीम्॥ अथर्व० VI. 110. 2-3. शतशारदाय occurs in Ṛg. VII. 101.6 and X. 161. 2-3. विचृतोः is loc. dual of विचृत्. Vide उदगातां भगवती विचृतौ नाम तारके। विक्षेत्रियस्य मुञ्चतामधमं पाशमुत्तमम्॥ अथर्व० II. 8. 1; compare also III. 7.4 and VI. 121. 3. The Kauśikasūtra (46.25) prescribes अथर्व० (VI. 110) as a hymn to be repeated in a Śānti rite for one born on an evil nakṣatra.

some others (like Jyeṣṭhā, Mūla) were held to be pāpa (evil) nakṣatras.

From a passage in the [754] Bṛ. Up. it appears that certain nakṣatras were called male "if a man desires 'May I reach greatness' he should observe milk diet for twelve days beginning in the northward passage of the Sun, in the bright half of a month and on a favourable day he offers into the fire on a male nakṣatra &c."

From the above examples it will be apparent that prognostications were based in very early Vedic times on the nakṣatras either of birth or on nakṣatras deemed auspicious or inauspicious. Puṣya appears to have been regarded as a very auspicious nakṣatra long before Pāṇini, who mentions another name of it as 'Sidhya'. But in these early times it does not appear that any rules had been arrived at about the influence of planets (except perhaps of Jupiter in Puṣya) in certain nakṣatras or about horoscopes with planets in nakṣatras or *rāśis* (signs of the zodiac) or in certain 'houses'. In those days prognostications were confined mainly to nakṣatras, days and natural phenomena and bodily marks. For example, Pāṇini I. 4. 39 ('राधीक्ष्योर्यस्य विप्रश्नः') provides a rule for a diviner considering the good or bad luck of a person. The काशिका explains 'विविधः प्रश्नः विप्रश्नः। स कस्य भवति यस्य शुभाशुभं पृच्छ्यते। देवदत्ताय राध्यति ईक्षते वा नैमित्तिकः पृष्टः सन् देवदत्तस्य दैवं पर्यालोचयति।'. In पाणिनि IV. 3. 73 'अणृगयनादिभ्यः' it is provided that the affix अण् (and not ठक्) is applied in the sense of 'तत्र भवः' or 'तस्य व्याख्यानः' to the words in the ऋगयनगण, which contains among others the words अङ्गविद्या, उत्पात and निमित्त (i. e. नैमित्तिक and औत्पातिक would mean 'one who expounds the future consequences indicated by उत्पात i. e. earthquake &c. and निमित्त throbbing &c.). Under पाणिनि III. 2.53 the काशिका gives the examples जायाघ्नस्तिलकालकः, पतिघ्नी पाणिरेखा (line on the palm).

We find from certain verses of the Ṛgveda that the cries of such birds as kapiñjala were deemed even in those ancient times

754. स यः कामयेत महत्प्राप्नुयामित्युदगयने आपूर्यमाणपक्षस्य पुण्याहे द्वादशाहमुपसद्व्रती भूत्वा''' पुंसा नक्षत्रेण मन्थं संनीय जुहोति। बृह. उ. VI. 3.1; compare a similar passage in छा. उ. V. 2. 4–9 and कौषी. उ. II. 3. In later times there was some difference of opinion as to male nakṣtras: मातृदत्त on हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य I. 1.5 says 'अश्वयुक् पुनर्वसू तिष्यो हस्तः शतभिषक् प्रोष्ठपदा इति पुंनामधेयानि नक्षत्राणि,' while स्मृतिच. I. p. 17 quotes from रत्नकोश 'हस्तो मूलं श्रवणः पुनर्वसुर्मृगशिरास्तथा पुष्यः। पुंसंज्ञितेषु कार्येषु ह्येतानि शुभानि धिष्ण्यानि॥'

to indicate coming events, auspicious or otherwise; [755] '*(the bird) crying again and again and voicing (indicating) coming event sends forth his speech as an oarsman propels a boat;* O bird! may you be auspicious to us and may no unfavourable sign reach you from any quarter; O bird! may you that are auspicious and whose cry forebodes good cry to the south of (our) houses; may no thief master us nor may any one declare that we may meet danger.' Br. S, 98. 14 provides that birds indicate to a person going on a journey the evil results of actions, good or evil, done by him in former lives. The Yoga-yātrā of Varāhamihira (chap. 14) and Adbhutasāgara pp. 569–582 deal at length with *śakuna* (prognostications from the sight, flight or cries of birds and other animals). Yogayātrā (14. 2 and 26) provides that certain birds and animals when they are to the right or *southern* side of a man starting on a journey indicate auspicious results and that when a cāṣa bird with something in its mouth flies to the right side of a man that is an indication of welfare.

The result of the dependence on ideas of lucky and unlucky days and nakṣatras was that some people began to make observations and deduce conclusions and a lore called 'nakṣatra-vidyā' arose. When Nārada approached the great teacher Sanatkumāra for knowledge, the latter questioned him as to what he already knew and then Nārada enumerated a long list of lores (including [756] the four Vedas, Itihāsa-purāṇa), one of which is 'nakṣatravidyā' ('the science of nakṣatras' i. e. astronomy and astrology). It can be easily imagined how credulous people in ancient times as even in these days consulted those who professed to know what the stars foretold and were often deceived or felt frustrated. Hence arose even in early times a prejudice against star-gazers, astrologers and the

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755. कनिक्रदज्जनुषं प्रब्रुवाण इयर्ति वाचमरितेव नावम्। सुमङ्गलश्च शकुने भवासि मा त्वा काचिदभिभा विश्व्याविदत्॥ अव क्रन्द दक्षिणतो गृहाणां सुमङ्गलो भद्रवादी शकुन्ते। मा नः स्तेन ईशत माघशंसो बृहद्वदेम विदथे सुवीराः॥ ऋ. II. 42. 1 and 3. The first verse is explained in the निरुक्त IX. 4. The आश्व. गृ. III. 10. 9 prescribes that one on hearing the unpleasant cries of birds should recite inaudibly the two hymns Ṛg. II. 42 and 43. The word अभिभा occurs only once in the ऋग्वेद; compare 'मो नो विददभिभा मो अशस्तिर्मा नो विदद् वृजिना द्वेष्या या।' अथर्व० I. 20. 1, V. 3.6.

756. स होवाचर्ग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थमितिहासपुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदं ··· नक्षत्रविद्यां सर्पदेवजनविद्यामेतद्भगवोऽध्येमि। छा. उ. VII. 1. 2; also छा. उ. VII. 7. 1.

like. One of the earliest references to this prejudice against star-gazers in Sanskrit literature is found in the Tai. Br. III. 4. 4 and Vāj. S. 30. 10 and 20, where the[757] 'nakṣatradarśa' (star-gazer) is made over as a victim to *prajñāna* and tha 'gaṇaka' (calculator of the movements of stars and planets) is consigned to aquatic animals along with the headman of the village. Among the long list of brāhmaṇas that should not be invited for religious rites in honour of gods or in *śrāddhas*, Manu (III. 162) includes one who maintains himself by the practice of astrology (nakṣatrair-yaśca jīvati) and in (VI. 50) Manu prohibits ascetics from desiring to secure alms by foretelling the results of portents (like earth-quakes) or of bodily[758] movements (such as the throbbing of the eye or arm) or by nakṣatravidyā (astrology) or *aṅgavidyā* (palmistry) or by casuistry or by telling what the śāstra ordains on a (disputed) point. The ancient sūtras of Hārīta and of Śaṅkhalikhita declare that a *nakṣatrajīvin* (one who lives by practising astrology) and a 'nakṣatrādeśavṛtti' (who makes his livelihood by conveying the message of nakṣatras) respectively are unfit to sit in a row with other brāhmaṇas (q. by Kṛtyakalpataru on śrāddha p. 88). Similarly, Sumantu (in a prose passage q. on śrāddha by Kṛtyakalpataru p. 91) states the same about a 'mūlyasāṁvatsarika' (who practises astrology for money). The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra (chap. 82. 7) includes those who maintain themselves by astrology (nakṣatrajīvinaḥ) among those who are not to be invited for śrāddha rites. Similarly, the Tevijjasutta (S. B. E. vol. XI. pp. 196–197) and Mahāśīla in Dīghanikāya (I. p. 68) condemn for Buddhist monks maintenance by such low arts as guessing at the length of a man's life or by foretelling future events (such as eclipses, falling meteors, victory and defeat &c.). But the mere study of constellations is allowed by Buddha (in S. B. E. vol. XX. pp. 292–294). Among obstacles to gain[759] Kauṭilya enumerates

757. प्रज्ञानाय नक्षत्रदर्शमाशिक्षायै प्रश्निनं । वाज. सं. 30. 10; यादसे शाबल्यां ग्रामण्यं गणकमभिक्रोशकम् &c. । वाज. सं. 30. 20. In the Puruṣamedha the star-gazer is assigned to 'prajñāna' (in order that he may collect thorough knowledge) and the gaṇaka to aquatic animals (like sharks or crocodiles),

758. न चोत्पातनिमित्ताभ्यां न नक्षत्राङ्गविद्यया । नानुशासनवादाभ्यां भिक्षां लिप्सेत कर्हिचित् ॥ मनु VI. 50 = वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र X. 21. In the 'ṛgayanādigaṇa (पा. IV. 3.73) the काशिका enumerates अङ्गविद्या.

759. लाभाविघ्नः कामः क्रोधः साध्वसं...मङ्गलतिथिनक्षत्रेष्टि(ष्ट?)त्वमिति । नक्षत्रमतिपृच्छन्तं बालमर्थोऽतिवर्तते । अर्थो ह्यर्थस्य नक्षत्रं किं करिष्यन्ति तारकाः ॥ साधनाः प्राप्नुवन्त्यर्थान् नरा यत्नशतैरपि । अर्थैरर्थाः प्रबध्यन्ते गजाः प्रतिगजैरिव ॥ अर्थशास्त्र, 9th अधिकरण, 4th chapter p. 351 (Sham shastri's ed. of 1919).

many such matters as passion of love, anger, timidity and desire to find out an auspicious tithi and nakṣatra' and winds up with two fine verses characteristic of the great genius that placed Candragupta Maurya on the throne of Magadha: 'The desired object (or wealth) eludes that childish man that is excessively in search of what the stars portend: for the desired object is (itself) the star that governs (success) in securing it; what will stars do? Men striving (to attain their ends) will secure their objects after hundreds of efforts; wealth is caught by wealth just as elephants are bound by other elephants (opposed to them).' From the above it is quite clear that several centuries before Christ an astrologer (who maintained himself on money acquired by the practice of astrology) was very much condemned.

What Kauṭilya regards as reprehensible is extreme reliance on and pursuit of nakṣatra astrology, but it is not to be supposed that he ignored prognostications altogether. About the king's *purohita* (priest) he lays down the following[760] 'the king should appoint as priest a person whose family and character are highly spoken of, who has well studied the Veda together with the six *aṅgas*, the divine and other portents and the science of the government of people and who can prevent divine and human calamities by means contained in the Atharvaveda, the king should follow him as a pupil does his teacher or a son his father or a servant his master.' Yāj. (I. 313), who is later than Kauṭilya by some centuries, also lays down in almost identical words that 'the king should appoint as *purohita* one who is proficient in astrology, endowed with all requirements declared in śāstras, and is proficient in the science of government and the propitiatory and magic rites of the Atharvaveda'.

Another set of texts indicates another stage in the development of astrology based on nakṣatras, which seems to have been somewhat on the lines of the later horoscopic system of 'houses'. Traces of it exist though they are not very ancient. The Vaikhānasasmārta[761] sūtra (IV. 14) refers to nakṣatras called Janma, Karma, Sāṅghātika, Sāmudayika and Vaināśika and these terms are explained in the Yogayātrā of Varāha and in the

760. पुरोहितमुदितोदितकुलशीलं षडङ्गे वेदे दैवे निमित्ते दण्डनीत्यां चाभिविनीतमापदां दैवमानुषीणामथर्वभिरुपायैश्च प्रतिकर्तारं कुर्वीत । तमाचार्यं शिष्यः पितरं पुत्रो भृत्यः स्वामिनमिव चानुवर्तेत । अर्थशास्त्र I. 9. pp. 15-16; compare याज्ञ. स्मृति I. 313 'पुरोहितं प्रकुर्वीत दैवज्ञमुदितोदितम् । दण्डनीत्यां च कुशलमथर्वाङ्गिरसे तथा ॥'

761. The date of the Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra is a difficult problem, but it lies probably between 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.

Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa.[762] The Yogayātrā remarks[763] 'the nakṣatra on which a man is born is called *ādya* (first), the tenth from it (from *ādya*) is called *karma*, the 16th nakṣatra from the ādya is called 'sāṅghātika' (pertaining to a group or a collection of human beings), the 18th (from ādya) is called Samudāya (collection) and the 23rd (from ādya) is called Vaināśika (lit. pertaining to death or destruction), the 25th (from ādya) is called *mānasa* (pertaining to the mind); in this way all persons are concerned with six nakṣatras (1st, 10th, 16th, 18th, 23rd and 25th); they say that the king is concerned with nine nakṣatras, the three additional ones being those connected with his *jāti* (caste), his country and with the nakṣatra on the day of his coronation. The Yogayātrā and Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 78. 14-16) further provide 'when the nakṣatra of one's birth is affected by evil (star or aspect) the results are the appearance of disease, loss of money, and disputes; if the nakṣatra called *karma* is affected then one's undertakings do not succeed; if the Sāṅghātika (16th) is affected then there is treachery; when the Sāmudayika (18th) is affected there is loss of accumulated wealth; when the Vaināśika (23rd) is affected, one's desired objects perish; when Mānasa (25th) is affected, there is anxiety and unhappiness. The Nārada-purāṇa,[763a] after defining the above, remarks that one should not commence any auspicious act on these. When the (six) nakṣatras are not affected (by evil stars or aspects) a person is healthy, enjoys happiness, his body is well-nourished and he is endowed with wealth; but if the six nakṣatras are affected he

762. जन्मकर्मसाङ्घातिकसामुदायिकवैनाशिकर्क्षसंस्थेषु क्रियाकालविरुद्धेषु ग्रहेष्वेतच्छुभर्क्षेष्वारभेत । एतेन नवग्रहजा दुःखा व्याधयः शान्तिं यान्ति अन्यथा महत्तरो दोषो भवति । वैखानस-स्मार्तसूत्र IV. 14. (ed. by Caland).

763. जन्मर्क्षमाद्यं दशमं तु कर्म साङ्घातिकं षोडशमृक्षमाद्यात् । अष्टादशं स्यात् समुदायसंज्ञं वैनाशिकं विंशतितस्तृतीयम् ॥ यत्पञ्चविंशं खलु मानसं तत् षडृक्षक एवं पुरुषस्तु सर्वः । राज्ञो नवर्क्षाणि वदन्ति जाति-देशाभिषेकैः सहितानि तानि ॥ राज्ञोऽभिषेकर्क्षमुशन्ति मिश्रं साधारणे द्वे सह षड्भिराद्यैः ॥ किं त्वत्र दोषाश्च गुणाश्च सर्वे प्रधानमेकं पुरुषं भजन्ते ॥ रोगाभ्यागमवित्तनाशकलहाः संपीडिते जन्मभे । सिद्धिं कर्म न याति कर्मणि हते भेदस्तु साङ्घातिके । द्रव्यस्योपचितस्य सामुदायिके संपीडिते संक्षयो वैनाशे च भवन्ति कार्यविपदश्चिन्तासुखं मानसे ॥ निरुपद्रुतभे निरामयः सुखभाक् पुष्टतनुर्धनान्वितः । षडुपद्रुतभो विनश्यति त्रिभिरन्यैश्च सहावनीश्वरः । योगयात्रा IX. 1-3 and 10. These occur in राजमार्तण्ड folio 50a verses 780-81, 84, 85. बृहद्योगयात्रा IV. 14-15 (MS. in Bhau Daji Collection) are similar to योगयात्रा IX. 1-2.

763 a. जन्मभाद्दशमं कर्म सङ्घातर्क्षं तु षोडशम् । अष्टादश समुदयं त्रयोविंशं विनाशनम् । मानसं पंचविंशर्क्षं नाचरेत् शुभमेषु तु । नारदीय I. 56. 358-359.

perishes and the king also (meets the same fate) if the six along with the extra three are affected. When[764] the nakṣatra on which a king was crowned is affected by evil planets or aspects, one should predict loss of the kingdom, if the nakṣatra of the country is affected trouble to the country and capital is indicated and if the nakṣatra of the king's caste is affected then one should predict king's illness. The nakṣatras according to the caste of the king are as follows[765]: the three Pūrvas (Phalgunī, Purvāṣāḍhā and Purvābhādrapadā) and Kṛttikā are nakṣatras of the king of the brāhmaṇa class; the three Uttarās (Uttarā Phalgunī, Uttarāṣāḍhā and Uttarābhādrapadā) and Puṣya are nakṣatras for a king of the kṣatriya caste; Revatī, Anurādhā, Maghā and Rohiṇī, of agricultural class; Punarvasu, Hasta, Abhijit and Aśvinī are nakṣatras of the *vaṇik* (trader) class. The countries governed by the nakṣatras are set out in chap. 14 of the Bṛhat-saṁhitā. Herein Varāha differs from Ptolemy in two respects: (1) Varāha does not mention countries governed by rāśis, but countries governed by nakṣatras; (2) Varāha confines himself to India, while Ptolemy in his Tetrabiblos (II. 3 pp. 157–159, Loeb Classical Library) deals with all countries then known. This is an important circumstance against the theory that Varāha's astrology is borrowed from Ptolemy or later Greek writers. If he had known Ptolemy's work he could have easily followed him even as to countries outside India. The whole of India is divided into nine parts, the Madhyadeśa and the regions in the eight quarters from the East to the North-east, each part being under groups of three nakṣatras from Kṛttikā onwards. Vide also Viṣṇudharmottara I. 86. 1–9. When the group of three nakṣatras in each of nine divisions is affected by the Sun, Mars or Saturn, the countries falling under any of the three nakṣatras of the group suffer calamities. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (chap. 58. 10–54 in B. I. edition, chap. 55 in Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition) also specifies the countries in the nine groups, but the names differ to some extent. There is some divergence

764. पीडिते चाभिषेकर्क्षे राज्यभ्रंशं विनिर्दिशेत्। देशर्क्षे पीडिते पीडां देशस्य च पुरस्य च॥ पीडिते जातिनक्षत्रे राज्ञो व्याधिं विनिर्दिशेत्। विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 87. 17–18.

765. The बृहत्संहिता (15. 28-30 = योगयात्रा IX. 5–7) specifies the nakṣatras of brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, agriculturists, traders &c. Two may be quoted here; पूर्वात्रयं सानलमग्रजानां राज्ञां तु पुष्येण सहोत्तराणि। सपौष्णमैत्रं पितृदैवतं च प्रजापतेर्भं च कृषीवलानाम्॥ आदित्यहस्ताभिजिदाश्विनानि वणिग्जनानां प्रवदन्ति भानि। मूलत्रिनेत्रानिलवारुणानि भान्युग्रजातेः प्रभविष्णुतायाः॥; compare विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण I. 87. 11–14 for verses similar to those in योगयात्रा. Vide also अद्भुतसागर p. 464 which quotes बृहत्संहिता verses on जन्मर्क्ष and the other नक्षत्र s.

about the nomenclature also. According to Parāśara and the Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 87. 7) the 4th nakṣatra from the nakṣatra of birth is called Mānasa. A nakṣatra[766] is said to be affected (*upahata*) when the Sun or Saturn occupies it or when Mars is retrograde in it or occults it or an eclipse (of the Sun or Moon) occurs in it or a meteor strikes it or when the moon continuously affects it (by occulting or occupying its middle or goes to the southern part of it). The Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 89. 1–13), Yogayātrā IX. 13–18, and Parāśara (quoted by the Adbhutasāgara pp. 271–274) prescribe certain *śānti* rites for averting the evil effects of the above noted nine nakṣatras being affected.[767]

It should be noted that in the astrology depending on twelve *rāśis* and twelve *bhāvas* (places or houses) *karma* is the name given to the 10th house from the first (just as in the case of nakṣatra astrology) and mṛtyu (i. e. vināśa) is the name of the 8th *bhāva*.

The Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa contain numerous passages where the planets in relation to certain nakṣatras are stated to indicate misfortunes to people in general, to warring armies and to individuals. A few examples may be cited by way of illustration. When in the sanguinary battle between Rāvaṇa and Rāma, the former seemed to be getting the better of Rāma, the Rāmāyaṇa states[768] 'Mercury stood covering the Rohiṇī nakṣatra which is presided over by Prajāpati and which is the favourite of the moon and thereby indicated evil fortune to people'. Similarly, it is said 'Mars stood covering the nakṣatra Viśākhā in the sky, which is presided over by Indra and Agni and which is the nakṣatra of the Kosalas'. In the Mahābhārata numerous statements are made about the position of the planets, the nakṣatras and tithis, which it is almost

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766. रविरविसुतभोगमागतं क्षितिसुतभेदनवक्रदूषितम्। ग्रहणगतमथोल्कया हतं नियतसुधाकरपीडितं च यत् ॥ तदुपहतमिति प्रचक्षते प्रकृतिविपर्ययर्यातमेव वा ॥ योगयात्रा IX. 8–9 = बृहत्संहिता 15. 31–32.

767. In the Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa the Vidūṣaka says to the king in the 4th Act 'astrologers declare that your nakṣatra is afflicted and (therefore) you should release all persons confined in jails '.

768. प्राजापत्यं च नक्षत्रं रोहिणीं शशिनः प्रियाम्। समाक्रम्य बुधस्तस्थौ प्रजानामशुभावहः ॥ कोसलानां च नक्षत्रं व्यक्तमिन्द्राग्निदैवतम् । आक्रम्याङ्गारकस्तस्थौ विशाखामपि चाम्बरे ॥ रामायण, युद्धकाण्ड 103. 30 and 33. The बालकाण्ड (5. 5–6) states that the country of Kosala was situated on the Sarayū and Ayodhyā was its capital. रघु, the ancestor of राम, is called कोसलेश्वर in रघुवंश IV. 70; vide also रघुवंश VII. 34. Acc. to बृहत्संहिता 14. 8–10, कोशल is the first country in the south-east, of which आश्लेषा, मघा and पूर्वा are presiding नक्षत्र.

impossible to reconcile. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 903–923 for consideration of the astronomical data in the Mahābhārata. Here we are concerned only with the beliefs about certain omens and portents. In the Bhīṣma-parva we read[769] 'a white celestial body stands traversing Citrā nakṣatra; one sees therein specially the destruction of the Kurus; a very frightful comet stands covering Puṣya-nakṣatra; this great *graha* will bring about terrible evil to both armies. A white blazing *graha* resembling fire emitting smoke stands covering the bright Jyeṣṭhā-nakṣatra whose presiding deity is Indra; a cruel comet standing between Citrā and Svātī afflicts Rohiṇī and the Sun and the Moon'.

There are several statements about Mars that are more or less irreconcilable.[770] For example, the Udyogaparva says 'Mars having been retrograde in Jyeṣṭhā seeks (to reach or afflict?) Anurādhā presided over by Mitra, as if bringing death'; while Bhīṣma-parva remarks 'Mars is retrogade in Maghā and Jupiter is in Śravaṇa and Saturn afflicts the nakṣatra presided over by Bhaga (i. e. Purvā Phalgunī). About Saturn several[771] statements are made 'a refulgent and malignant planet, Saturn, afflicts the nakṣatra (ruled over by Prajāpati i. e. Rohiṇī) and will afflict people more'; 'Saturn stands afflicting Rohiṇī'; 'Jupiter and Saturn are near Viśākhā'.

One very remarkable feature of the Mahābhārata passages is that while they put forward dozens of times the positions of the Sun, the Moon and planets in reference to nakṣatras, not a single passage gives the position of the planets in relation to *rāśis*, the signs of the Zodiac, or week–days (such as Tuesday, Sunday &c.).

The Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa furnishes a somewhat different scheme of nakṣatra astrology. It says:[772] the 10th nakṣatra from

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769. श्वेतो ग्रहस्तथा चित्रां समतिक्रम्य तिष्ठति। अभावं हि विशेषेण कुरूणां तत्र पश्यति॥ धूमकेतुर्महाघोरः पुष्यं चाक्रम्य तिष्ठति। सेनयोरशिवं घोरं करिष्यति महाग्रहः॥ ...श्वेतो ग्रहः प्रज्वलितः सधूम इव पावकः। ऐन्द्रं तेजस्वि नक्षत्रं ज्येष्ठामाक्रम्य तिष्ठति॥ रोहिणीं पीडयत्येव-मुभौ च शशिभास्करौ॥ भीष्मपर्व 3. 12, 13, 16, 17.

770. कृत्वा चाङ्गारको वक्रं ज्येष्ठायां मधुसूदन। अनुराधां प्रार्थयते मैत्रं सङ्गमयन्निव॥ उद्योगपर्व 143. 9; मघास्वङ्गारको वक्रः श्रवणे च बृहस्पतिः। भगं नक्षत्रमाक्रम्य सूर्यपुत्रेण पीड्यते॥ भीष्म 3. 14.

771. प्राजापत्यं हि नक्षत्रं ग्रहस्तीक्ष्णो महाद्युतिः। शनैश्चरः पीडयति पीडयन् प्राणिनोऽधिकम्॥ उद्योगपर्व 143. 8; रोहिणीं पीडयन्नेष स्थितो राजन् शनैश्चरः। भीष्म 2. 32; संवत्सरस्थायिनौ च ग्रहौ प्रज्वलितावुभौ। विशाखायाः समीपस्थौ बृहस्पतिशनैश्चरौ॥ भीष्म 3. 27.

772. जन्मसम्पद्विपक्षेभ्यः (द्विपत्क्षेम्यः?) प्रत्वरः साधकस्तथा॥ नैधनो मित्रवर्गश्च परमो मैत्र एव तु॥ आथर्वणज्योतिष, नक्षत्र-प्रकरण, verse 4; it appears that these very names are

(*Continued on next page*)

the nakṣatra of a man's birth is called karma, the 19th (from janma-nakṣatra) is called garbhādhānaka (nakṣatra of conception), the 2nd, 11th and 20th constitute the group called *sampatkara* (bringing about prosperity), the 3rd, 12th and 21st (from janmanakṣatra) constitute the group of *vipatkara* (bringing about ill-luck or distress), the 4th, 13th and 22nd are called *kṣemya* (causing prosperity), the 5th, 14th and 23rd are called '*pratvara* (*pratyari*?)', 6th, 15th and 24th constitute (the group called) *sādhaka* (that accomplish), the 7th, 16th and 25th are called *naidhana* (relating to death), the 8th, 17th and 26th are *maitra* (friendly), the 9th, 18th and 27th constitute a highly friendly group. These are nine groups (each made up of three nakṣatras from among 27 nakṣatras and each one in each group being separated by the number 9 from the next in the same group). These names make a further approach to the scheme of twelve *bhāvas*[773] viz. *janma* (which corresponds in name and import to *tanu* or *lagna*), *sampat* (corresponds to the 2nd bhāva called *dhana*), *karma* (is same as 10th bhāva), *naidhana* (corresponds to 8th bhāva called vināśa or mṛtyu), *maitra* (corresponds to the 4th bhāva called *suhṛt*), *kṣemya* (corresponds to the name of the 11th bhāva called āya or lābha). The Ātharvaṇa-Jyotiṣa then provides at some length what should be done or not done on these nine groups and their constituents. The above mentioned words (vipatkara, kṣemya &c.) occur also in Bṛhad-yogayātrā

(Continued from last page)

mentioned in स्वरोदय quoted by शुद्धिकौमुदी p.203 'जन्मसम्पाद्विपत्क्षेम प्रत्यरिः साधको वधः। मैत्रं परममैत्रं च जन्मादीनि पुनः पुनः॥ प्रत्वरः appears to be a misreading for प्रत्यरिः the आथर्वणज्योतिष (10. 1-11) provides what should be undertaken or avoided on the नक्षत्रs called जन्म, आधान, नैधन &c. The योगयात्रा II. 34 (MS in Bhau Daji Collection Bombay Asiatic Society, II. 35 in Mr. Jagadish Lal's Edition) provides that the king should get himself shaved on every fifth day but he should avoid the nakṣatra of birth and the third, fifth and seventh nakṣatra from that of birth. राज्ञः कार्यं पञ्चमे पञ्चमेह्नि क्षौरर्क्षे वा श्मश्रु तस्योदये वा। त्यक्त्वा ताराः सप्तपञ्चत्रिपूर्वा यात्राकाले नैव कार्यं न युद्धे॥ योगयात्रा II. 34. उत्पल comments 'सप्तमी तारा नैधनः (or ना?), पञ्चमी प्रत्यहरा (?) तृतीया विपत्करा पूर्वा प्रथमा जन्मतारा। एतास्तारास्त्यक्त्वा विहाय अन्यासु सम्पत्करक्षेमसाधकमैत्रातिमैत्रासु &c. प्रत्यहरा is probably प्रत्यरि. In मू. चि IV. 12 is जन्माख्यसम्पद्विपदः क्षेमप्रत्यरि साधकाः। वधमैत्रातिमैत्राः स्युस्तारा नामसदृक्फलाः॥

773. The twelve names of the bhāvas in a horoscope are enumerated in लघुजातक I. 15 as follows: तनु-धन-सहज-सुहृत्-सुत-रिपु-जाया-मृत्यु-धर्म-कर्मायाः। व्यय इति लग्नाद्भावाश्चतुरस्राख्येऽष्टमं चतुर्थं॥

(folio 5 b, IV. 17), in Viṣṇudharmottara II. 166 at end and in the Tantrika work Śāradātilaka[774].

It should be noted that the Ātharvaṇa-Jyotiṣa gives at least five names that are the same as the corresponding bhāvas in extant *Jātaka* works. It is difficult to state the date when the extant Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa might have been composed. It mentions week-days but does not enumerate the twelve zodiacal signs, it refers to the doctrine of Bhṛgu (9. 1.). Verses 1–4 of Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa (chapter 13) are the same as Manu III. 46–49; similarly, Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa 12. 8–9 are almost the same as Manu IV. 41–42. It is quite possible that the present text is a recast of an older work. In any case the present text of the Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa cannot be placed earlier than the 2nd or 1st century B.C. and may be a little later still. But it appears that the present Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa only collects together the ideas then current and therefore the five names (janma, sampat, naidhana, mitra and karma) could very well have been current centuries before the present Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa text. Similarly, it is difficult to assign an exact date to the Viṣṇu-dharmottara-purāṇa. It is in the nature of an encyclopaedia of the then knowledge of several lores and its present text may be assigned to some period between the 4th and sixth century A. D.

From the passage of the Bṛhadāraṇyka Upaniṣad (in note 754) it would be seen how auspicious times were prescribed for rites to be performed by an individual. The Brāhmaṇas and Kalpasūtras prescribed the auspicious nakṣatras and seasons for solemn Vedic sacrifices. The *gṛhya* and *dharma* sūtras prescribed for domestic rites auspicious times, which were either the same or similar to those prescribed in the Brāhmaṇas, Bṛ. Up. and the Kalpasūtras. A few examples may be cited here. The Āśvalāyana (I. 13. 1), Āpastamba (VI. 14. 9), Baudhāyana (I. 10. 1) and Pāraskara (I. 14) and other gṛhyasūtras provide that the rite of *Puṁsavana* (that would produce male issue) was to be performed in the third month after conception on Tiṣya (Puṣya) nakṣatra or on a day on which the moon would be in

774. यस्मिन्नक्षत्रे पुरुषस्य जन्म तन्नक्षत्रं तस्मान्नक्षत्राच्च दशमं ततः एकोनविंशं जन्मनक्षत्रमिति विन्द्यात्। तत्र सम्पत्करक्षेमसाधकमैत्रातिमैत्रेषु सर्वाणि कर्माणि कुर्यात्। दशमर्क्षे च। विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 166 at end (in prose); जन्मभे(जन्मभ ?)कर्माधानोद्वितस्तु सम्पद्विपत्करक्षेमाः। प्रत्यरिसाधकवैनाशिकाश्च मित्रातिमित्रे च॥ बृहद्योगयात्रा folio 5b, IV. 17; जन्मसम्पद्विपत्क्षेम प्रत्यरिः साधको वधः। मित्रं परममित्रं च जन्मादीनि पुनः पुनः॥ शारदा॰ II. 125–126.

a male nakṣatra.[774a] The Bhāradvājagṛhya expressly mentions Tiṣya, Hasta, Anurādhā, Uttarā Bhādrapadā as the proper nakṣatras for puṁsavana. As regards *caula* (tonsure) Āpastamba-gṛhya (VI. 16. 3) prescribes that it should be performed in the third year after birth on Punarvasu nakṣatra. The name of the nakṣatra may be noted, which literally means 'fresh wealth or new growth.' The Kauśika-sūtra mentions 'pāpanakṣatra' (in 46. 25) and puṁnakṣatra (lucky nakṣatra) in 35. 2. There are varying provisions about marriage. The Āp. gṛ. says that all seasons are proper for marriage, excepting the two months of Śiśira (viz. Māgha and Phālguna) and excepting the last month (Āṣāḍha) of summer, and all nakṣatras declared to be auspicious.[775] The sūtra also quotes an ancient gāthā stating that persons for choosing a girl should be sent out on Invakās (i e. Mṛgaśīrṣa) and then they are greeted with success. As regards marriage the Gobhila-gṛhya provides a simple rule that it should be performed on an auspicious (*puṇya*) nakṣatra, while the Pāraskara[776] is more elaborate viz. one should take a maiden's hand in marriage in the northward passage of the sun, in the fortnight of the increasing moon, on an auspicious day and on Uttarā Phalgunī, Hasta, Citrā, Uttarāṣāḍhā, Śravaṇa, Dhaniṣṭhā, Uttarā-bhādrapadā, Revatī, Aśvinī, Svātī, Mṛgaśiras and Rohiṇī nakṣatras. The Baudhāyana-gṛhya[777] declares: all months are proper for marriage; some (sages) say that the months of Āṣāḍha, Māgha and Phālguna are to be avoided; the nakṣatras for marriage are Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśīrṣa, Uttarā-Phalgunī and Svātī; while for other auspicious rites the nakṣatras are

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774 a. तृतीये गर्भमासे तिष्येणोपोषितायाः ··· । आश्व. गृ. I. 13. 1; अथ पुंसवनं ··· मासे द्वितीये तृतीये वा यदहः पुंसा नक्षत्रेण चन्द्रमा युज्येत तदहरुपवास्य० ··· । पारस्करगृह्य I. 14: अथ पुंसवनं तृतीये मासि चतुर्थाद्वो वा तिष्येण वा हस्तेन वा अनुराधैर्वोत्तरैर्वा प्रौष्ठपदैः। भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 21. Vide note 754 for male nakṣatras.

775. सर्व ऋतवो विवाहस्य शैशिरौ मासौ परिहाप्योत्तमं च नैदाघम्। सर्वाणि पुण्योक्तानि नक्षत्राणि। ···इन्वकाभिः प्रसुज्यन्ते ते वराः प्रतिनन्दिताः। आप. गृ. I. 2. 12–13 and 16. The last is a gāthā quoted by the sūtrakāra as said by the commentator Haradatta. इन्वकाs are the stars resembling an arrow with which Rudra pierced the running Mṛga in the heavens. In the legend the arrow succeeded in piercing the Mṛga.

776. पुण्ये नक्षत्रे दारान् कुर्वीत। गोभिलीयगृह्य II. 1. 1.; उदगयन आपूर्यमाणपक्षे पुण्याहे कुमार्याः पाणिं गृह्णीयात् त्रिषु त्रिषूत्तरादिषु स्वातौ मृगशिरसि रोहिण्यां वा। पारस्करगृह्य I 4.

777. सर्वे मासा विवाहस्य। शुचितपस्तपस्यवर्जमित्येके। रोहिणी मृगशीर्षमुत्तरे फल्गुनी स्वातीति विवाहस्य नक्षत्राणि। पुनर्वसू तिष्यो हस्तः श्रोणा रेवतीत्यन्येषां भूतिकर्मणाम्। बौ. गृ. I. 1. 18–22.

Punarvasu, Tiṣya, Hasta, Śroṇā (Śravaṇa) and Revatī. The Āśvalāyana-gṛhya generalises the auspicious times for several important *saṁskāras* as follows:[778] 'the rites for *caula, upanayana, godāna* and marriage are to be performed in the northward passage of the sun, in the fortnight of the waxing moon and on an auspicious nakṣatra; some (sages) hold that marriage may be performed at all times'. Āśv. further provides that the maiden after marriage was to observe silence and to begin speaking after seeing the Polestar, Arundhatī and the constellation of the Seven Sages. This generalisation is carried further by the Pūrvamīmāṁsā-sūtra which provides[779] 'all rites in honour of the gods are to be performed in the northward passage of the sun, on a day in the bright half of the month and on an auspicious day'.

It will be seen clearly from the above discussion that an auspicious nakṣatra was the *sine qua non* in almost all Vedic rites and also in ordinary domestic rites in the times of the Brāhmaṇas and sūtras (several centuries before the Christian era), the tithi was rarely mentioned, the week-day was not mentioned nor the name of any *rāśi* (zodiacal sign) nor is there any reference to the planets Jupiter and Venus in most sūtras even when prescribing proper times for upanayana or marriage.

This requirement of finding out an auspicious day or nakṣatra for the celebration of a marriage or other domestic rite or for engaging in any undertaking was said in medieval Sanskrit works to be a search for an auspicious *muhūrta*. It is therefore necessary to hold a discussion on the meaning and history of the word *muhūrta*.

778. उदगयन आपूर्यमाणपक्षे कल्याणे नक्षत्रे चौलकर्मोपनयनगोदानविवाहाः। सार्वकालमेके विवाहम्। आश्व. गृ. I. 4. 1-2. गोदान is the same as Keśānta and was performed in the 16th year for a brāhmaṇa, in 22nd year for a kṣatriya and 24th year for a vaiśya (Manu II. 65, Yāj. I. 36); केशान्तः पुनर्गोदानाख्यं कर्म गर्भादारभ्य षोडशे वर्षे ब्राह्मणस्य कार्यम्' मिता on या. I. 36; vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 402-405 for details.

779. उदगयनपूर्वपक्षाहःपुण्याहेषु दैवानि स्मृतिरूपान्यार्थदर्शनात्। पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र VI. 8. 23. The आप गृ. I. 1. 1-2 begins 'अथ कर्माण्याचाराद्यानि गृह्यन्ते। उदगयनपूर्वपक्षाहःपुण्याहेषु कार्याणि।'. It would be noted that आप. गृ. and पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र use the same words for the auspicious times for rites

CHAPTER XVI

Muhūrta

The word 'muhūrta' occurs twice in the Rg. In the dialogue between the rivers and sage Viśvāmitra that had come to the confluence of the Śutudrī (modern Sutlaj) and the Vipāś (modern Beas) occurs the following[780] 'for the sake of my words (of your praise) that will be followed by the offering of *soma* may you, that follow the established order (of nature), stop from[781] flowing for a short while'. In another place the Ṛgveda says 'the opulent Indra, employing many tricks, often assumes different forms from off his own body, since he, being invoked by mantras addressed to him and upholder of the cosmic order and drinking soma at (usual and even) unusual times, comes thrice from heaven for a short time.' In both these passages 'muhūrta' means 'a short time, a few moments'. This meaning of muhūrta is found in the Śat. Br. I. 8. 3. 17 (tan muhūrtam dhārayitvā) and II. 3. 2. 5 (atha prātaḥ anaśitvā muhūrtam sabhāyām-āsitvāpi) and in classical Sanskrit works like the Raghuvaṁśa (V. 58).

There is another meaning of the word 'muhūrta' in Śat. Br. X. 4. 2. 18 and XII. 3. 2. 5 where it is said that there are fifteen muhūrtas of the day and fifteen of the night (i. e. 30 in *ahorātra*) and that in a year there are 10800 muhūrtas (30 × 360[782]).

780. रमध्वं मे वचसे सोम्याय ऋतावरीरुप मुहूर्तमेवैः। ऋ. III. 33. 5. This is paraphrased in the Nirukta (II. 25) as follows: उपरमध्वं मे वचसे सोम्याय सोमसम्पादिने ऋतावरीः ऋतवत्यः ...मुहूर्तम् एवैः अयनैः अवनैर्वा। मुहूर्तः मुहुः ऋतुः। ऋतुः अर्तेः गतिकर्मणः। मुहुः मूढः इव कालः।'. मुहूर्त here means 'for a short time, for a moment'. The निरुक्त derives it from मुहुः and ऋतुः (time that passes quickly).

781. रूपंरूपं मघवा बोभवीति मायाः कृण्वानस्तन्वं परि स्वाम्। त्रिर्यद्दिवः परि मुहूर्तमागात्स्वैर्मन्त्रैरनृतुपा ऋतावा॥ ऋ. III. 53. 8. There are three savanas (soma pressings in the day) viz. प्रातःसवन, माध्यन्दिनसवन and तृतीयसवन. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 981 for references to the three *savanas* in the Ṛgveda itself.

782. स पञ्चदशाह्नो रूपाण्यपश्यदात्मनस्तन्वो मुहूर्ताँ लोकम्पृणाः पञ्चदशैव रात्रेस्तद्यन्मुहुस्त्रायन्ते तस्मान्मुहूर्ताः। शतपथ X. 4. 2. 18; दश वै सहस्राण्यष्टौ च शतानि संवत्सरस्य मुहूर्ता यावन्तो मुहूर्तास्तावन्ति पञ्चदशकृत्वः क्षिप्राणि यावन्ति क्षिप्राणि तावन्ति पञ्चदशकृत्व एतर्हीणि &c। शतपथ XII. 3. 2. 5. मुहूर्तs are so called because 'they straightway save'.

Here the word muhūrta means 15th part of the day (i. e. in a general way about two nāḍikās or ghaṭikās). Ṛg. X. 189. 3 appears[783] to contain a somewhat recondite allusion to thirty parts of the day and night 'by the rays of the sun thirty locations of the day (and night) shine forth; a laud is offered to the bird (the sun).' The fifteen names (viz. citra, ketu &c.) of the muhūrtas of the day and 15 muhūrtas of the night occur in Tai. Br. III.[784] 10. 1. 1-3. The Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa states that two nāḍikās are equal to a muhūrta (verse 7 of Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa of Ṛg.) and that there is a difference of six muhūrtas (i. e. 12 *ghaṭikās*) between the longest and shortest day.[785] Manu I. 64, Kauṭilya (quoted in note 681) and several purāṇas (quoted in note 682) state that day and night are together equal to thirty muhūrtas Therefore, the second meaning of muhūrta from early Brāhmaṇa times at least was 'a period of two ghaṭikās'. The Kauṣītaki-upaniṣad speaks of muhūrtas called Yeṣṭihas.[786]

It appears that some centuries before the Christian era the 15 muhūrtas of the day had received names different from those in the Tai. Br. The Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra (II. 10. 26), Manu IV. 92 and Yāj. I. 115 prescribe[787] that a householder should get up from his bed in the Brāhma-muhūrta (the last half watch of the night). The Brāhmamuhūrta is mentioned in

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783. त्रिंशद्धाम वि राजति वाक्पतङ्गाय धीयते। प्रति वस्तोरह द्युभिः॥ ऋ. X. 189. 3. The same is अथर्ववेद VI. 31 9 with different readings 'त्रिंशद्धामा विराजति वाक्पतङ्गो अशिश्रियत्। प्रति वस्तोरहर्द्युभिः॥'. सायण and Geldner take the words त्रिंशद्धाम as referring to 30 मुहूर्तs of day and night.

784. चित्रः, केतुः, प्रभान्, आभान्, संभान्, ज्योतिष्मान्, तेजस्वान्, आतपन्, तपन्, अभितपन्, रोचनः, रोचमानः, शोभनः, शोभमानः, कल्याणः। तै. ब्रा. III. 10 1. These are 15 मुहूर्तs of the day. The 15 मुहूर्तs of the night are: दाता, प्रदाता, आनन्दः, मोदः, प्रमोदः, आवेशयन्, निवेशयन्, संवेशनः, संशान्तः, शान्तः, आभवन्, प्रभवन्, संभवन्, संभूतः, भूतः.

785. घर्मवृद्धिरपां प्रस्थः क्षपाह्रास उदग्गतौ। दक्षिणे तौ विपर्यस्तौ षण्मुहूर्त्ययनेन तु॥ वेदाङ्गज्योतिष 7th of ऋग्वेदाङ्ग-ज्यो० and 8th of याजुष The longest and shortest days would be 36 and 24 ghaṭikās and this would be approximately true for the extreme North-West of India about 32 degrees of north latitude and some miles north or north-west of Taxila.

786. तस्य ह वा एतस्य ब्रह्मलोकस्यारो ह्रदः। मुहूर्ता येष्टिहाः। विजरा नदी॥ &c. कौषीतकि उप. I. 3.

787. अथ ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते उत्थाय काल एव प्रातरग्निहोत्रं जुहोति। बौ. ध. सू. II. 10. 26, ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते बुध्येत धर्मार्थौ चानुचिन्तयेत्। मनु IV. 92; ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते चोत्थाय चिन्तयेदात्मनो हितम्। याज्ञ 1. 115, मार्कण्डेय 31. 17 (Venk. ed.). मिता. explains 'ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते उत्थाय पश्चिमेऽर्धप्रहरे प्रबुध्य'.

Droṇaparva (80.23). In the Raghuvaṁśa (V. 36) Kālidāsa says that Aja was born on the Brāhma muhūrta (i. e. Abhijit of which Brahmā is the presiding deity) and in the Kumārasambhava (VII. 6) he says that the female relatives of Pārvatī decked her in readiness for her marriage on Maitra muhūrta and when the Moon was in Uttarā-Phalgunī-nakṣatra. tithi (5th). Besides, in several places auspicious tithis, nakṣatras and muhūrtas are mentioned in general (e. g. Sabhā 2. 15 and 25. 4, Vana 253. 28). The Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa (1. 6-11) names the 15 muhūrtas of the day as noted below.[788] The Muhūrtadarśana (or Vidyā-mādhavīya) gives almost the same 15 names (except Gāndharva for Viśvāvasu), inserts Śakra before Vāruṇa and omits Saumya and states that seven of these are auspicious viz.[789] Abhijit, Vairāja, Śveta, Sāvitra, Maitra, Bala and Vijaya. The Ādiparva (123. 6) states that Yudhiṣṭhira was born when the moon was in the nakṣatra presided over by Indra (i. e. Jyeṣṭhā), on the 8th muhūrta called Abhijit, when the sun was on the meridian by day and on a tithi called pūrṇā (here the 5th). In the Udyogaparva it is stated that a purohita was sent as a *dūta* of the Pāṇḍavas on Puṣya-yoga[790] and Jaya muhūrta (here Jaya is probably the same as Vijaya). The Manusmṛti says that naming the child should be done on the 10th or 12th day (from birth) on an auspicious *tithi*, *muhūrta* and *nakṣatra*.[791] It would be proper to assume that the auspicious muhūrtas intended by Manu are the same as the seven mentioned in the Vidyāmādhavīya. The

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788. The 15 मुहूर्तs are रौद्र, श्वेत, मैत्र, सारभट, सावित्र, वैराज, विश्वावसु, अभिजित् (मध्याह्ने), रौहिण, बल, विजय, नैर्ऋत, वारुण, सौम्य, भग; आथर्वणज्योतिष 1. 6-11.

789. संज्ञाः पुराणकथिता रौद्रः श्वेतस्तथा मैत्रः। आरभटः सावित्रो वैराजश्चाथ गान्धर्वः। आभिजिच्च रौहिणबलौ विजयाख्यो नैर्ऋतः शाक्रः। वारुणभगदैवत्याविति विज्ञेया दिवा मुहूर्ता-नाम्॥ अभिजिद्वैराजश्च श्वेतः सावित्रमैत्रबलविजयाः। शुभकार्यसिद्धिजनकाः सप्त प्रोक्ताः पुराणज्ञैः॥ विद्यामाधवीय chap. 4 pp. 277-80. उत्पल on बृहत्संहिता 98.3 quotes a long prose passage from पराशर in which occur some of the names of मुहूर्तs, such as श्वेत, मैत्र, सारभट, रोहिणी (रौहिण?), आत्मसह, अभिजित्, बल, जय, गन्धर्व.

790. स भवान् पुष्ययोगेन मुहूर्तेन जयेन च। कौरवेयान्प्रयात्वाशु कौन्तेयस्यार्थसिद्धये॥ उद्योगपर्व 6. 17-18.

791. नामधेयं दशम्यां तु द्वादश्यां वास्य कारयेत्। पुण्ये तिथौ मुहूर्ते वा नक्षत्रे वा गुणान्विते॥ मनु II. 30.

Vāyupurāṇa enumerates the names of the 15 muhūrtas in the day somewhat differently and also of the night.[792] The Matsyapurāṇa (in chap. 22. 2) refers to two muhūrtas, Abhijit and Rauhiṇa and mentions eight muhūrtas as auspicious on which to begin the construction of a new house.[793] It also speaks of Kutapa as the 8th muhūrta (22. 84) and states that Kutapa and the following four muhūrtas are the home of *svadhā* (i. e. śrāddha must be begun on kutapa and completed before the 12th muhūrta ends). It would be seen from the above that the names of muhūrtas were given at least twice, first in the Tai. Br. and then in the Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa and the Purāṇas. A further stage was probably reached when their names receded into the background and practically disappeared from such works as those of Varāhamihira and only the names of the deities presiding over the 30 muhūrtas of day and night remained and the muhūrtas came to be known by the names of the deities. Though Varāhamihira refers to the muhūrtas of day and night in Bṛhat-saṁhitā 42. 12 and 98. 3, he does not set out their names in that work, but in his Bṛhad-Yogayātrā he sets out the 30 names of the deities presiding over the muhūrtas of day and night as quoted in the note below.[794] Varāha remarks: what-

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792. रौद्रः सार्व (र्प ?) स्तथा मैत्रः पिण्ड्य (पित्र्यो ?) वासव एव च। आप्योथ वैश्वदेवश्च ब्राह्मो मध्याह्नसंश्रितः। प्राजापत्यस्तथा ऐन्द्रस्तथेन्द्रो निर्ऋतिस्तथा। वारुणश्च तथार्यम्णो भागाश्चापि (भाग्यश्चापि ?) दिनाश्रिताः। एते दिनमुहूर्ताश्च दिवाकरविनिर्मिताः। वायु 66 40-42. The text is corrupt and the names of devatās are used in most cases; e g. ब्राह्म is अभिजित् as ब्रह्मा is the presiding deity of अभिजित्, प्राजापत्य is probably रौहिण as प्रजापति is the presiding deity of रोहिणी. Verses 43-44 of वायु 60 enumerate the names of the 15 muhūrtas of the night as अजस्तथाहिर्बुध्न्यश्च पूषाहि यमदेवताः। आग्नेयश्चापि विज्ञेयः प्राजापत्यस्तथैव च। ब्रह्मा सौम्यस्तथादित्यो बार्हस्पत्योथ वैष्णवः। सावित्रोथ तथा त्वाष्ट्रो वायव्यश्चेति संग्रहः। एकरात्रिमुहूर्ताः स्युः क्रमोक्ता दश पञ्च च। But almost all these are names of presiding deities.

793. स्वातौ (श्वेते ?) मैत्रेऽथ माहेन्द्रे गान्धर्वाभिजिति रौहिणे। तथा वैराजसावित्रे मुहूर्ते गृहमारभेत्। मत्स्य 253. 8-9.

794. शिवभुजगमित्रपित्र्यवसुजलविश्वविरिञ्चिपङ्कजप्रभवाः। इन्द्राग्नीन्दुनिशाचरवरुणार्यमयोनयश्चाह्नि॥ रुद्राजाहिर्बुध्न्याः पूषा दस्रान्तकाग्निधातारः। इन्द्वादितिगुरुहरिरवित्वष्ट्रनिलाख्याः क्षणा रात्रौ॥ अह्नः पञ्चदशांशो रात्रेश्चैवं मुहूर्त इति संज्ञा। बृहद्योगयात्रा VI. 2-4 (Ms in the Bhau Daji Collection in the Bombay Asiatic Society). Vide also रत्नमाला VII. 1-2. These are quoted by उत्पल in his com. on बृहत्संहिता 42. 12 and 98. 3 and in his com. on योगयात्रा II. 3-5 and V. 10. It should be noted that the verses about the मुहूर्तs of night in वायु (note 792) correspond to these verses of वराह. The मुहूर्तमार्तण्ड II. 4 specifies the devatās of the 15 muhūrtas of the day and 15 of the night. Alberuni (Sachau, vol. I. pp. 338-342) discusses at length how muhūrtas may be short or long and gives the dominant deities of the 15 muhūrtas of the day.

ever has been stated as proper for being done on certain nakṣatras, may be done on tithis presided over by the deities of those nakṣatras and also on *karaṇas* and on muhūrtas; that leads to success as the deity is the same.[795] For example, if a certain thing is recommended for being done on Ārdrā nakṣatra, then it may be done also on the muhūrta of Śiva (i. e. the first muhūrta of the day) as the *devata* of both (the nakṣatra Ārdrā and the first muhūrta) is the same (viz. Rudra). The Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa (2. 1–11) and (3. 1-6) dilates upon what should be done on the 15 muhūrtas of the day. Some examples may be cited here: on Raudra may be done whatever is of a terrific nature; on Maitra should be done whatever is affectionate or friendly; on Sārabhaṭa black magic may be resorted to against enemies; Abhijit is proper for all desired objects and gives success in all undertakings; Vijaya leads to victory if one marches on it, one may perform auspicious acts on it and *śānti* rites; on Bhaga-muhūrta one should choose a brāhmaṇa maiden for marriage and such a one married on Bhaga does not turn out unchaste. It may be noticed that Patañjali (on Vārtika one on Pāṇini V. 1. 80) refers to the fact of a person being engaged for a month to teach one muhūrta every day.[796]

After the vernal equinox, days become gradually longer than the night and after the autumnal equinox nights are gradually longer and longer than the day. As there are only thirty muhūrtas from one sunrise to the next sunrise it is proper to say that a muhūrta is equal to two ghaṭikās (i. e. 48 minutes). But it is also said that there are 15 muhūrtas of the day. The longest day in India of the Vedāṅga-jyotiṣa locality was of 36 ghaṭikās and therefore if one insisted on the number 15 each muhūrta on that day would be $2\frac{2}{15}$ ghaṭikās, while as the shortest day was 24 ghaṭikās in length each muhūrta of that day would be only $1\frac{3}{5}$ ghaṭikās. This difference in length in the case of muhūrtas is noted by the Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 73. 6–8) and by the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (I. 2. 21. 122–123). The Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 83. 67–73) sets out the names of the deities of the 30 muhūrtas. It appears that in ancient times it was understood that the longest day gained and was of 18 muhūrtas, while the short night of

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795. यत्कार्यं नक्षत्रे तद्दैवत्यासु तिथिषु तत्कार्यम्। करणमुहूर्तेष्वपि तत् सिद्धिकरं देवतासदृशम्॥ बृहत्संहिता 98. 3.

796. The वार्तिक is अधीष्टभृतयोर्द्वितीयानिर्देशोऽनर्थकस्तत्रादर्शनात्। (on तमधीष्टो भृतो भूतो भावी। पा V. 1. 80), on which पतञ्जलि explains 'न ह्यसौ मासमधीष्यते। किं तर्हि। मुहूर्तमसावधीष्टो मासं तत्कर्म करोति।'.

that day had only 12 muhūrtas i. e. 6 muhūrtas got attached to the day sometimes and 6 muhūrtas got attached to the night sometimes when it was longest. Patañjali[797] in his bhāṣya on Vārtika 2 of Pāṇini II. 1. 29 mentions this. This would be a matter of personal observation which need not extend beyond a few years. But even here Prof. Neugebauer smells Mesopotamian influence ('Exact sciences in Antiquity' p. 178). This is a characteristic example of the jaundiced eyes with which most Western writers look at things Indian. If the writer of the Vedāṅga Jyotisa was a native of the extreme north-west of India or had stayed there for some years he would have easily noticed the difference between the longest day and the shortest day as about twelve ghaṭikās, particularly as that very verse of the Vedāṅga-jyotiṣa shows that water clocks were then used. Even illiterate people in the villages of Bombay State know that the difference between the longest and shortest day in their villages is about six ghaṭikās (as Bombay is a little over 18 degrees, N. Lat.). There is nothing to show that the writer of the Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa was not a person who was either born in the extreme north-west of India or stayed there. The North-west of India was a centre of Sanskrit culture at least six centuries preceding the Christian era and Takṣaśilā (Taxila) was a great University where princes came to learn (vide Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' p. 8). Pāṇini hailed from that part, it appears, and teaches the formation of words like Saindhava, Tākṣaśila and Śālāturīya as meaning a person whose ancestors lived in or who himself stayed in Sindhu or in Takṣaśilā or in Śalātura (Pān. IV. 3. 89–90 and 93–94). Later writers call Pāṇini Śālāturīya (vide Bhāmaha VI 62–63). To suppose that a learned Indian who was writing a work on Jyotiṣa had to run all the way from India to Mesopotamia a thousand or more miles for finding out the difference between the longest and shortest day in his own country or for saying that the difference between the longest and shortest day in Mesopotamia being 12 ghaṭikās the same was the difference between them in India or for consulting works written in the Cuneiform characters for that purpose almost borders on the absurd. Besides Prof Neugebauer is not quite correct. The latitude of Babylon is 32°. 40' North and even there the ratio would not be exactly as 3 to 2. Gāndhāra is 31°. 40'

797. अनन्यन्तसंयोगार्थं तर्हीदं वक्तव्यम्। षण्मुहूर्ताश्चराचराः। ते कदाचिदहर्गच्छन्ति कदाचिद्रात्रिम्। तदुच्यते। अहर्गताः रात्रिगताः इति। नैतदस्ति। गतग्रहणादप्येतत्सिद्धम्॥ महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 2 on पा. II. 1. 29.

North Lat.; one who is to the north of Gāndhāra may quite naturally say that the ratio is about 3 to 2. Vide C. R. C. Report p. 225. Further in Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol. 8 (pp. 6-26), Prof. Waerden points out (at p. 18) that even in Babylonia the great omen series started from the primitive ratio 2:1 and that it was only later that the more accurate value 3:2 became known.

It has been shown so far that the word 'muhūrta' had two meanings in the ancient Vedic times, viz. 'for a short time' and 'a part equal to two ghaṭikās.' As some muhūrtas of the day (of the duration of two ghaṭikās) were declared to be auspicious, gradually a third meaning came to be attached to this word viz. 'time that is fit for the performance of an auspicious act'[798]. It would be shown later on how the medieval Dharmaśāstra works are full of muhūrtas in this sense.

In order to thoroughly understand the requirements about muhūrta in this third sense some knowledge of the planets, the twelve *bhāvas* (houses or places in a horoscope) and the *rāśis* would be necessary. Before entering on a discussion of these latter matters reference must be made to the change that came over even the best minds of India from about the 4th century B.C. It has been seen above (p. 527) how the star-gazer and the *gaṇaka* had come to be condemned and how one who was a professional astrologer (for money) had been looked down upon as an unworthy brāhmaṇa. All the same there was even about 500 or 600 B. C. a small section of people who looked upon the astrologer as all important, particularly to the king. The Gautamadharmasūtra[799] provides 'the king should choose as his *purohita* (palace priest) a brāhmaṇa endowed with learning, good family, eloquence, handsomeness, (middle) age (neither too young nor too old), character, and who is righteous in conduct and austere; the king should perform all (religious) acts as directed by the priest; he should respect (i. e. follow and not discard) what those who have devoted

798. कालः शुभक्रियायोग्यो मुहूर्त इति कथ्यते। मुहूर्तदर्शन or विद्यामाधवीय I. 20.

799. ब्राह्मणं च पुरोदधीत विद्याभिजनवाग्रूपवयःशीलसम्पन्नं न्यायवृत्तं तपस्विनम्। तत्प्रसूतः कर्माणि कुर्वीत। ... यानि च दैवोत्पातचिन्तकाः प्रब्रूयुस्तान्याद्रियेत। तदधीनमपि ह्येके योगक्षेमं प्रतिजानते। गौतमधर्मसूत्र XI. 12-13, 15-16. For the various meanings of योगक्षेम, vide H of Dh. vol III. pp. 588-589. The बृहत्संहिता II. declares that दैवचिन्तक is one who is a master of Saṁhitā (संहितापारगश्च दैवचिन्तको भवति). It may be noted that in Italy the court astrologer was an established officer at the beginning of the 14th century A. D. and from Italy he found his way to the French court (vide 'Star-crossed Renaissance' by D. C. Allen, p. 51).

thought to astrology and the lore of omens and portents announce (as required to be done), because some *ācāryas* (teachers) assert that the welfare (of the country or king) depends upon that (upon doing what astrologers and experts in portents declare).' This trend of thought gradually gathered greater and greater strength till at last even the great smṛtikāra Yājñavalkya categorically[800] declared in the first centuries of the Christian era " one should sedulously worship that planet that is badly affected (in a person's horoscope). Brahmā conferred a boon on them (planets) ' when worshipped you should honour the worshipper ' (with favours). The rise and fall of kings is dependent on the planets, as also the emergence and the disappearance of the world; therefore planets are to be worshipped most". Yājñavalkya no doubt declares[801] that 'success in undertakings is dependent upon *daiva* (luck) and human effort; out of these, daiva is really human effort of previous lives made manifest (in this life). Just as a chariot cannot be set in motion on one wheel, so luck does not succeed unless there is human effort (also)'. Discussion of the relative importance of daiva (luck or destiny) and human effort are frequent in Dharmaśāstra works, particularly in the Mahābhārata, there being three

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800. यस्य यस्य यदा दुःस्थः स तं यत्नेन पूजयेत्। ब्रह्मणैषां वरो दत्तः पूजिताः पूजयिष्यथ॥ ग्रहाधीना नरेन्द्राणामुच्छ्रायाः पतनानि च। भावाभावौ च जगतस्तस्मात्पूज्यतमा ग्रहाः॥ याज्ञ॰ I 307–308. विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (I. 105, 9–10) contains the latter half of the first verse and the whole of the 2nd. The word दुःस्थः here is used in the sense of being in evil nakṣatras and being उपहत which is explained in note 766 above. It is the exact opposite of सुस्थ in Yāj. I. 79 'एवं गच्छन् स्त्रियं क्षामां मघामूलं च वर्जयेत्। सुस्थ इन्दौ सकृत्पुत्रं लक्षण्यं जनयेत्पुमान्॥'. सुस्थे इन्दौ means when the moon is well-placed in auspicious nakṣatras. नक्षत्रs were divided into three groups for various purposes. Some were to be avoided altogether as inauspicious, some were very auspicious and some neither auspicious nor inauspicious. Yāj. says: if a man desires to have a son endowed with auspicious characteristics, at the time of sexual intercourse he should avoid Maghā and Mūla, and should have intercourse when the moon is in an auspicious nakṣatra and also avoid other nakṣatras (besides Maghā and Mūla). But if he wanted only sexual pleasure and nothing more, then he may choose a day when the moon is in any nakṣatra except Maghā and Mūla. As stated in बार्हस्पत्यसंहिता quoted in the पीयूषधारा com. on मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि V. 6 हरिहस्तानुराधाश्च स्वाती वारुणवासवम्। उत्तरात्रितयं सौम्यं रोहिणी च शुभाः स्मृताः। आधाने मूलसार्पाख्यमशुभं सममन्यभम्॥'

801. दैवे पुरुषकारे च कर्मसिद्धिर्व्यवस्थिता। तत्र दैवमभिव्यक्तं पौरुषं पौर्वदेहिकम्॥ यथा ह्येकेन चक्रेण रथस्य न गतिर्भवेत्। एवं पुरुषकारेण विना दैवं न सिध्यति॥ याज्ञ. I. 349, 351.

tendencies viz. (firstly) daiva is all powerful, (secondly) human effort is superior, (thirdly) a golden mean between the two. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 168–169 for discussion and for passages supporting all the three views. The first chapter of Bṛhad-yogayātrā (20 verses) and also of the Yogayātrā (22 verses) deal with *daiva* (Luck, Fate) and *puruṣakāra*. In spite of this, from the king to the lowliest man, almost everyone was firmly in the grip of astrology and even now astrology has great influence over some highly educated Indians. Astrology based on horoscopes and dealing with individuals was called *horāśāstra* or *jātaka*. By the time of Varāhamihira even learned men had forgotten the origin of the word *horā*. The Bṛhajjātaka says[802] 'according to some the word horā is obtained from *ahorātra* by dropping the first and last syllables, that horāśāstra well manifests what the fruition of acts, good or bad, done in previous lives is going to be'. It should be noticed that the Bṛhajjātaka insists on two matters, viz. (1) it links up the horoscopic astrology to the doctrines of *karma* and *punarjanma* (re-incarnation to wipe out karma) and (2) the śāstra holds that the horoscope to be only a map or plan, which indicates future trends in a man's life arising from what he had done in a previous life or in previous lives. It does not here say that the planets in a man's horoscope will compel him to do this or that, but it says that the horoscope will only intimate in what directions a man's future might be evolved. These principles were repeated even by late medieval writers. For example, Raghunandana[803] in his Udvāhatattva (p. 125) agrees with the Dīpikā that the planets only convey that sins were committed in former lives, but they do not themselves produce evil results and quotes the Matsyapurāṇa in support that 'evil actions done in former lives bear fruit in the present life in the form of diseases, distress and the death of those dear to one'. There was probably a third underlying principle viz. the stars are the temples in which the gods reside,

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802. होरेत्यहोरात्रविकल्पमेके वाञ्छन्ति पूर्वापरवर्णलोपात् । कर्मार्जितं पूर्वभवे सदादि यत्तस्य पक्तिं समभिव्यनक्ति ॥ बृहज्जातक I. 3; यदुपचितमन्यजन्मनि शुभाशुभं तस्य कर्मणः पक्तिम् । व्यञ्जयति शास्त्रमेतत् तमसि द्रव्याणि दीप इव ॥ लघुजातक I. 3 q. by उत्पल on बृहज्जातक I. 3.

803. अत एव दीपिकायां–ये ग्रहा रिष्टसूचकाः–इत्यनेन ग्रहाणां पूर्वसिद्धपापबोधकत्वमिति न तु पापजनकत्वम् । तथा च मत्स्यपुराणम् । पुरा कृतानि पापानि फलन्त्यस्मिंस्तपोधनाः । रोगदौर्गत्यरूपेण तथैवेष्टवधेन च । तद्विघाताय वक्ष्यामि सदा कल्याणकारकम् ।' उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 125.

as said in the Śat. Br. and Tai. Br.[804] The Babylonians[805] and Assyrians based their astrology mainly on three assumptions viz. (1) the stars are temples in which the gods reside; (2) the stars reveal to men the intentions of the gods with regard to the future; (3) human history is predetermined at a heavenly council over which Marduk presides. These, except the first, are entirely different from the principles emphasized by Varāhamihira and those who came after him. The Babylonians and Greeks had no (generally believed) doctrines of *karma* and *punarjanma*. Therefore, they could not make astrology serve indirectly a higher purpose, viz. of inducing people to lead a life of virtue in the present. Instead of the somewhat childish and often immoral legends of ancient times the cult of planetary influence and worship seemed to many minds far more rational and convincing.

The Sārāvalī of Kalyāṇa-varman follows this and adds[806] that what is known among the people as Jātaka is called *horā* in this śāstra or the word (horā) may indeed be taken to be a synonym for 'consideration of what the destiny would be'. The word 'horā' has two other meanings in Sanskrit astrology viz. *lagna* (that sign which is rising on the eastern horizon at a particular moment) and half a *rāśi* (Bṛhajjātaka I. 9). Extravagant claims were made for the importance and utility of astrology and astrologers. The Sārāvalī declares:[807] there is no one else except astrology that would serve as a helper of men in acquiring wealth, as a boat in the sea of calamities and as a councillor when one starts on a journey or invasion. Varāhamihira boasts[808] 'Even those who have resorted to a forest (i. e.

804. नक्षत्रेभ्यः स्वाहेति। नक्षत्राणि वै सर्वेषां देवानामायतनम्। शतपथ XIV. 3.2.12; देवगृहा वै नक्षत्राणि। य एवं वेद गृह्येव भवति। तै. ब्रा. I. 2. 5. 11. Vide Matsyapurāṇa 127. 14–15 for the same idea.

805. Compare C. V. Maclean on 'Babylonian Astrology and its relation to the old Testament' (United Church Publishing House, Toronto) p. 10. Even Aristotle believed that stars were divine beings endowed with independent volitions; vide Lewis 'Survey of Astronomy' p. 313; J. L. Stocks on 'Time, Cause, Eternity' p. 23.

806. आद्यन्तवर्णलोपाद्धोराशास्त्रं भवत्यहोरात्रम् (v. l. रात्रात्)। ...जातकमिति प्रसिद्धं यल्लोके तदिह कीर्त्यते होरा। अथवा दैवविमर्शनपर्यायः खल्वयं शब्दः॥ सारावली II. 2 and 4.

807. अर्थार्जने सहायः पुरुषाणामापदर्णवे पोतः। यात्रासमये मन्त्री जातकमपहाय नास्त्यपरः॥ सारावली II. 5.

808. वनं समाश्रिता येपि निर्ममा निष्परिग्रहाः। अपि ते परिपृच्छन्ति ज्योतिषां गतिकोविदम्॥ अप्रदीपा यथा रात्रिरनादित्यं यथा नभः। तथा सांवत्सरो राजा भ्रमत्यन्ध इवाध्वनि॥

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who have become forest hermits), who are free from worldly attachments and are without property, ask questions of one who knows the movements of heavenly luminaries. As the night without a lamp or the sky without the sun, so a king without an astrologer (with him) wanders about (or wavers) as a blind man on a road. If there be no astronomer and astrologer, auspicious times, *tithis*, nakṣatras, seasons and the *ayanas* (northward and southward passages of the sun),–these would all become confused. What a single astrologer knowing the country and time can effect, that even a thousand elephants or four thousand horsemen cannot accomplish.'

The Rājamārtaṇḍa provides[809] 'the *purohita* (family or palace priest), an astronomer, a councillor and an astrologer as the fourth – these must always be supported by the king even with great trouble, as in the case of women.'

It has, however to be noted that Varāhamihira himself frequently gives up the principle that the horoscope is only a map showing tendencies and talks the language of certainty and of the planets causing this or that state of things. To mention one or two examples. In Bṛhaj-jātaka[810] he says 'the sages declare that a person is born from a paramour for certain (and not from his reputed father) if in his horoscope Jupiter has no *dṛṣṭi* (aspect) either on the *lagna* or on the moon or on the sun and moon that are in conjunction (in his horoscope) or when the moon is in conjunction with the sun and with a malefic planet (Mars or Saturn)'. In VI. 11 Br. J. says[811] 'the moon in conjun-

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मुहूर्ततिथिनक्षत्रमृतवश्चायने तथा। सर्वाण्येवाकुलानि स्युर्न स्यात्सांवत्सरो यदि॥ बृहत्सांहिता II. 7–9. The last two verses are q. by कालविवेक p. 4 (without name). न तत्सहस्रं करिणां वाजिनां वा चतुर्गुणम्। करोति देशकालज्ञो यदेको दैवचिन्तकः॥ बृहत्संहिता II. 20, which the भुजबल of भोज inserts without acknowledgement as its 2nd verse,

809. पुरोधा गणको मन्त्री दैवतश्च चतुर्थकः। एते राज्ञा सदा पोष्याः कृच्छ्रेणापि स्त्रियो यथा॥ राजमार्तण्ड verse 4.

810. न लग्नमिन्दुं च गुरुर्निरीक्षते न वा शशाङ्कं रविणा समागतम्। सपापकोऽर्केण युतोथवा शशी परेण जातं प्रवदन्ति निश्चयात्॥ बृहज्जातक V. 6. लघुजातक IV. 4 is very similar. सारावली has a similar verse 'पश्यति न गुरुः शशिनं लग्नं च दिवाकरं सेन्दुम्। पापयुतं वा सार्कं चन्द्रं यदि जारजातः स्यात्॥'. It may be noted that उत्पल found it neces sary to qualify the doctrine and statement of Varāha.

811. सुतमदननवान्त्यलग्नरन्ध्रेष्वशुभयुतो मरणाय शीतरश्मिः। भृगुसुतशशिपुत्रदेवपूज्यैर्यदि बलिभिर्न युतोऽवलोकितो वा॥ बृहज्जातक VI. 11. उत्पल introduces a modification

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ction with a malefic planet in the 1st, 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th or 12th house (in a horoscope) causes death (of the new-born child) if it is not also in conjunction with powerful Venus, or Mercury or Jupiter or if it is not in aspect with one of those powerful three.' Again in Bṛhaj-jātaka XIV. 1 it is said: If the sun is in conjunction with another planet, he produces the following results, viz. with the moon a man who makes (lethal) machines or works in stones; with Mars a man addicted to evil ways; with Mercury a man who is skilful, intelligent, famous and happy; with Jupiter, a cruel man or one intent on carrying out the objects of others; with Venus a man who makes money by going on the stage (or in a ring for boxing &c.) or by the use of arms; with Saturn a man clever in metals or different kinds of (merchandise or) vessels. The Sārāvalī very frequently says that such and such a position produces (*janayati*, *utpādayati*) or causes (*karoti* or *kuryāt* &c.) certain results. Vide chap. 33. 48–61..

Before proceeding further I must point out that India was not singular in its firm belief in Astrology. The case was the same throughout Europe and among the Greeks after Alexander the Great. It has been already seen (p. 521) how Babylonian astrologers made reports to the king about the position of the Sun, the Moon and the planets and what they portended for the country, the king and the people. Vide for example, Nos. 9, 15, 16, 21, 32, 33, 52, 53, 63, 66, 67, 72, 74, 76, 86, 151, 164 from 'The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon' by R. Campbell Thompson (vol. I and II, Luzac and Co. London, 1900). But horoscopic astrology was developed by them later. In the Old Testament Isaiah (759–710 B. C.) 47. 1 and 5 apostrophize Babylon as the daughter of the Chaldeans and in verse 13 we read 'let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators stand up and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee'. In Daniel 4.7 it is said that on Nebuchadnezzar's order 'came in the magicians, the astrologers, the Chaldeans and the soothsayers.' Vide also Daniel 1.20 and 2.2 and 27. The Chaldeans held that the five planets specially controlled men's destinies and five Babylonian deities were identified with them. As Bouchè-Leclercq observes (in 'L' Astrologie Grecque', p. 572) 'Chaldean astrology had lived on a fund of naive ideas, it began at a time

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from Sārāvalī X. 98 that the Moon must be kṣīṇa (waning, i. e. from 8th of dark half to the 8th of the following fortnight) for the application of this rule.

when the heavens were deemed to be nothing but a cover of the earth, when all the stars were ranged at small distances on the vault and the planets were supposed to move in the midst of stars like shepherds inspecting their flocks. Greek science having extended the world, the influence of stars moved back at enormous distances was not a postulate of common sense' (vide note 748 above). Herodotus[812] (II. 82) refers to a peculiar practice of the Egyptians to regard each month and day as sacred to some deity, and says how from the day of a man's birth they determined his fortune, character and the manner of his death. But this has no reference to horoscopic Astrology. The Egyptians knew nothing about the Zodiac before the Alexandrian age. There is no trace of astrology in early Greek astronomical writers and it appears that the Greeks got it from Babylon[813] after Alexander conquered Babylon, when teachers of astrology began to arrive in Greece. The Hellenistic mind was soon completely captivated by astrology. Before the advent of astrology the Greeks tried to peep into the future by oracles, interpretation of dreams and inspection of the entrails and livers of sacrificed animals, from the flight and cries of birds and from prodigies and unusual occurrences such as eclipses, comets and meteors. Berossus[814], a priest of the god Bel at Babylon, dedicated to his patron Antiochus I Soter (280–261 B. C.) an elaborate work on Babylonian and Chaldean history and it was he who was instrumental in spreading Babylonian astrology in Greece by first introducing it in his school at Cos, an island not far from the south-western corner of Asia Minor. From Greece astrology spread to Rome about the 2nd century B. C. The signs of the Zodiac became house-hold words in Greece and Rome. Stoics like Posidonius

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812. Vide Prof. Neugebauer in 'Exact Sciences in Antiquity' p. 179.

813. Vide E. J. Webb in 'The names of the stars' (1952) p. 189 and in Journal of Hellenistic Studies, vol. 48 p. 66; C. V. Maclean in 'Babylonian astrology and its relation to the Old Testament' p. 7; in J. of Near Eastern Studies vol. IV at p. 26 Prof. Neugebauer averred that the Mesopotamian origin of the astrological omina cannot be doubted; but in 'Exact Sciences in Antiquity' p. 164 he appears to modify his position by saying that only the original impetus to horoscopic astrology in Greece came from Babylon and that its actual development must be considered as an important component of Hellenistic Science. In the same journal at p. 15 he does not know how horoscopic astrology in Greece originated from the totally different omen type astrology of the preceding millenium.

814. Vide Cambridge Ancient History, vol. I. p. 150; Gregory in 'Nature vol. 153 at p. 515.

helped it by defending it. Cato in[815] his work on agriculture warns a farmer against consulting a Chaldean and in 139 B. C. an Edict was passed for expelling Chaldeans from Italy. Diodorus[816] Siculus (a contemporary of Augustus of Rome) describes the theory and method of the Chaldeans in casting horoscopes. Horace[817] (died in 8 B. C.) in his ode to Maecenas refers to the influence of the signs Libra, Scorpion and Capricornus and of the protective power of Jove and about baleful Saturn in his horoscope. Strabo,[818] who died in 24 A. D., averred (XVI. 1.6) that some Chaldeans were skilled in astronomy and the casting of horoscopes. Petronius (1st century A. D.) describes in his novel Satyricon a dinner in forty pages in which a tray displayed the signs of the zodiac under each of which was placed appropriate food (vide Will Durant in "Caesar and Christ" page 298, (New York 1944). Juvenal,[819] who flourished about the close of the 1st century A. D., strongly inveighs against ladies who have great confidence in Chaldean astrology. It should not, however, be supposed that no dissenting voice was raised against astrology in Rome and medieval Europe. Cicero did not believe in astrology[820] as he said that the planets were too far away (Bouché Leclerq's work p. 572). St. Augustine (354–430 A. D.) in his work 'City of God' calls astrology a delusion.[821] There were some points of difference between Babylonian astrology and Greek astrology, viz. Babylonian astrology originally at least was interested in the State and the royal family, while Greek astrology was interested only in the indi-

815. Vide Colson on 'Weekday' p. 66; Lewis' 'Historical Survery of the Astronomy of the Ancients' p. 298.

816. For Diodorus of Sicily (i. e. Siculus), vide Prof. Farrington in 'Science and Politics in the Ancient World' (1939) pp. 201-202.

817. Vide C. E. Bennett's English Translation of 'Odes' Book II, 17. lines 17-24.

818. See Strabo in Loeb classical Library Series, vol. VII. p. 203.

819. Vide Juvenal's Satires—English translation by J. D. Lewis (1873) Satire VI. p. 81.

820. E. J. Webb in 'The names of the Stars' (1952) p. 108; Thorndike's 'A History of magic and experimental Science,' vol. I. pp. 272-274 for Cicero's views on astrology and Thorndike's criticisms. But Cicero appears to have condemned the Chaldean form of astrology, though he was so learned in divination that he considered it to be given by God (vide 'Star-crossed Renaissance' by Don Cameron Allen (Duke University Press, 1941) p. 47,

821. See 'De Civitate Dei' V. 5 pp. 183-184 (translated by M. Dods, 1872), Thorndike's work (mentioned in n. 820) pp. 513-521 for a statement of the objections of Augustine against astrology and criticism thereof.

vidual and Babylonian astrology was a priestly business while in Greece the astrologers were laymen. Astrology became a study of international importance in Europe and was cultivated in the Universities as a subject of real value throughout Europe by the side of astronomy. Its great vogue among even well educated people was due to its apparent scientific structure with its houses, planets, twelve signs and so forth. Allen (in 'Star-crossed Renaissance' Preface p. VIII) says that everybody in the Renaissance period in the West believed to, some extent in astrology. In 'Stars above us' by Prof. E. Zinner, Tycho Brahe is quoted as saying that he prepared every year an astrological forecast for his king (p. 76). Even Copernicus, Galileo and Kepler practised astrology themselves or countenanced its practice. Bacon was prepared to say that there was no fatal necessity in the stars, but they rather incline than compel. Ptolemy's Tetrabiblos reigned supreme for about 1400 years and is even now a work of great authority for those who believe in astrology. It may interest the reader to know that the great German poet, dramatist and philosopher, Goethe[822] (1749-1832), begins his Memoirs by mentioning the aspects of planets at his birth.

Two circumstances tended to weaken the influence of astrology in Europe, viz. the giving up of the geocentric theory in favour of the heliocentric theory and the vast additions to astronomical knowledge made during the last two centuries. But it should not be supposed that astrology has become defunct in the West or U. S. A. The immense strain and distress caused by the two world wars provided a powerful fillip for the spread and influence of astrology. Even in papers the circulation of which runs into millions there is a regular astrological feature every day or every week, which tells people what the stars portend for twelve groups of the world's population in the week

822. 'Memoirs of Goethe' (London, 1824, vol. I) 'I was born under fortunate auspices; the Sun was in the sign of the Virgin at the utmost degree of elevation. The aspects of Jupiter and Venus were favourable to the day. Mercury testified no signs of hostility; Saturn and Mars were neutral. The Moon, however, then near the full, was an important obstacle; and the more so as the labour which attended my birth coincided with the hour of her new phase. She retarded my entrance into the world until the moment had elapsed'. Vide 'Stars above us' by Prof. Zinner p. 68 for Goethe's horoscope.

or on the day mentioned.[823] What benefit the people derive from these prognostications it is difficult to understand. Often the prognostications are extremely vague and not of greater extent than three or four short cryptic sentences. There must be millions of people in each of the twelve groups (such as those born from 23rd September to October 23rd, those born from 24th October to 22nd November and so on). It is said that in U.S.A. alone there are about 25000 registered astrologers.

Those interested in astrology in general and Greek astrology in particular and those who desire to know how astrology is regarded by many modern scientific minds may read 'L' Astrologie Grecque' by A. Bouchè-Leclercq' (1899, a masterly work in French on Greek Astrology) pp. 570–593 (for arguments against astrology); 'The Royal Art of Astrology' by Robert Eisler (London, 1946), which contains a reasoned and sustained refutation, and Mr. J. C. Gregory's Article on 'Ancient Astrology' in Nature, vol. 153 pp. 512-515 (a brief, but instructive and detached survey of astrology from Chaldean times to this day). The number of books in favour of astrology or expounding it is large and I do not propose to mention them. One book arrested my attention, viz. Louis de Wohl's 'Secret service of the sky'. On p. 31 he propounds a doctrine very similar to what Varāha-mihira laid down as the scope of *horāśāstra* viz. that Astrology has nothing whatsoever to do with mere predictions, that it only indicates tendencies and that human will is free. He began well, but he did not observe his own precepts. On p. 235 he predicts 'I do not believe that Mahatma Gandhi will survive the first half of 1939.' This prediction turned out to be untrue and it is well-known that Mahatma Gandhi was killed on the 30th of January 1948.

The English language itself bears witness to the great influence of astrology in England; e. g. such words and expressions as 'ill-starred expedition', 'disastrous consequences', temperaments being either jovial, mercurial, or saturnine, 'moon-[824]

823. The following may be cited as a sample: Taurus (April 21–May 20)–'You realize that a break in one relationship is probably inevitable. This week you will see your way to making it without undue loss. Harden your heart where money is concerned and don't allow friendship to interfere with business.'

824. It is believed that the moon (*luna*), when full, increased madness; hence a mad man was called lunatic. Vide an article 'Lunar influence on

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struck (mad) lover'. The word influence (from *fluo* to flow) itself is due to astrological beliefs and words like 'aspect', 'conjunction', 'ascendant', 'retrograde' are all due to the language of astrology.

In support of Astrology Ptolemy (in Tetrabiblos, 1.2) puts forward certain arguments. The Sun not only affects everything on the earth by the change of season, but by its daily revolutions furnishes heat, moisture, dryness and cold in regular order. The Moon, the nearest heavenly body to the earth, causes the seas to change their tides with its own rising and setting times, and plants and animals wholly or partly wax and wane with the moon. The planets often signify hot, windy and snowy conditions of the air and affect mundane things. The changes of seasons and winds are understood even by very ignorant men and by some dumb animals. Sailors know the special signs of storms and winds that arise periodically by reason of the aspects of the sun, moon and planets. But because sometimes sailors err, no one says that there is no science of navigation. Therefore, a sufficiently observant man wise enough to know accurately the movements of the sun, moon and planets can predict whether the weather will be warmer or [825] wetter. Why can he not, with respect to an individual, perceive the general quality of his temperament from the surroundings at the time of his birth, as for example that he would be such and such in body and mind? Ptolemy then condemns impostors who do not study the science but deceive common and trusting people and fill their pockets. He further points out that the nativity alone is not the sole basis of judging a person's future, that the country of birth, the

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living things' by Prof. George Sarton in Isis vol. 30 (1939) pp. 495-507, where he examines the beliefs about the Moon's connection with lunacy, tides, menstruation, terrestrial magnetism, says that these are matters for experiment, advises scientists to keep an open mind and holds that lunar influence is unproved as to some of them.

825. A short passage from Bouché-Leclercq (p. 574) may be set out here: 'how to justify the ridiculous associations of ideas attached to the purely imaginary forms of the figures of the Zodiac and the reciprocal influence of planets on the signs and of the signs on the planets when these are (one knows this since a long time) at a great distance from the constellations and do not appear to be placed there except by the effect of perspective'?

race to which he belongs, the customs of the people among whom he is born, the way in which he is reared, the age in which he lives have also to be considered, all which will contribute materially to the proper prediction, other things being equal. In IV.10 he points out that if one looks only at the horoscope without paying attention to nationality, manners and customs and the like he may call an Ethiopian fair[825a] of complexion and having straight hair and a German a dark-skinned person and endowed with woolly hair or not knowing the peculiar customs say that an Italian whose horoscope is being examined may marry his sister (as ancient Egyptians did) or that the man may marry his mother (as only Persians did). Vide Tetrabiblos IV. 10 p. 439 (Loeb. cl. Library). In I. 3 Ptolemy argues that astrology is not only possible but is beneficial, because fore-warned is fore-armed. It is a very far cry to argue from the undoubted influence of the Sun and the Moon on mundane matters, such as heat and cold, rains, storms and droughts that the particular positions and aspects of the Sun, Moon and planets at the time of birth or conception (as some hold) are throughout an individual's life (it may be for a day or a hundred years) the dominating factor (if not the sole factor as many astrologers say) governing his conduct, character, family affairs and destiny. The reasoning of Ptolemy, though very cleverly put and though with a slight scientific appearance, is rather vague and not at all cogent or convincing. He distinguishes between universal or general astrology (treated of in Books I–II) which relates to whole countries, races, cities and large bodies of men and particular or genethlialogical astrology treated of in books III–IV.

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825 a. Utpala on Laghujātaka IV. 1 states similarly that one (the astrologer) should specify the form (or appearance) of a person after knowing his caste, since śvapākas (cāṇḍālas) and niṣādas are dark-skinned by caste; similarly, he should consider in what family, whether of fair persons or dark persons, the person (whose horoscope is being examined) was born or in what country, since all people from Karṇāṭaka are dark, people from Videha (i. e. Mithilā, part of present Bihar State) are dark-brown and from Kashmir fair. लघुजातक IV. 1 is: सत्त्वं रजस्तमो वा त्रिंशांशे यस्य भास्करस्ताद्वत्। बलिनः सदृशी मूर्तिर्बुद्ध्वा वा जातिकुलदेशान्॥ जातिं बुद्ध्वा मूर्तिनिर्देशः, यतः श्वपाकनिषादा जातित एव कृष्णा भवन्ति। तेषां त एव निर्देशाः॥ कस्मिन्कुलेयं जातो गौराणां कृष्णानां वा कस्मिन्देशे जातः, यतः कर्णाटकाः सर्व एव कृष्णाः वैदेहाः श्यामाः काश्मीरा गौराः। folio 15b of commentary on लघुजातक IV. 1 (Ms. in Bhadkamkar collection of the Bombay University). For śvapāka vide p. 97 of H. of Dh. vol. II and for niṣāda pp. 43, 46, 86–87 of the same.

Indian works also require the astrologer to consider the customs of the country and of the people. The Rājamārtaṇḍa[825b] says 'First the usages of people must be considered; whatever is firmly established in the several countries, that alone must be followed; the learned give up what is hateful to the people; therefore an astrologer should proceed along the people's way. A learned man should never go against the inclinations of the family (to which the person belongs) and of the country'; and then he gives examples of the astrological requirements as regards planets in the case of marriages in several countries. The general astrology about calamities or occurrences that affect all people spoken of by Ptolemy would fall under *Śākhā* or *Saṁhitā* in the narrower sense (vide notes 688 and 690). Some important and interesting conclusions of Ptolemy may be noted here.

Ptolemy speaks of beneficent and malefic planets (I. 5), of masculine and feminine planets (I.6), of diurnal and nocturnal (in Sanskrit *dinabali* and *niśābali*) planets (I. 7), (I. 12) masculine and feminine rāśis (signs), the aspects of the signs (I. 13) viz. opposition (180 degrees), trine (120°), quartile (90°) and sextile (60°), of the houses (*svagṛhas* in Sanskrit) of the planets. In Book II he divides the inhabited world into quarters equal in number to the triangular formations of the signs of the zodiac and after a disquisition which would be regarded by modern men as casuistical and practically unintelligible, Ptolemy sets forth a list of over seventy countries (then known), assigning to each sign some countries. For example, to Aries he assigns Britain, Gaul, Germania, Bastarnia, Syria, Palestine, Judaea and one more; to Capricorn he assigns India, Ariana, Gedrosia, Thrace, Macedonia, Illyria. The whole of America, almost the whole of Africa (except the northern part), Indonesia and Australia and the other neighbouring lands are not considered by Ptolemy at all, because these were unknown then. He remarks at the end of II. 3 that as to metropolitan cities they should be treated like individuals and their nativity is to be cast by taking the time of the foundation[826] of the city

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825b. लोकाचाररतावदादौ विचिन्त्यो देशे देशे या स्थितिः सैव कार्या। लोकद्विष्टं पण्डिता वर्जयन्ति दैवज्ञोऽतो लोकमार्गेण यायात्॥ कुलस्य देशस्य च चित्तवृत्तिर्न खण्डनीया विदुषा कदाचित्॥ ...बृहस्पतौ गोचरशोभनस्थे विवाहमिच्छन्ति हि दाक्षिणात्याः। रवौ विशुद्धे प्रवदन्ति गौडा न गोचरो मालवके प्रमाणम्॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 25 b verses 399-401. The first two also occur in the भुजबल of भोज (pp. 34-35 verses 143-144).

826. An interesting Indian example is furnished by the Mirat-i-Ahmadi translated by C. N. Seddon which gives (on pp. 248-253 supplement) the

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instead of the times of birth, but where the exact time of foundation is not known then the nativity of the founder or of the king is to be taken.

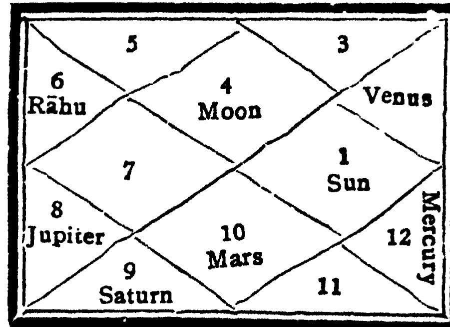
A few important points of agreement and disagreement between Sanskrit astrological works and Ptolemy will be set out later on.

The literature on *muhūrta* (auspicious time for undertaking anything) is extensive. Almost all works on Kāla mentioned above such as Hemādri on Kāla, the Kāla-mādhava, Kālatattvavivecana, Nirṇayasindhu are in a way works on muhūrta, since they discuss the proper times for performing the saṁskāras and religious rites. Among the works the names of which begin with the word muhūrta are: Muhūrtakalpadruma (published by Nirn. Press, Bombay) composed by Viṭṭhala Dīkṣita in 1628 A.D.; Muhūrta-gaṇapati composed in 1685 A. D. by Gaṇapati Raval, son of Harishankar; Muhūrta-cintāmaṇi composed at Benares in *śake* 1522 (1601 A. D.) by Rāma, son of Ananta, with a commentary called Pīyūṣa-dhārā composed in śake 1525 (1604 A.D.) by Govinda, son of Nīlakaṇṭha elder brother of Rāma (published in 1945 by the Nirn. press); Muhūrtatattva by Gaṇeśa, son of Keśava (ms. in Bhau Daji collection of Bombay Asiatic Society); Muhūrtadarśana (also called Vidyāmādhavīya) by Vidyāmādhava with a commentary called Muhūrta-dīpikā (about 1363 A. D.) by his son Viṣṇu, edited by Dr. Shamsastri (published

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date and horoscope of the foundation of the city of Ahmedabad in *śake* 1314, *saṁvat* 1449, Vaiśākha śu. 5, Thursday, 15 *ghaḍs* (*ghaṭīs*) and 35 *pals*.

THE HOROSCOPE



In the Bulletin of the London School of Oriental Studies vol. 9 for 1935–37 there is a paper (pp. 125–139) on some chronological data relating to the Sassanian period in which reference is made to an Arabic book on astrology composed about 275 of the Hejira (equal to 888–889 A. D.) by a Persian astronomer and astrologer, the 2nd part of which describes a horoscope of the accession of Khosrove to the throne on a date corresponding to 18–8–531 A. D. (p. 129).

by Mysore University, 1923–1926, in three parts); Muhūrta-dīpaka by Nāgadeva (a short work in 9 folios, ms. in Bhau Daji collection); the Muhūrta-mārtaṇḍa, composed in śake 1493, Māgha (1572 A. D.), by Nārāyaṇa, son of Ananta, of Ṭāpara village to the north of the temple of Śiva which is to the north of Devagiri, with his own commentary called Mārtaṇḍavallabhā (published by Nirn. Press, 1925); Muhūrtamālā by Raghunātha (ms. in Bhau Daji collection); Muhūrta-muktāvali (incomplete ms. with only 45 verses in the same collection). Out of these, three works alone are now available in print viz. Muhūrta-darśana, Muhūrta-cintāmaṇi and Muhūrta-mārtaṇḍa. The rest are mss. (in Bombay Asiatic Society's Library). In this section on muhūrtas reliance has been placed mainly on the three printed works along with the Jyotiṣaratnamālā of Śrīpati (about 1039 A. D.), the Rājamārtaṇḍa of Bhoja (ms in B. O. R. I., Poona) and the other works on Kāla. Among the works described as especially dealing with muhūrtas, the most elaborate are the Muhūrta-cintāmaṇi (containing about 480 verses with a very exhaustive commentary) and the Muhūrtadarśana (with about 600 verses) and also a very elaborate commentary. It would not be possible to deal with all matters contained in these works. The Muhūrtamārtaṇḍa (containing 161 verses) follows a middle course. 'According to it the subjects dealt with in it are briefly as follows:—what positions and aspects of the planets, what *yogas*, what tithis, nakṣatras, months and conditions of the family and of the mind should be avoided in the case of *śubha* (auspicious) actions; the proper times for saṁskāras, such as *garbhādhāna*, *puṁsavana*, *jātakarma*, piercing the infant's ear, *caula*, *upanayana*, the end of the period of Vedic study; topics connected with marriage (this takes up 55 verses i. e. a little over one-third of the entire work); times for kindling sacred domestic fire (gṛhyāgni); times for construction of a house and for first entrance into it; the proper times for starting on a journey or marching against an enemy king; auspicious and inauspicious śakunas (omens or prognostications); times for king's coronation, for wearing of rich clothes and ornaments and for agricultural operations, for sale and purchase of animals (such as cattle, horses), for bath with sesame and myrobalan, for finding lost articles, for constructing wells and tanks: times when Vedic study should be stopped (*anadhyāya*) for long or temporarily; the results of a lizard or chameleon falling on one's body; what planet is inauspicious or auspicious in which sign from the sign of one's birth; the puṇyakāla of

Saṅkrāntis. It may be mentioned that many of the provisions about auspicious aspects of planets, about upanayana and marriage, construction of and first entrance into a house, śakunas about the fall of lizards and chameleons were observed in the author's boyhood and are still observed by many, though there is gradually an increasing looseness of observance in these matters.

It should be noted that even as to *śakunas* Varāha-mihira puts forward the principle that it is the fruition of actions, good or evil, done in previous lives by men, that is manifested by śakunas for those who start on a journey or invasion.[827]

How people had become almost crazy with the idea of finding out a *muhūrta* for everything from shaving, wearing a new garment to such solemn matters as marriage is well illustrated by the provision of a muhūrta for a theft in the Muhūrtamuktāvali, viz. the act of thieving succeeds when done on the nakṣatras Āśleṣā, Mṛgaśiras, Bharaṇī, Svātī, Dhaniṣṭhā, Citrā and Anurādhā, on a Saturday or a Tuesday and on a *riktā* tithi (4th, 9th and 14th).[828]

Before entering on a discussion about individual acts or rites, it is necessary, in order that the reader may understand the prescriptions about muhūrtas, to explain some simple details of *Jātaka.* To discuss in detail all the details of Jātaka works is much beyond the scope of this work and would necessitate the writing of a volume by itself. A middle course has to be followed. Besides nakṣatras, their lords and their classifications, one has to bear in mind the rāśis, the planets and the *bhāvas* (houses or places) in a horoscope. For these reliance will be mainly placed on the Bṛhatsaṁhitā and Bṛhaj-jātaka of Varāhamihira, the Sārāvalī, Jyotiṣaratnamālā of Śrīpati, the Rājamārtaṇḍa, Jātakālaṅkara of Gaṇeśa (composed in śake 1535, 1613-4 A. D.). The 27 or 28 nakṣatras and their presiding deities have already been enumerated above (pp. 499-504 and note 731). It has to be remembered that the devatā of a nakṣatra is often employed to indicate the nakṣatra or the tithi itself also. Here the classification of nakṣatras will be first discussed. From a passage of the

827. अन्यजन्मान्तरकृतं पुंसां कर्म शुभाशुभम् । यत्तस्य शकुनः पाकं निवेदयति गच्छताम् ॥ बृहद्योगयात्रा 23. 1.

828. सार्पेन्द्राग्न्तकस्वाती (सार्पेन्द्वन्तक?) धनिष्ठा शाक्रमैत्रभम् (भे ?)। शनौ च भौम (मे ?) रिक्तायां चौर्यकर्म प्रसिध्यति । मुहूर्तमुक्तावली verse 42 (ms. in the Bombay Asiatic Society).

Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad quoted above (in note 754), it is clear that the nakṣatras had very early (i. e. about 1000 B. C. at least) been classified as *puṇya* (auspicious) and *pāpa* (inauspicious) and into male and female. The Vedāṅgajyotiṣa (Yājuṣa) gives a classification of nakṣatras into *ugra* and *krūra.*[829] The nakṣatras are further classified in the Bṛhat-saṁhitā (chap. 97. 6-11) into dhruva (or sthira = fixed), tīkṣṇa (or dāruṇa), ugra (or krūra), kṣipra (or laghu), mṛdu (or maitra), mṛdutīkṣṇa (or sādhāraṇa or miśra), cara (or cala).[830]

The Bṛ. S. (97. 6-11) states that on Dhruva nakṣatras the coronation of a king, śānti (propitiatory rite for averting impending evil or calamity), planting of trees, foundation of a city, charitable acts, sowing seeds, and other permanent acts should be done; on tīkṣṇa nakṣatras succeed attempts to harm, the acquisition of mantra (mystic verse or formula), raising ghosts, arrest (of a person), beating, separating (two friends or) relationships; *ugra* nakṣatras are to be used for success in extermination, destruction of another's property, cheating, arrest, poisoning, incendiarism, striking with a weapon, killing; kṣipra (or laghu) nakṣatras are declared as leading to success in sales, in making love, in the acquisition of knowledge, decoration, arts, crafts (such as carpentry), medicines, journeys; the mṛdu nakṣatras are beneficial in securing friends, sexual affairs, clothes, ornaments, auspicious ceremonies (marriage, *upanayana* &c.) and singing; the mṛdu-tīkṣṇa (or sādhāraṇa) nakṣatras produce mixed results (on which mild or fierce acts may be done); the *cara* nakṣatras are beneficial in doing fleeting actions. The Muhūrta-mārtaṇḍa provides that wise men engage in actions similar to the names of the groups of nakṣatras for attaining success. It should be noticed that some works like the Jyotiṣa-ratnamālā (III. 9) and the Muhūrta-cintāmaṇi (II. 2-8) hold that Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday are respectively dhruva, cara, ugra, miśra, laghu, mṛdu, and tīkṣṇa and that actions that are appropriate for nakṣatras of those groups are appropriately performed on the respective week days.[831]

The Bṛhaj-jātaka devotes fourteen verses for the characteristics of persons born on the 27 nakṣatras from Aśvinī. Two

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829. उग्राण्यार्द्रा च चित्रा च विशाखा श्रवणोऽश्वयुक् । क्रूराणि तु मघा स्वाती ज्येष्ठा मूलं यमस्य यत् ॥ वेदाङ्गज्योतिष (याजुष verse 42).

830. For classifications of nakṣatras, vide note 558 above.

831. संज्ञानुरूपमिहाचरन्ति सुधियो कार्यं हि संसिद्धये । मु. मा. II. 3.

verses are translated for sample :[832] a person born on Aśvinīs is fond of ornaments, is handsome, has a prepossessing appearance, is clever (in all things) and intelligent; one born on Bharaṇīs is of firm resolve, truthful, free from disease, clever and free from worry; one born on Kṛttikās is a heavy eater, fond of other's wives, impatient, famous; one born on Rohiṇī is truthful, pure, of agreeable speech, of resolute intellect and is handsome. The Rājamārtaṇḍa in verses 16–40 sets out the synonyms of 27 nakṣatras which include the names of the lords of the nakṣatras and synonyms of the lords of nakṣatras. The Jyotiṣaratnamālā, Bhujabala and M. C. 2. 22–23 divide 28 nakṣatras (including Abhijit) into four groups[833] of seven each, called 'andhākṣa' (blind), 'mandākṣa' (of dim sight), 'madhyākṣa' (of medium sight) and 'svakṣa' (of good sight) and state that property stolen on 'andhākṣa' nakṣatras may be recovered quickly, stolen on 'mandākṣa' nakṣatras after effort, stolen on 'madhyākṣa' (there is no recovery but) the owner may hear that it has been taken to a distant place by the thief; stolen on 'svakṣa' or 'sulocana' the owner would not recover it nor even hear about its whereabouts. The Bṛhat-saṁhitā (chap. 14) has already been referred to (on p. 530) in connection with the provinces of India governed by nine groups of nakṣatras (three nakṣatras in each group) and chapter 15 of the same (1–27) sets out what substances are governed by the 27 nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī.[834] One verse is translated as a specimen: under Kṛttikās are white flowers, those who have consecrated the Vedic fires, those who know Vedic mantras, sūtras and bhāṣyas (commentaries), officers over mines (or stores), barbers, brāhmaṇas, *purohita*, astrologers, potters.

The Bṛhat-saṁhitā (104.1–5) declares what nakṣatras (out of 27) form part of Time looked upon as a *puruṣa* (Person). This is

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832. प्रियभूषणः सुरूपः सुभगो दक्षोऽश्विनीषु मतिमांश्च । कृतनिश्चयसत्यारुग्दक्षः सुखितश्च भरणीषु ॥ बहुभुक्परदाररतस्तेजस्वी कृत्तिकासु विख्यातः । रोहिण्यां सत्यशुचिः प्रियंवदः स्थिरमतिः सुरूपश्च ॥ बृहज्जातक 16. 1–2. The बृहत्संहिता (chap. 160) has the same verses as बृहज्जातक 16.

833. The भुजबल (pp. 253–254) arranges the 28 नक्षत्रs counting from रोहिणी into the four groups (of seven each) and calls them अन्ध, मन्दाक्ष, मध्याक्ष and सुलोचन viz. रोहिणी, मृग, आर्द्रा, पुनर्वसु are अन्ध, मन्दाक्ष, मध्याक्ष, सुलोचन respectively, then पुष्य, आश्लेषा, मघा, पूर्वा are the same four अन्ध &c.; and so on.

834. आग्नेये सितकुसुमाहिताग्निमन्त्रज्ञसूत्रभाष्यज्ञाः । आकरिकनापितद्विजघटकारपुरोहिताब्दज्ञाः ॥ बृहत्सं. 15. 1.

an extension of a very old conception. The Tai. Br. says: 'Prajāpati has Hasta-nakṣatra as his hand, Citrā as his head, Niṣṭyā (i.e. Svātī) as his heart, the two stars of Viśākhā as the thighs, Anurādhās as his stability (or support). This is indeed Prajāpati in the form of groups of nakṣatras'[835].

From the above it would be noticed that a nakṣatra astrology apart from the rāśi astrology had been thoroughly developed in India while Ptolemy is hardly concerned with the nakṣatras, but concentrates only on *rāśis*.

The twelve *rāśis* are to be found in the Zodiacal belt (or circle); each extends over $2\frac{1}{4}$ nakṣatras i.e. Meṣa extends over Aśvinī, Bharaṇī and $\frac{1}{4}$ of Kṛttikā, Vṛṣabha extends over $\frac{3}{4}$ of Kṛttikā, whole of Rohiṇī and half of Mṛgaśīrṣa and so on. These twelve rāśis from Meṣa are identified respectively with the following limbs of the Kālapuruṣa[835a] viz. the head (Meṣa), mouth (Vṛṣabha), chest, heart, stomach, waist, the abdomen (between the navel and the private parts), the private parts, the pair of thighs, the pair of knees, the two shanks, the two feet. Varāha adds that the words *rāśi*, *kṣetra*, *gṛha*, *ṛkṣa*, *bha* and *bhavana* are used as synonyms in Jātaka. The purpose of the identification of *rāśis* with the limbs of Kāla put forward by astrological works is that if a malefic planet occupies in a person's horoscope a certain rāśi, he is adversely affected in that limb of his body to which the rāśi corresponds among the limbs of Kāla, but if a beneficent planet occupies at birth a rāśi, then the person prospers as to the corresponding limb. This is succintly put by the Sārāvalī (III. 5-6). The twelve rāśis with

835. हस्त एवास्य हस्तः। चित्रा शिरः। निष्ट्या हृदयम्। ऊरू विशाखे। प्रतिष्ठा अनूराधाः। एष वै नक्षत्रियः प्रजापतिः। तै. ब्रा. I. 5. 2-7; पाणिनि IV. 4. 141 (नक्षत्राद् घः) derives Vedic नक्षत्रिय from नक्षत्र.

835a. कालाङ्गानि वराङ्गमाननमुरो हृत्क्रोडवासोभृतो बस्तिर्व्यञ्जनमूरुजानुयुगले जङ्घे ततोऽङ्घ्रिद्वयम्। मेषाश्विप्रथमा नवर्क्षचरणाश्चक्रस्थिता राशयो राशिक्षेत्रगृहर्क्षभानि भवनं चैकार्थसंप्रत्ययाः॥ बृहज्जातक I. 4. उत्पल on this quotes similar verses from बादरायण, a predecessor mentioned by वराहमिहिर in बृहत्संहिता 39. 1. The लघुजातक I. 4 mentions the same limbs and rāśis but in a shorter compass; the वामनपुराण (chap. 5. 30-42) holds that Rudra assumed the form of Kāla and identifies the rāśis from Meṣa onwards with the head and other limbs of Kāla and the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (55. 75-79) assigns rāśis to the several limbs of Nārāyaṇa. कालनरस्यावयवान्पुरुषाणां कल्पयेत्प्रसवकाले। सदसद्ग्रहसंयोगात्पुष्टान्सोपद्रवांश्चापि॥ सारावली III. 6.

their English and Latin equivalents and their synonyms are set out below:

English	Latin	Sanskrit	Synonyms
Ram	Aries	Meṣa	Aja, chāga, *kriya*
Bull	Taurus	Vṛṣabha	Ukṣan, vṛṣa, go, gopati, *tāvuri* (or *Tavuru*)
Twins	Gemini	Mithuna	Yugma, nṛyuga, *jituma*, *jutuma* or *jitma*.
Crab	Cancer	Karka	Karkin, karkaṭa, *kulīra*
Lion	Leo	Siṁha	Hari, Mṛgendra, *leya*
Virgin	Virgo	Kanyā	Aṅganā, yuvati, pramadā, kumārī, *Pāthona* (*Pāthena?*)
Balance, Scales.	Libra	Tulā	Tauli, dhaṭa, vaṇij, tulādhara, *jūka*
Scorpion	Scorpio	Vṛścika	Ali, kīṭa, *kaurpya* or *kaurpi*
Archer	Sagittarius	Dhanus	Cāpa, kārmuka, dhanvin, hayāṅga, *Taukṣika* (or *Tavukṣa*)
Goat	Capricornus	Makara	Mṛgāsya, mṛga, *Ākokera*
Water-carrier	Aquarius	Kumbha	Ghaṭa, kumbhadhara, *hṛdroga*
Fishes	Pisces	Mīna	Matsya, jhaṣa, animiṣa, *Ittha* (or *Cettha?*)

The words in this list that are put in italics are mentioned in a separate verse by Varāha (Bṛhaj-jātaka I. 8).[836]

836. कियताबुरिजितुमकुलीरलेयपाथोनजूककौर्प्याख्याः। तौक्षिक आकोकेरो हृद्रोगश्चान्त्यभं चेत्थम्॥ बृहज्जातक 1. 8. The words अन्त्यभं चेत्थम् create a difficulty; Utpala takes them to mean 'and the last sign, in this way'. 'Antyabha' is a pure Sanskrit word and not Greek and there is on this interpretation no Greek word corresponding to Mīna (Pisces). Another commentator Guṇā-

(*Continued on next page*)

It should be noted that the list of synonyms is not exhaustive; other words with the same meaning are often employed. For example, for Siṁha, Mṛgarāja may be used or for Mīna the word *pṛthuroman* may be used. The words in italics are deemed by Weber and many others as borrowings from or Sanskrit adaptations of Greek words. It may be admitted that most of them bear a striking resemblance to Greek names of rāśis. Pāthona should be Pāthena to correspond with the Greek word. There is no reason why kulīra should be regarded as a Greek word. Kern (preface to Bṛ. S. p. 29) thinks that it is a pure Sanskrit word. There is no Greek word corresponding to Kulīra in Ptolemy. The word Karka or Karkin appears to mean ' white ' and occurs as early as in Atharvaveda IV. 38. 6-7. All that the Bṛhaj-jātāka (I. 8) means is that there are other words like *kriya* used for the twelve rāśis in other works. Varāhamihira frequently refers to the views of the Yavanas and sometimes differs from them. It has been shown by me in my paper on ' Yavaneśvara and Utpala ' (in J. of Bombay Asiatic Society, vol. 30, pp. 1–8) that there is a Sanskrit work on astrology called Yavana-jātaka of about 4000 verses composed by a king of the Yavanas called Sphujidhvaja and another Vṛddhayavanajātaka also in several thousand verses by Mīnarāja who styles himself the overlord of Yavanas. I cannot agree with Prof. Sen-Gupta ('Ancient Indian Chronology' p. 99) that words like Meṣa and Vṛṣabha in verses like Ṛg. I. 51. 1 (abhi tyam meṣam) refer to rāśis, when he himself had to concede that he could not find the other ten in the Ṛg.

(Continued from last page)

kara says that the last rāśi is called ' cettha ' (vide Subrahmanya Sastri's translation of Bṛhajjātaka p. 8). The T. S. S. edition of बृहज्जातक has ' हृद्रोगश्चेर्थासिः क्रमशः ' i. e. the last rāśi is called ' irthasi '. The मुहूर्तदर्शन has इत्थासि ' संज्ञाभिः क्रियलेयजूकजतुमाः कौर्पिः कुलीरस्तथा हृद्रोगेत्थसितौक्षिकाश्च कथिताः पाथोनकस्ताबुरः । I.9. Ptolemy employs a Greek word for Pisces (Loeb Classical Library pp. 52, 314, 328 &c.), to which 'ittha' or 'ikthasi' or 'irthasi' would correspond rather than ' cettha '. The Sārāvalī (III. 7) reads संज्ञास्तु जूक-कौर्पिकतौक्षाकोकेरहृद्वयरोगान्त्याः. That shows that it had no Greek word for ' mīna ' before it. It may be noted that the Sārāvalī expressly says that as Varāha's work is brief it (Sārāvalī) took essential matters from the extensive śāstras composed by Yavananarendra and others I have not been able to find the word *ittha* or a similar Sanskrit adaptation for Mīna in the Bṛhajjātaka. Vide Indische Studien vol. II. pp, 254–261 and JRAS for 1893 p. 747 for the Greek and Latin equivalents of the Sanskrit words for the signs of the zodiac, planets &c,

The appearance of the rāśis is briefly described by the Bṛhajjātaka[837] *I. 5 and explained by Utpala as follows: (The sign Mīna i. e. Pisces)* appears as two fishes (each facing the tail of the other), Kumbha appears as a man carrying an empty jar placed on his shoulder, the sign of Gemini is represented as a man carrying a mace and a woman holding a lute, the sign of Sagittarius is a man with a bow whose legs are like those of a horse, the sign Capricorn is a crocodile with the face of a deer, sign of Libra is a person holding scales, the sign Virgo is represented by a maiden in a boat with an ear of corn in one hand and fire in the other; the remaining signs are similar (in form) to the objects indicated by their names and all signs reside in places appropriate to their names. For more detailed descriptions, vide the twelve verses quoted from Yavaneśvara by Utpala which I have quoted and translated in my paper in the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society vol. 30 parts 1 and 2 pp. 1–7 and which are found in the Yavana-jātaka of Sphujidhvaja (a palm-leaf ms of which exists in the Nepal Durbar Library) and in the Vṛddhayavanajātaka of Mīnarāja. Those verses also name the special objects and places governed by the different rāśis. Several verses of Kāśyapa are quoted by Utpala on Bṛ. S. 40 that deal with the materials or things that are under the influence of the several rāśis. For example, Meṣa is the lord of garments, woollens, cloth made of the hair of a young goat, of *Masūra* pulse, wheat, resin, barley, gold and plants that grow on dry land.[838] The Vāmanapurāṇa[838a] (chap. 5. 45–60) describes the appearance of the rāśis and the places and objects they reside in or dominate and the verses closely resemble the wording employed in the two Yavanajātakas of Sphujidhvaja and Mīnarāja. Some verses are quoted below by way of illustration. From Varāha's description it appears that Meṣa, Vṛṣabha, Karkaṭa, Siṁha, Vṛścika, Makara and Mīna are figures of animals (either four-footed or

837. मत्स्यौ घटी नृमिथुनं सगदं सवीणं चापी नरोऽश्वजघनो मकरो मृगास्यः। तौली ससस्यदहना प्लवगा च कन्या शेषाः स्वनामसदृशाः स्वचराश्च सर्वे॥ बृहज्जातक I. 5; some read खचराश्च सर्वे (all move in the sky). But this appears redundant and meaningless.

838. वस्त्राविककुतु(त)पानां मसूरगोधूमरालकयवानाम्। स्थलसम्भवौषधीनां कनकस्य च कीर्तितो मेषः॥ बृहत्संहिता 40. 2. If the reading be कुतुपानां it meave 'hide drums for oil'

838a. स्त्रीपुंसयोः समं रूपं शय्यासनपरिग्रहम्। वीणावाद्यधृक् मिथुनं गीतनर्तनशिल्पिषु॥ स्थितं क्रीडारतिर्नित्यं विहारं ध्वनिकस्य तु। मिथुनं नाम विख्यातं राशिर्द्वैधात्मकः शिवः॥ कर्किः कुलीरेण समः सलिलस्थः प्रकीर्तितः। केदारवापीपुलिनविविक्तावनिरेव च॥ वामनपुराण 5. 49–51.

insects) and the remaining five resemble human beings with special characteristics in each case. These rāśi names have more or less the same meanings in Babylonia,[839] in Europe including Greece and in India. But it should not be supposed that everywhere the several groups of stars were imagined to be identical with the figures of the same animals or of human beings. In China for instance, the twelve rāśis are rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, sheep, monkey, hen, dog and pig (Encyclopaedia Americana, vol. 29 under the word 'zodiac' and New Funk and Wagnall's Encyclopaedia vol. 36 under 'Zodiac')[839a]. It is further stated that these are still found in some parts of Asia, in Japan and also among the remains of the Aztec race in America. There are many who deny that except for a few signs (like the Scorpion) there is hardly any very striking similarity between the twelve groups of constellations called Aries &c. and the natural appearance of the objects denoted by the twelve names.[840] The origin of the names assigned to Zodiacal signs is unknown. The zodiacal signs named Meṣa, Vṛṣabha &. are purely imaginary, are mere subjective configurations of stars which appear to be in one plane and which appear to certain persons to possess somehow the outline of a scorpion or a lion which are, as modern astronomy tells us, situated at enormous distances (light years as they are called) from each other. The same constellation is often given different names; e. g. the constellation called Great Bear was called by Thales 'the wain' (waggon drawn by horses). The twelve Zodiacal signs are clearly absent from the sacred astronomy of Egypt[841] and the Egyptians knew nothing of the Zodiac before the

839. Vide Campbell Thompson's Intro. to 'Reports of the Magicians &c.' for a table of late Babylonian, Assyrian and modern English names of signs (pp. XXIII–XXIV) and Expository Times, vol 30 (for 1918) pp. 164–168 on 'Assyro-Babylonian astrologers and their lore' by T. G. Pinches. On p.167 the latter says that Europe is indebted to the Babylonians for the names of the signs of the Zodiac except Crab and Archer and sets out the Babylonian names with their meanings and modern names (Ram &c.). These two tables do not agree. Babylonians called Capricorn goat-fish. Bouché—Leclercq (on p. 57 note 1) gives a list of the twelve Chaldean zodiacal signs, which differs from both the above.

839a. Vide 'the Stars above us' by Prof. Zinner p. 35 and plate III opposite p. 19 showing the Japanese animal sequence from Rat to Pig.

840. Vide 'Introducing the universe' by J. C. Hickey p. 123.

841. 'Legacy of Egypt' (ed. by Glanville) p. 162; 'The names of the stars' by E. J. Webb p. 96.

Alexandrian age and very few Zodiacs are older than the Roman times. Since Assyriologists began to reveal the astronomical knowledge in the valley of the Euphrates, the Babylonian origin of the Zodiac has been taken for granted by almost all scholars.[842] The dissenting voice is that of E. J. Webb in 'Names of stars'[843] who very strenuously argues against the Babylonian origin of the Zodiacal signs and holds that the Zodiac as we know it is a Greek invention and that Cleostratus who according to Pliny was concerned in forming it lived about 520 B. C. In spite of the vehemence of Webb's arguments, in my humble opinion, he is far from convincing and for the present at least the Babylonian origin of the Zodiacal signs has to be accepted. The passage of Pliny on which Webb relies is differently understood by Prof. J. K. Forheringham.[844] The latest work of Sarton on 'History of Science' (1953) holds that the Zodiac had been distinguished by Babylonian astronomers a thousand years before Cleostratus and all that Cleostratus probably did was to divide those constellations into twelve equal lengths of the ecliptic i. e. the twelve signs of the Zodiac. A somewhat amusing argument has been advanced by Hickey [845] that the fact that there are in the sky no animals (figures) suggestive of Egypt or India such as the hippopotamus and the elephant seems to rule out those countries as sources. Is there any logical necessity that certain animals must be introduced in a system of Zodiacal signs if that system originated in a certain country that may be the home of dozens of wild and tame animals? Are all the principal animals of Mesopotamia or of Greece included in the seven animals that figure as signs, if one of the above two was the origin

842. Vide Bouché-Leclercq. p. 53 ('L''Astrologie Grecque'); p. XVI of the Intro. to Heath's 'Greek Astronomy'; Alexander Moret on 'The Nile and Egyptian civilization' (1927) p. 453 (where he says that the Greek Zodiac was itself derived from Babylonian astronomy).

843. Vide pp. 163-175 and p. 189 of 'Names of Stars' by E. J. Webb.

844. Vide Journal of Hellenistic Studies, vol. 39 pp. 164-184 and vol. 45 pp. 78-83 (both by Fotheringham), *ibid* vol. 41 (pp. 70-85) 'Cleostratus Redivivus' by E. J. Webb (who himself remarks on p. 70 that the question when and by whom our constellations were invented is never likely to find its solution) and *ibid.* vol. 48 pp. 54-63 on 'Cleostratus and his work' by E. J. Webb. Vide Prof. Neugebauer in 'Exact Sciences in Antiquity' p. 67 (note) about the history of Zodiacal and planetary symbols being virtually unknown. But in the Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol. IV at p. 28 Prof. Neugebauer asserts that the predominant influence of Babylonian concepts on the grouping of stars into pictures must be maintained.

845. Vide 'Introducing the universe' p. 103 by J. C. Hickey.

of the present Zodiacal signs? All the seven animals in the Zodiac are found in abundance in India even now, while some of them may not be found in the present day Greece or Babylonia. At present I am only concerned to say that out of the three ancient lands, viz. Egypt, Mesopotamia and Greece, Mesopotamia has the greatest claims to be regarded as the source of the Zodiacal signs. The case of India will be dealt with a little later on.

The astrological *rāśis* are[846] variously classified as male and female, *cara* (movable) and *sthira* (fixed or lasting) and

Rāśi	Lord of	Male or Female	Cara or Sthira	dinabala or niśābala	saumya or krūra	pṛṣṭhodaya or śirṣodaya
Meṣa	east	male	cara	n.	krūra	p.
Vṛṣabha	south	female	sthira	n.	saumya	p.
Mithuna	west	male	dvisvabhāva	n.	krūra	ś.
Karka	north	female	cara	n.	saumya	p.
Siṁha	east	male	sthira	d.	krūra	ś.
Kanyā	south	female	dvisvabhāva	d.	Saumya	ś.
Tulā	west	male	cara	d.	krūra	ś.
Vṛścika	north	female	sthira	d.	saumya	ś.
Dhanus	east	male	dvisvabhāva	n.	krūra	p.
Makara	south	female	cara	n.	saumya	p.
Kumbha	west	male	sthira	d.	krūra	ś.
Mīna	north	female	dvisvabhāva	d.	saumya	both p. and ś.

846. गोजाश्विकर्किमिथुनाः समृगा निशाख्याः पृष्ठोदया विमिथुनाः कथितास्त एव शीर्षोदया दिनबलाश्च भवन्ति शेषा लग्नं समेत्युभयतः पृथुरोमयुग्मम्॥ क्रूरः सौम्यः पुरुषवनिते ते चरागद्विदेहाः प्रागादीशाः क्रियवृषनृयुक्कर्कटाः सत्रिकोणाः। बृहज्जातक I. 10–11. Separate चरागद्विदेहाः as चर + अग (अचल or स्थिर) + द्विदेह (= द्विस्वभाव). त्रिकोण is the 5th or 9th rāśi from a specified rāśi (Bṛhaj-jātaka I. 11). There is another meaning of त्रिकोण (which उत्पल calls मूल-त्रिकोण) in बृहज्जातक I. 14 viz. सिंह, वृषभ, मेष, कन्या, धनुः, तौलि, कुम्भ are त्रिकोणs of the Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn.

dvisvabhāva (of both characters), as *saumya* (mild) and *krūra* (fierce or malignant), as *dinabala* (powerful by day), *niśābala* (powerful by night), as *pṛṣṭhodaya* (rising from the hind part), *śīrṣodaya* (rising by their head first) or *ubhayodaya*, and as lords of the four main directions (east &c.). The above table will show at a glance these classifications, in which n. stands for niśābala, d. for dinabala, p. for pṛṣṭhodaya and ś. for śīrṣodaya.

The Bṛhajjātaka compresses these details in I. 10–11 and Utpala explains the purpose of some of these technical terms. Yātrā (invasion) undertaken on śīrṣodaya rāśis yields the desired result but if undertaken on pṛṣṭhodaya rāśis there is failure and one's army is routed. Those born on krūra signs are of cruel nature and those born on saumya signs are mild by nature, while those born on male signs are energetic and those born on female signs are mild. Those born on *cara* signs are unsteady by nature, those born on *sthira* signs are of a fixed nature and those born on dvisvabhāva signs are of mixed character. The knowledge of the signs as lords of quarters is useful in finding out the direction where a person who stole something on a particular sign could be found or the stolen article could be found. Ptolemy's Tetrabiblos I. 11 speaks of Taurus, Leo, Scorpio and Aquarius as solid signs (*sthira*) and Gemini, Virgo, Sagittarius, Pisces as bi-corporeal (*dvideha* or *dvisvabhāva*), and in I. 12 there is agreement with Bṛhajjātaka as to the masculine and feminine signs but there is disagreement as to *diurnal* (dinabala) and *nocturnal* signs (niśābala), since Ptolemy holds that Aries and other signs are alternately diurnal or nocturnal, while Varāha holds Aries and the next three and also Sagittarius and Capricornus as nocturnal and the rest diurnal. It does not appear that the Bṛhajjātaka knows of the commanding and obeying signs (Tetrabiblos I. 14) and of signs which behold each other or of disjunct signs (Tetrabiblos I. 15 and 16). The Bṛ. J. (I. 20) and Laghujātaka I. 6 assign the following colours to the twelve rāśis from Meṣa onwards viz. red, white, green (like a parrot's body), dark-red (pink), whitish like smoke, speckled, dark, golden, yellowish, variegated, deep brown (like ichneumon), white. There is hardly anything corresponding to this in the Tetrabiblos. The rāśis are also divided into four classes viz. anthropomorphic (Mithuna, Kanyā, Tulā, Dhanus forepart, Kumbha), quadruped (Meṣa, Vṛṣa, Siṁha, Dhanus latter portion, Makara forepart), aquatic (Karkaṭa, Mīna, Makara

latter part), insect (Scorpion). Vide Tetrabiblos IV. 4 pp. 389 and 391 for slightly varying enumeration.

Bṛ. J. (chap. 17. 1–12) sets out the characteristics of persons born when the Moon was in Meṣa and the following rāśis and remarks at the end (in verse 13) that the results described will come out fully if the moon, the rāśi it occupies and the lord of that rāśi are powerful. In Bṛ. J. I. 19 it is said that two-footed rāśis (mithuna, kanyā, tulā, kumbha and forepart of dhanus) are powerful by day if they be in *kendra*; four-footed rāśis (meṣa, vṛṣa, siṁha, makara forepart and dhanus latter part) are powerful at night in kendra position and the rest i. e. watery signs and insect signs (kulīra, vṛścika, mīna and latter part of makara) are powerful at twilight, when in kendra position. Bṛ. J. 18. 20 provides that similar results (as in chap. 17) follow if a person is born when the *lagna* at his birth is meṣa or any one of the other rāśis.

Planets, their relations to the rāśis and their conjoint influence will now be briefly indicated. We saw above (pp. 493–495) that in the Vedic Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas express references to planets other than Jupiter are almost absent, that in some Vedic verses five planets and Venus (as Vena) appear to be referred to. Svarbhānu, the son of an asura, is said to have struck the sun with darkness (i. e. caused an eclipse) in Ṛg. V. 40. 5, 6, 8, 9. In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad the soul that has acquired true knowledge is said to shake off the body after casting off all evil like a horse (that casts off dust by) shaking his hair (mane and tail) or like the moon becoming free from the mouth of Rāhu.[847] The Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad mentions Śani, Rāhu (ascending node) and Ketu (descending node).[848] But hardly anything is said about the astrological significance of planets in the ancient Vedic Literature. In the Mahābhārata there are plenty of references to the evil influence of planets, but that is restricted to nakṣatras. Both Rāhu and Ketu are said in Karṇaparva to rise in the sky for (i. e. portending) the destruction of the world.[849] Kauṭilya offers the curious information that a foreknowledge of rainfall can be had from the position, the motion and the *garbhādhāna* of Jupiter, from the rising, setting and motion of Venus and from the natural and unnatural

847. अश्व इव रोमाणि विधूय पापं चन्द्र इव राहोर्मुखात्प्रमुच्य धूत्वा शरीरमकृतं कृतात्मा ब्रह्मलोकमभिसम्भवामि। छान्दोग्योप. VIII. 13.

848. शनिराहुकेतूरगरक्षोयक्षनरविहगशरभेभादयोऽधस्ताद्युयाति। मैत्रायणी-उप. VII. 6.

849. राहुकेतू यथाकाशे उदितौ जगतः क्षये। कर्णपर्व 87·92.

aspects of the sun and that from the sun the sprouting of the seed (can be predicted), from Jupiter the formation of abundant sheaves of corn when the seeds are sown and from the (movements) of Venus rainfall (can be predicted).[850] It will be seen from the above that general or universal (not individual or horoscopic) astrology like the reports made by royal priests in Mesopotamia was prevalent in India many centuries before Christ. The Bṛhajjātaka (II. 2–3) enumerates the nine planets, Sun, Moon, Mercury, Mars, Saturn, Jupiter, Venus, Rāhu and Ketu and furnishes some synonyms of all these.

Observations of planets by the Babylonians go back to 2nd millennium B. C. Venus was the first to be studied. Tables about Venus based on observations are found from 1921–1901[851] B. C.; Jupiter and Mars were also observed. Jupiter was held to be normally favourable when he shone brightly or followed the moon, while Mars was the planet of ill-luck, but, if Mars shone weakly or disappeared, its evil influence disappeared. Saturn as its name indicates ('firm standing one') was regarded mostly a planet of good luck. Various favourable prognostications were made about a child, according as the planets like the Moon, Venus or Jupiter were rising or unfavourable prognostications were made if Mars was rising or if Jupiter or Venus were setting.[852] Each planet received a variety of names in the astronomical texts of Babylonia. The teaching that every planet has its exaltation i. e. the strongest pitch of its might and influence when in a particular sign goes back to ancient Babylonia.[853] The arrangements of the order of planets differed at different times. Planet comes from a Greek word meaning 'a wanderer' and the word was applied to the planets because as compared with the stars they appeared to wander in different ways and at

850. तस्योपलब्धिर्बृहस्पतेः स्थानगमनगर्भाधानेभ्यः शुक्रोदयास्तमयचारेभ्यः सूर्यस्य प्रकृतिवैकृताच्च । सूर्याद् बीजसिद्धिः । बृहस्पतेः सस्यानां स्तम्बकारिता । शुक्राद् वृष्टिरिति ॥ अर्थशास्त्र II. 24th अध्याय p. 116 (Sham shastri's ed. of 1919). For गर्भाधान as to rainfall, vide बृहत्संहिता chapter 22. Aratus (270 B. C.) and Theophrastus (322 B. C.) say that the disappearance of the constellation corresponding to our Puṣya was reckoned by the ancients as a sure presage of rain. Vide Dr. Fleet in J. R. A. S. for 1911 at p. 516.

851. Vide Heath's 'Greek Astronomy', Introduction pp. XVII–XVIII, Meissner's 'Babylonien and Assyrien' (1925) vol. II pp. 254–256; Sarton in 'A history of Science' p. 77.

852. M. Jastrow in 'the Religion of Babylonia and Assyria' (1898) p. 460.

853. Meissner, ibid. vol. II p. 406.

different times.[854] In modern times there are three more planets, viz. Uranus, Neptune and Pluto discovered respectively in 1781, 1846 and 1930 A. D.[855] Bouché Leclercq mentions that modern astrologers asserted that Chaldeans saw Uranus and Neptune and three other planets (Juno, Vulcan and Pluto), when they had good eyes (p. 573 note 2 of 'L' Astrologie Grecque).

The Bṛ. J. (II. 2–3), Sārāvalī (IV. 10–11) and Rājamārtaṇḍa (verses 8–15) set out the various names for the sun, the moon and the other seven planets. They are specified in the note[856]

854. C. V. Maclean on 'Babylonian Astrology and its relation to the Old Testament' (United Church Publishing House, Toronto) p. 27, Prof. Neugebauer in E. S. A. p. 162 (for arrangements of planets in cuneiform texts in Seleucid period and in Greek horoscopes). In the Seleucid period the standard arrangement was Jupiter—Venus—Mercury—Saturn—Mars. Ordinary arrangement in Greek horoscopes is Sun, Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury. For the planetary week the arrangement in Greece is said to be Saturn-Jupiter-Mars-Sun-Venus-Mercury-Moon. On p. 163 Prof. Neugebauer thinks that Hindu arrangement of planets is obviously Greek in origin for two reasons, as it is based on the arrangement according to distance from the earth and also on a division of days into 24 hours, which is not Babylonian but Hellenistic and ultimately of Egyptian origin. In this latter he can be said to be wrong, as a similar arrangement of week days can be arrived at by relying on the 60 ghaṭikā system of India. We saw above that *horā* in Indian astrology has three meanings, viz. Jātaka, *lagna* and half a sign, but the very early Sanskrit astrological texts at least do not appear to employ the word horā in the sense of 'hour' or $\frac{1}{24}$th part of the whole day or $\frac{1}{12}$th part of the day. Any one who asserts that the arrangement of week days is copied from the Greeks must prove two things, (1) the definite time when the Greeks hit upon the particular arrangement of planets for purposes of week-days and (2) the borrowing people had definitely not arrived at the same arrangement before the Greeks. Prof. Neugebauer, so far as I can see, offers hardly any evidence on any of these two matters beyond mere assertions and conjectures. It has further to be remembered that Alberuni (Sachau, vol. I. p. 343) states that nobody in India uses the hours except the astrologers, for they speak of the dominants of the hours. The 30 muhūrtas of *ahorātra* are much older than the Śatapatha Br. and it was easy to divide a muhūrta into two nāḍīs or ghaṭikās as the Arthaśāstra does (I. 19 p. 37 'Nālikābhiraharaṣṭadhā rātrim ca vibhajet) and Purāṇas like Viṣṇu VI. 3. 6–9 do. There is hardly anything in the vast Sanskrit Literature (of ancient or medieval times) to show that common people or writers (not being astronomers or astrologers) employed the method of 24 hours of the day.

855. Vide Prof. Van Pen Bergh in 'Universe in space and time' p. 177 and D. S. Evans in 'Frontiers of astronomy' p. 41 for tables and data about planets from Mercury to Pluto as regards distance from the Sun, period of revolution, diameter, mass &c.

856. The sun : सूर्य, रवि, भानु, इन, आदित्य, सवितृ, भास्कर, अर्क, दिवाकर, तिग्मांशु, तपन, सहस्रांशु, प्रभाकर, उष्णकर, उष्णगु, मार्तण्ड, दिनमणि, दिनकृत्, हेलि.

(*Continued on next page*)

below and the names underlined are deemed by Western writers to have been derived from Greek; but it should be noted that no Greek name for the moon occurs in these or other works and I am not convinced that Jīva is a Greek word or adaptation of a Greek word. The word Jīva occurs in the Ṛgveda itself in many places (as in Ṛg. I. 164.30, X. 18.37) and means 'living being, an individual' and in Chāndogya Upaniṣad VI. 3.2 it means 'individual soul'. When Bṛhaspati came to be regarded as the most prominent of planets and was said to preside over knowledge and happiness (as in Bṛ. J. II. 1. 'Jīvo jñāna-sukham') he came to be regarded as the very life of beings and was called Jīva. The Sārāvalī (X. 116) says that Bṛhaspati is the life of men (Bṛhaspatir-nṛṇām jīvaḥ). In Bhujabala it is said 'what will all the planets do to him in whose horoscope Jupiter is in *kendra* position. A herd of wild elephants is killed by a single lion.'[857] The Bṛ. J. and Sārāvalī provide that further synonyms may be derived from popular usage.

In the following some characteristics of the planets (based on Bṛ. J. II. 5-7) are brought together, viz. the colour ruled by each, the lords of each, the direction, element, Veda and class (brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya &c.) dominated by each and whether they are beneficent or malefic.

(*Continued from last page*)

2 The moon—विधु, इन्दु, चन्द्र, चन्द्रमस्, शीतांशु, सोम, मृगाङ्क, निशाकर, शीतरश्मि, निशानाथ, रोहिणीप्रिय, शशिन्, हिमगु, शीतगु, नक्षत्रपति.

3 Mars—अङ्गारक, कुज, भौम, भूमिज, महीसुत, आवनेय, लोहिताङ्ग, क्षितिसुत, क्रूराक्ष, माहेय, रुधिर, वक्र, आर.

4 Mercury—बुध, ज्ञ, विद्, बोधन, विबुध, कुमार, राजपुत्र, सौम्य, चन्द्रसुत, तारापुत्र, रौहिणेय, हिमरश्मिज, हिम्न (or हिम्ना).

5 Jupiter—गुरु, इज्य, ईड्य, अङ्गिरस्, सुरगुरु, सुरमन्त्रिन्, सुराचार्य, बृहस्पति, वाक्पति, गिरीश, धिषण, सूरि, जीव.

6 Venus—शुक्र, भृगु, भृगुसुत, सित, भार्गव, कवि, उशनस्, दैत्यमन्त्रिन्, दानवपूजित, असुरगुरु, काव्य, आस्फुजित्.

7 Saturn—शनैश्चर, सौरि, सूर्यपुत्र, मन्द, असित, अर्कनन्दन, आर्कि, भास्करि, दिनेशात्मज, सहस्रांशुज, पाताङ्गि, यम, शनि, छायापुत्र, कोण.

8 Rāhu—राहु, तमः, अगु, असुर, स्वर्भानु, सिंहिकासुत, दानव, सुरारि, भुजङ्गम, विधुन्तुद, अमृतचौर, उपप्लव.

9 Ketu—केतु, शिखिन्, ब्रह्मसुत, धूम्रवर्ण. Vide Campbell Thompson's 'Reports of the magicians &c.' vol. II. Introduction p. XXIII. for the Babylonian and Assyrian names for Moon (Sin), Sun (Shamash) and so on. The sun is called Helin in Devīpurāṇa quoted by Hemādri on vratas. vol. II. p. 434 and frequently in Bhaviṣyapurāṇa as in I. 104. 2 'सप्तम्यां शुक्लपक्षे तु फाल्गुनस्येह मानवः । जपन्हेलीति देवस्य नाम भक्त्या पुनः पुनः ॥'

857. किं कुर्वन्ति ग्रहाः सर्वे यस्य केन्द्रे बृहस्पतिः । मत्तवारणसङ्घातः सिंहेनैकेन हन्यते ॥ भुजबल p. 280 verse 1262.

planet	colour dominated by	by whom ruled	direction	element ruled by	Veda	class	beneficent or malefic
Sun	red	Fire	East			Kṣatriya	malefic
Moon	white	Water	N. W.			Vaiśya	waning Moon[858] malefic
Mars	very red	Kārtikeya	South	Fire	Sāmaveda	Kṣatriya	malefic
Mercury	green	Viṣṇu	North	Earth	Atharva	Śūdra	malefic when in conjunction with malefic planets
Jupiter	yellow	Indra	N. E.	Ākāśa (ether)	Ṛgveda	Brāhmaṇa	beneficent
Venus	variegated	Indrāṇī	S. E.	Water	Yajurveda	Brāhmaṇa	beneficent
Saturn	dark	Prajāpati	West	Air		Cāṇḍāla	malefic
Rāhu			S. W.				

858. उत्पल on Br. J. II. 5 explains 'कृष्णाष्टम्यर्धाच्छुक्लाष्टम्यर्धं यावत् क्षीणश्चन्द्रः । ···शुक्लपक्षाष्टम्यर्धात् कृष्णपक्षाष्टम्यर्धं यावत् चन्द्रः सौम्यः । बुधः पापवियुतः सौम्य एव'. Tetrabiblos I. 5 regards Jupiter, Venus and Moon as beneficent and places the Sun on the same footing as Mercury. Utpala notes that Yavaneśvara holde that Moon is never malefic and quotes two verses from him, which are found in the Nepal Durbar ms. of Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja,

In the Yogayātrā VI. 1 a distinction is made between the gods that rule the eight directions and the planets that rule them. Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Yakṣa (Kubera) and Śiva are the lords of the eight directions from East to North-East, while the same directions are governed by planets as in the above table.

The purpose for these classifications is explained as follows: As regards colours ruled by planets, they are useful in indicating the colour of the thing lost by or stolen from a man and the colour of the flowers with which the planets are to be worshipped; the lords of the planets are to be worshipped along with the planets in *grahapūjā*; the direction in which a king should march on an invasion is indicated by planets that rule the directions; according as beneficent or malefic planets are powerful in the horoscope, the character of the person concerned is indicated as good or bad. The Bṛ. J. II. 7 further provides that the Moon, the Sun and Jupiter are lords of *sattva-guṇa*, Mercury and Venus of *rajo-guṇa*, Mars and saturn of *tamoguṇa*. Utpala points out that Varāha differs from Yavaneśvara, who regards the Sun, Mars and Jupiter as Sāttvika, the Moon and Venus as full of rajoguṇa, Saturn as having tamoguṇa and Mercury taking on the character of the planet with which it is in conjunction.[858a] Rāhu is the ascending node or the point where the orbit of the moon intersects the ecliptic in passing northwards. Bṛ. J. (II. 8–11) and Laghujātaka II. 13–19 describe the form and appearance of the planets from the Sun to Saturn, giving full rein to association of ideas, imagination and to personification of them. For illustration, I translate one verse (10) 'Jupiter[859] has a large body, his hair and eyes are brownish in colour, he has eminent intellect and has a phlegmatic constitution; Venus is given to pleasures, has handsome body and pretty eyes, has wind and phlegm in his constitution and black but curling hair on his head.' Another table based on Bṛ. J. II. 11, 12, 14 and Sārāvalī IV. 15–16 about the parts of the human body

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858a. अत्राचार्यस्य यवनेश्वरेण सह मतभेदः। तेन भौमः सात्त्विक उक्तः। तथा च तद्वाक्यम्। सत्त्वाधिका भास्करभौमजीवा भृग्वात्मजो राजसिकः शशी च। शनैश्चरो तामसिको बुधस्तु संयोगतोऽस्माल्लभते विशेषान्॥ उत्पल on II. 7. The verse occurs on folio 6 of यवनजातक (Nepal ms.)

859. बृहत्तनुः पिङ्गलमूर्धजेक्षणो बृहस्पतिः श्रेष्ठमतिः कफात्मकः। भृगुः सुखी कान्तवपुः सुलोचनः कफानिलात्मासितवक्रमूर्धजः॥ बृहज्जातक II. 10; compare the similar descriptions in बृहत्सं. 8. 53.

governed by the planets,[860] about their *habitat* (*sthāna*), about the kinds of cloth they govern, about the metals, precious stones and the flavours they rule is given below.

Planet	bodily part	habitat	cloth	metals & jewels	*rasa* (flavour)
Sun	bones	temple	coarse	copper	pungent
Moon	blood	watery place	cloth fresh from loom	jewels	salt
Mars	marrow	fire-place	burnt in a part	gold	bitter
Mercury	skin	play-ground	wet	bronze	mixed (all six together)
Jupiter	fat	treasury	neither new nor much worn	silver	sweet
Venus	semen	bedroom	strong	pearl	sour
Saturn	muscles	dust-hole	tattered	iron	astringent

It was said that if Jupiter was in his own house (i. e. Dhanus or Mīna), then Jupiter also ruled over gold.[861] The object of assigning these was practical, viz. the astrologer could judge of the place of birth if the planet was powerful or of the place of the thief or, if a question were put about the food which one invited to a dinner may be served with, the powerful planet would suggest the kind of food.

The Bṛ. J. (II. 5) states that the Sun, Mars and Jupiter are masculine, the Moon and Venus feminine, while Mercury and Saturn are neuter or common (*napuṁsaka*). Here Tetrabiblos differs (I. 6), as it regards Saturn as masculine. Acc. to Bṛ. J. II. 21 the Moon, Mars and Saturn are nocturnal (powerful at night), the Sun, Jupiter and Venus are diurnal (powerful by day) and Mercury is common (both diurnal and nocturnal). The Tetrabiblos differs (I. 7) by making Venus nocturnal and Saturn diurnal.

860. Vide Tetrabiblos III. 12 pp. 319 and 321 for parts of the human body governed by planets, which description differs from that of the Bṛ. J.

861. अर्कादि ताम्रमणिहेमशुक्तिरजतानि मौक्तिकं लोहम्। वक्तव्यं बलवद्भिः स्वस्थाने हेम जीवेपि ॥ लघुजातक quoted by उत्पल on बृहज्जा. II. 12. The relation between planets and the chief metals was, it seems, based on colour similarity. The theory that different planets governed different areas and limbs of the body led to the influence of astrology on medicine.

Certain rāśis are declared to be the houses (*svagṛha*) of planets and certain other rāśis as their *ucca* (exaltation) and certain parts or degrees of the *ucca* are declared to be *paramocca*; the 7th rāśi from the *ucca* is said to be *nīca* i. e. depressed and certain parts (or degrees) of the latter are said to be *paramanica.* The Sun and the Moon have each only one rāśi as svagṛha, while the other five planets have two each. The following diagram will indicate all this at a glance :

Planet	Svagṛha	sign of Exaltation	sign of Depression
Sun	Siṁha	Meṣa 10	Tulā 10
Moon	Karkaṭa	Vṛṣabha 3	Vṛścika 3
Mars	Meṣa and Vṛścika	Makara 28	Karkaṭa 28
Mercury	Mithuna and Kanyā	Kanyā 15	Mīna 15
Jupiter	Dhanus and Mīna	Karkaṭa 5	Makara 5
Venus	Vṛṣabha and Tulā	Mīna 27	Kanyā 27
Saturn	Makara and Kumbha	Tulā 20	Meṣa 20

The figures under signs of exaltation and depression are the *aṁśas* (degrees) respectively of *paramocca* and *paramanīca.* The explanation offered by Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja and the Vṛddhayavana-jātaka of Mīnarāja is that the sign of Leo was assigned to the Sun as his house because it is the most powerful sign and Cancer (a watery sign) was assigned to the Moon, and the Sun and the Moon each gave one sign out of the remaining to the other five planets viz. Kanyā, Tulā, Vṛścika, Dhanus and Makara were given by the Sun to Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn (arranged according to distance) and the Moon gave to the same five planets one each of the rāśis of Mithuna, Vṛṣabha, Meṣa, Mīna and Kumbha (vide my paper on 'Yavaneśvara and Utpala' in J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. 30 on p. 5

for the verses of Mīnaraja and p. 7 for translation). Tetrabiblos I. 17 practically gives a similar explanation about houses (svagṛhas) and I. 19 agrees with Bṛ. J. I. 13 about the exaltation and depression signs. Ptolemy does not give the degrees (of paramocca and paramanīca[862]).

That rāśi that is occupied by its own lord or has an aspect (dṛṣṭi) of its lord or is occupied by Mercury or Jupiter or has an aspect with them is powerful[863] if it be not occupied by any one or more of the remaining planets or has no aspect with any one of the rest. There is a further provision that Scorpion if it is in the 7th house is powerful, the human signs (Mithuna, Kanyā, Tulā, the forepart of Dhanus and Kumbha) are powerful in the *lagna*, the watery signs (Karkaṭa, Mīna, latter half of Makara) are powerful if they occupy the 4th house and the quadrupeds (Meṣa, Vṛṣa, Siṁha, latter half of Dhanus, and the forepart of Makara) are powerful in the 10th house (Bṛ. J. I. 17.)

The natural powerfulness of planets is in the following order: Saturn, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, the Moon, the Sun, each succeeding one is more powerful than each preceding one; if the power of any two or more is equal in other respects, then one has to take into consideration this natural powerfulness for determining which is more powerful.[864]

The astrological houses in a horoscope are twelve and each is expressed by various synonyms, many of which indicate what particular matters are to be judged from the state of that house. They are enumerated in Bṛ. J. I. 15–19, Laghujātaka I. 15–19, Sārāvalī III. 26–33.

862. सूर्यस्य भागे दशमे तृतीये सोमस्य जीवस्य तु पञ्चमे स्यात्। सौरस्य विंशे त्वधिसप्तके च विद्यात् भृगोः पञ्चदशे बुधस्य॥ भौमस्य विंशेऽष्टयुते (परोच्चम्)। ...विंशल्लवे स्वोच्चगृहे निवेशम्। स्वोच्चात्तु जा।मित्रगृहशान्ति नीचं त्रिंशल्लवो यत्र समानसंख्य:। folio 4 of palm-leaf Nepal ms. of यवनजातक of स्फुजिध्वज q. by उत्पल with slight variations as from यवनेश्वर on बृहज्जा. I. 13. Vide सारावली III. 35–36 for उच्च, परमोच्च, नीच and परमनीच.

863. अधिपयुतो दृष्टो वा बुधजीवयुतेक्षितश्च यो राशिः। स भवति बलवान्न यदि युक्तो दृष्टोऽपि वा शेषैः॥ लघुजातक I. 14; vide also बृहज्जातक I. 19.

864. मन्दार-सौम्य-वाक्पति-सितचन्द्रार्का यथोत्तरं बलिनः। नैसर्गिकबलमेतद् बल-साम्येऽस्माद्धिकाचिन्ता॥ लघुजातक II. 7, quoted by उत्पल on बृहज्जा. II. 21, the last quarter of which is 'शरुबुगुशुचसाद्या वृद्धितो वीर्यवन्तः', where शरुबुगुशुचस stand for शनि, रुधिर (अङ्गारक), बुध, गुरु, शुक्र, चन्द्र and सवितृ.

1st house —*horā*, tanu, kalpa, śakti, mūrti, lagna, deha, aṅga, udaya, vapus, ādya, vilagna.
2nd „ —dhana, sva, kuṭumba, artha, kośa.
3rd „ —sahottha, vikrama, pauruṣa, sahaja, *duścikya*.
4th „ —bandhu, gṛha, suhṛt, pātāla, *hibuka*, veśma, sukha, caturasra, ambu, jala, ambā, yāna, vāhana.
5th „ —suta, dhī, putra, pratibhā, vidyā, vāk-sthāna, *trikoṇa*.
6th „ —ari, ripu, kṣata, vraṇa.
7th „ —jāyā, *jāmitra*, *dyūna*, *dyūta*, patnī, strī, cittottha, astabhavana, kāma, smara, madana.
8th „ —maraṇa, randhra, mṛtyu, vināśa, caturasra, chidra, vivara, laya, yāmya.
9th „ —śubha, guru, dharma, puṇya, tritrikoṇa, *trikoṇa*, tapas.
10th „ —āspada, māna, karma, *meṣūraṇa*, ājñā, kha, gagana, tāta, vyāpāra.
11th „ —āya, bhava, lābha, āgama, prāpti.
12th „ —vyaya, *riḥpha* (or *riṣpha*), antya, antima.

It should be noted that the appellations given to these bhāvas are of two classes, (1) those which are used as mere designations, without indicating the special function of the house, such as horā, duścikya, meṣūraṇa, riḥpha, caturasra; the second class of these appellations conveys the special functions of the houses, such as *tanu* (body), sva (wealth) or kuṭumba (family), sahaja (brothers).

There are certain appellations that apply to a number of houses. The 1st, 4th, 7th and 10th houses are all called kaṇṭaka, *kendra*, catuṣṭaya, the houses beyond the kendra are called *paṇaphara* (2nd, 5th, 8th and 11th), the 3rd, 6th, 9th and 12th houses are called *Āpoklima*, 6th, 8th and 12th houses are called trika; the 3rd, 6th, 10th and 11th houses are called upacaya and the rest are called apacaya. Garga held that the 3rd, 6th, 10th and 11th are called upacaya only if there is no aspect of them with malefic planets or with the enemy of the lord of them. Trikoṇa is claimed to be a Greek word.

From the several names of the bhāvas, it appears that the following were to be predicted from the several bhāvas; from first bhāva, health and the growth of the body; from 2nd the

wealth of one's family; from 3rd brothers (and sisters) and valour; from 4th relatives friends, happiness, house and mother; from 5th sons, intellect, learning; from 6th enemies and wounds; from 7th wife, love affairs., marriage; from 8th death, one's foibles and sins; from 9th dharma, elders (including parents), austerities; from 10th actions and dignities or position and father; from 11th acquisition of good qualities and of wealth; from 12th expenditure, debts.

Thibaut (in Grundriss p. 68) following Jacobi boldly asserts that the doctrine of the twelve astrological houses which is a chief point in the Indian system found developed in Varāhamihira does not occur among Western authorities earlier than Firmicus Maternus (middle of 4th century A. D.) and that Greek astrology entered into India only between Firmicus and Varāhamihira. One is regretfully constrained to say that this is a case of one blind man following another. In the first place the conception of houses (bhāvas) is not totally absent even in Ptolemy's Tetrabiblos, as can be seen in II. 8 p. 191, III. 10 pp. 273–275 (Loeb Classical Library), where houses I, VII, IX, X and XI are referred to, though Ptolemy does not pay much attention to the system of *bhāvas*. Probably this escaped the attention of both Jacobi and Thibaut. In the second place, the system of bhāvas does not occur for the first time in Varāha. Varāha refers to a host of Indian writers before him as will be shown below in whose works the system appears in a fully developed form. It is not possible to believe that all this vast literature was developed in a hundred years or so after Firmicus. Besides, authors like Garga, Parāśara, who are placed between the Vedāngajyotiṣa and the siddhāntas (about 800 B. C. to 250 A.D.) knew this system and Garga is assigned to 50 B. C. by Kern (Preface to Bṛ.S. p. 50). Thibaut, a great scholar, proposing to write an encyclopaedic work on Jyotiṣa is content to rely on Jacobi and does not appear to have cared to see for himself even Ptolemy and examine works like the Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa, the Vaikhānasasūtra, Viṣṇudharmottara which teach astrology based on nakṣatras. This, to say the least, is most surprising. Prof. Zinner (in 'Stars above us') p. 67 says that the twelve houses denote life, business, brothers, father, sons, health, wife, death, religion, gain, good deeds, gaol. In the 3rd place Thibaut takes no account of Sanskrit works written by Yavanas settled in India, to whom Varāha frequently refers, from whom he sometimes differs on vital points of doctrine and from whom Utpala quotes hundreds of verses,

which are found in the ancient Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja. Further, it has been shown above (pp. 533–34) that extant references to astrology based on nakṣatras actually exhibit the names of at least five bhāvas centuries before Firmicus. It is quite possible to argue that Firmicus borrowed his astrology from the predecessors of Varāha, who were Greeks and wrote in Sanskrit, or that even Ptolemy did so as he knows of the bhāvas, but furnishes only a dilettante treatment. It may be further noted that no adaptations of Greek words for all the bhāvas from the first to the twelfth are to be found in Sanskrit works. Such words occur only for some viz. 1st, 3rd, 4th, 7th, 10th and 12th bhāvas and for groups of a few bhāvas (such as kendra, paṇaphara and āpoclima). Besides, the peculiar points to be deduced from the several bhāvas as stated in Bṛ. J do not all agree with what Firmicus says. Varāha designates the 2nd bhāva as kuṭumba and sva (family, wealth) while Firmicus calls it 'lucrum' (how one shall earn one's living); the 11th bhāva is called āya (income) and bhāva by Varāha while Firmicus calls it the house of good deeds; in Firmicus the 4th bhāva is that of father or parents, while Varāha calls it 'bandhu' (relatives) and gṛha in Bṛ. J. and 'suhṛt' (friends) in Laghujātaka and some later Indian writers say that 4th and 10th bhāvas are respectively of the mother and father. In Firmicus the 6th and 12th bhāvas are respectively wealth and jail, while Varāha holds them to be 'enmity' and 'expenditure'.

Certain technical words have yet to be explained. One meaning of *horā* is half a *rāśi*. In the case of the rāśis of odd numbers (viz. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11) the lord of the first half is the sun and that of the 2nd half is the moon, while in the case of rāśis of even numbers (2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12) the lord of the 1st half is the moon and of the 2nd half the sun (Bṛ. J. I. 11). The purpose of this is that those born on sun's horā are energetic (assertive) by nature and those born on moon's horā are mild by nature. Bṛ. J. (I. 12) mentions the view of some[865] (of

865. केचित्तु होरां प्रथमां भपस्य वाञ्छन्ति लाभाधिपतेर्द्वितीयम्। द्रेक्काणसंज्ञामपि वर्णयन्ति स्वद्वादशैकादशराशिपानाम्॥ बृहज्जातक I. 12; उत्पल quotes on this a verse of यवनेश्वर 'आद्या तु होरा भवनस्य पत्युरेकादश क्षेत्रपतेर्द्वितीया। स्वद्वादशैकादशराशिपानां द्रेष्काणसंज्ञाः क्रमशस्त्रयोऽत्र॥'. This verse occurs in the यवनजातक of स्फुजिध्वज on folio 2. It would be noticed that one पाद is the same in both बृहज्जा° and यवनजातक. In the यवनजातक of स्फुजिध्वज (Nepal ms.) the 24 horās of the 12 rāśis are described at length in about 48 rather poetic verses and it winds up the description with the words 'एतास्तु होरा यवनैर्निरुक्ताश्चित्तासद्युत्तिगुणाश्रयार्था (?)॥' (folio 9.)

Yavaneśvara, according to Utpala) that the lord of the first horā is the same as the lord of the rāśi and the lord of the second horā is the lord of the 11th house in the horoscope. The result of this view would be that all planets can be lords of horās and not the sun and the moon alone as Varāha, Satya and others say. Each rāśi (of 30 degrees) is divided into three parts, each of 10 degrees, called dreṣkāṇa or drekkāṇa or dṛkāṇa or dṛgāṇa (in Bṛ. J. III. 5, probably for the sake of the metre). The lords of the three parts of each rāśi are respectively the lord of the rāśi itself (of the first part), the lord of the 5th rāśi (of the 2nd part) and the lord of the 9th rāśi (of the 3rd part). For example, in the case of Vṛṣabha (of which the lord is Venus), the lords of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd parts are respectively Venus, Mercury (lord of 5th from Vṛṣabha) and Saturn (lord of 9th from Vṛṣabha). And so on for the other rāśis.

A few words must be said about dreṣkāṇa. Weber and others think that it represents the Greek word 'decanoi'. The 'dekans' were a legacy from ancient Egypt, which[866] had originally no zodiacal signs. Bouché-Leclercq has discussed[867] the question of decans at great length in his 'L' Astrologie Grecque' pp. 215–240. The decanal system can be traced as far back as the third dynasty of Egypt (about 2800 B. C.) and may be older still. Originally, the decans were conspicuous stars or groups of stars rising at particular hours of the night during 36 successive periods of ten days each that constituted the year in Egypt. The series began with Sirius and they were distributed in a wide equatorial belt. The ancient Egyptians had a fixed idea that each division of time, large or small, must have its protective tutelary deity. Therefore, the decans were originally the divinities (or *genii*) that presided over the 36 decades of the Egyptian year. Each period of ten days was marked by the rising of the next decan on the eastern horizon at sunset. Bouché Leclercq points out that in the Egyptian language a specific name (like the Greek word 'decanos') is not met with and that the decans are designated by a number of synonyms. When the Zodiacal signs were introduced in Egypt by the

866. 'Legacy of Egypt' ed. by S. R. K. Glanville (Oxford, 1942, p. 163).

867. 'L' Astrologie Grecque' p. 220 note 2. Vide 'The royal art of Astrology' by Eisler p. 82 and plate VII facing p. 81 for Egyptian Decan-stars on the lids of a sarcophagus of the 6th Dynasty.

Greeks, the tutelary spirits slipped into or got intertwined with the signs of the Zodiac (each sign of 30 degrees being divided into decans of 10 degrees) and played an important part in astrology. The original division referred to the equator, while the later distribution of 36 decans among the twelve signs refers to the[868] ecliptic. Bouché Leclercq avers (p. 53) that it has been proved beyond doubt that the Egyptian Zodiacs (they had four, viz. 2 at Denderah, one at Esneh and one at Akhnum) are all of the Roman epoch and are imitations of the Greek Zodiac.

The Bṛhajjātaka has a special chapter 27 (in 36 verses) called dreṣkāṇādhyāya in which the 36 presiding deities of dreṣkāṇas are described. This chapter appears to conserve the ancient Egyptian conception of the decans as guardian[869] divinities. The language must be regarded as rather metaphorical or symbolic. It is parts of the Zodiac that are being described. Nearly two-thirds of 36 are male and the rest are female. Some composite figures of males and females and quadrupeds or birds or serpents occur. In verses 2, 19 and 21 (of chap. 27) Varāha expressly says that he only sets out what the Yavanas have said.

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868. Vide Webb in Journal of Hellenistic Studies, vol. 48 (1925) p. 56, Prof. Neugebauer in E. S. A. pp, 81–83. The latter notes that with the exception of Sirius and its neighbours decans have defied identification with known constellations. Vide Prof. Neugebauer's latest note on 'The Egyptian Decans' in 'Vistas in Astronomy' (ed. A. Beer, vol. I. pp. 47-51).

869. Vide for 'Dreṣkāṇa' Colebrooke's Miscellaneous essays, vol. II. pp. 364–373. Colebrooke (on pp. 370–71) states that Manilius employs the word Decania, that Firmicus differs in the names and does not allow the complete degrees to each decanus. This would show that the Bṛ. J. could not have followed about dreṣkāṇa Firmicus in astrology as Jacobi supposed but some other more ancient author. Nor can it be said that the Bṛ. J. follows Manilius. The description of the middle dreṣkāṇa of Meṣa rather resembles the rotund figure in Plate 10 in Prof. Neugebauer's book 'Exact Sciences in Antiquity' p. 83, which plate reproduces the representation of the Decan deities on the tomb of Senmut (in Egypt). B. L. Van Der Waerden in his paper 'Babylonian Astronomy; thirty-six stars' in Journal of Near East Studies, vol. VIII (pp. 6–26) shows how thirty-six stars from old Babylonian times finally became mixed up with the twelve Zodiacal signs and 36 Egyptian decans. On p. 8 he gives lists of 36 constellations, the so called 'decans', which were found on coffin lids of the middle kingdom in Egypt and on ceilings of tombs belonging to kings of the New Kingdom. The risings, culminations and settings of decan constellations were supposed to determine not only the date but also the time of the night. On p. 20 he gives a table of Babylonian stars and their modern equivalent stars and their times.

Here I translate two verses (2 and 21) 'the Yavanas have declared the form of the middle dreṣkāṇa of Meṣa sign (Aries) viz. she is a female clad in red garments, intent on ornaments and food, has the mouth of a horse and has a jar-like (i. e. rotund) form, she is oppressed by thirst and is standing on one leg'; 'the Yavanas have declared the appearance of the last dreṣkāṇa of Tulā (Scales) as a male having the form of a monkey, decked with ornaments, frightening deer in a forest, wearing golden armour and quiver, and holding fruits and flesh (in his hands)'. There is nothing in the Tetrabiblos of Ptolemy corresponding to this and Varāha probably refers to a Sanskrit work by a Yavana writer much earlier than even Ptolemy and Manilius. Manilius, author of 'Astronomica', a didactic poem on astrology, referred to the decans but he wrote about 9 A. D. and it appears that decans had gone out of vogue in Greece by the time of Ptolemy. Bouché-Leclercq notes (p. 219) that the system of decans is a characteristic of Manilius and that after him one does not hear it spoken of any longer. On p. 219 of his work Bouché-Leclercq furnishes a figure of the Decans of Manilius, which is entirely different from the descriptions of decans given by Bṛ. J. Manilius divides each sign into three parts, each of which represents no deity but the signs themselves. For example, Aries is divided into three parts and those three are the same as Aries, Taurus and Gemini. The Sārāvalī[869a] in chap. 49 devotes thirty-six verses to the description of 36 dreṣkāṇas, but the description differs from that of the Bṛ. J. as the note below will show. The Sārāvalī had probably before it a Sanskrit *yavana* work different from the one relied upon by Bṛ. J.

Some other technical words may be mentioned and defined here. The six items, viz. the rāśi of a planet, the horā, dreṣkāṇa, navāṁśa, dvādaśāṁśa and triśāṁśa of the rāśi are each called the *varga* or Ṣaḍ-varga of that planet (Bṛ. J. I. 9). The first navāṁśa of Meṣa, Karki, Tūlā and Makara (that are *cara* signs)

869 a. Compare 'रक्ताम्बरा भूषणभक्ष्यचिन्ता कुम्भाकृतिर्वाजिमुखी तृषार्ता। एकेन पादेन च मेषमध्ये द्रेष्काणरूपं यवनोपदिष्टम्॥' (बृहज्जा. 27. 2) with 'क्रोधज्वलो विहारी रतिमान् गीतप्रियो मनस्वी स्यात्। मिश्रार्थभाक् सुरूपः स्त्रीवित्तरुचिर्द्वितीये च॥' सारावली 49. 2; in the Nepal ms. of यवनजातक the मेषद्वितीयद्रेष्काण is described as follows: गौरः प्रहारी रिपुदारुणाक्षः शुक्लाम्बरो वारणतुल्यमूर्धा। वस्त्रायुधा (?) धातुरसार्थविज्ञ मेषे द्वितीयो शुक्लोमशाङ्कः॥ folio 9. This indicates that the यवनजातक had a third tradition about द्रेष्काणs. It is expressly stated that the three parts of a rāśi are known among the Yavanas as dreṣkāṇas 'षड्दशगुणा (?) राशितृतीयभागा द्रेष्काणसंज्ञा यवनाख्यया ये।' folio 9.

is called Vargottama, so also the 5th navāṁśa of Vṛṣabha, Siṁha, Vṛścika and Kumbha (that are *sthira*), and the 9th navāṁśa of Mithuna, Kanyā, Dhanus, Mīna (that are *dvisvabhāva*) are called Vargottama (Bṛ. J. I. 14) and they yield beneficent results.[870] The vargottama–navāṁśas of all rāśis bear the same names as the rāśis themselves. The Yoga called Sunaphā occurs when some planet other than the sun occupies the 2nd house from that occupied by the Moon; the Yoga Anaphā occurs when some planet other than the sun occupies the 12th house from that occupied by the Moon and Durudharā occurs when planets occupy the 2nd and 12th houses from that occupied by the Moon. The Yoga called Kema-druma occurs when the above three don't occur and the Moon is not in kendra position or if kendra is not occupied by any of the planets (except the Sun). Bṛ. J. 13. 4 notices that varieties of Anaphā and Sunaphā are 31 each and the varieties of Durudharā are 180. The Bṛ. J. does not devote more than 6 verses to all these four yogas but the Vṛddha-Yavanajātaka of Mīnarāja has 30 verses on Anaphā, 30 verses on Sunaphā, 172 verses on Durudharā. The rāśi which is 2nd from the rāśi occupied by the Sun in a horoscope is called 'Veśi' (Bṛ. J. I. 20). All the above five words are said to be Greek. The word 'liptā' meaning '60th part of a degree' is also said to be Greek. The word 'harija' occurring in Bṛ. J. V. 17 means 'horizon' and Kern says it is adapted from Greek (Preface to Bṛ. S. p. 29).[870a] The Greek word is *horos* (boundary). All the words used by Varāha and supposed to be Greek by Weber, Kern and others may be brought together in one place here (37 in all); Kriya, Tāvuri, Jituma, Kulīra, Leya, Pāthena, Jūka, Kaurpya, Taukṣika, Akokera, Hṛdroga, Ittha (?); Heli, Āra, Himna, Jīva, Āsphujit, Koṇa; horā, dreṣkāṇa, kendra, trikoṇa, paṇaphara, āpoklima, meṣūraṇa, duścikya, hibuka, jāmitra, dyūna, riḥpha, anaphā, sunaphā, durudharā, kemadruma, veśi, liptā, harija. I dispute the derivation of *kulīra* and trikoṇa from Greek and Kern agrees that they are pure Sanskrit words. I also doubt whether *Jīva* is an adaptation of Zeus. Zeus

870. वर्गोत्तमाश्चरगृहादिषु पूर्वमध्यपर्यन्ततः शुभफला नवभागसंज्ञाः । बृहज्जातक I.14; उत्पल explains वर्गांशकसमूहे उत्तमाः । ...तथा च यवनेश्वरः । स्वे स्वे गृहेषु स्वगृहांशका ये वर्गोत्तमास्ते यवनैर्निरुक्ताः ।. This occurs in यवनजातक of स्फुजिध्वज folio 4.

870 a. उत्पल on बृहज्जातक V. 17 paraphrases हरिज as उदयलेखा and quotes a Sanskrit half verse defining it. 'यत्राकाशं भूम्या सह संसक्तं समन्ताद् दृश्यते तद्धरिजम् । उक्तं च । हरिजमिति गगनमवनौ सम्पृक्तमिव लक्ष्यते यथोक्तेषु ।'. This is probably a quotation from यवनजातक.

agrees with Sanskrit Dyaus and not with Jīva and Zeus is an Indo-European word meaning 'Heaven' or 'sky'. The different forms of the word dreṣkāṇa or '*dyūtam*' for 'dyūnam' should not be separately counted. The word *horā* is used in early Indian astrology in three different senses, none of which agrees with the sense of hour. It is possible that even in Greek it is a word borrowed from Egypt or Babylonia, since in the definite sense of an hour, it is much later and it is doubtful whether Hipparchus (140 B. C.) uses it in that sense. If we exclude these four words only 33 words may at the most be argued to have been adapted from Greek. Some of these words such as the 12 names of rāśis and six of the planets, some names of the *bhāvas* like *hibuka*, *jāmitra*, *dyūna* and *kendra* have several synonyms (sometimes by the dozen) in Sanskrit employed in Bṛ. J. and so no emphasis should be laid on them. They were mentioned by Bṛ. J. because they had been employed by ancient Greek authors who wrote in Sanskrit and so Bṛ. J. took cognisance of them for the sake of completeness of treatment. Even *kendra* meaning 1st, 4th, 7th and 10th houses or *bhāvas* has two Sanskrit synonyms 'kaṇṭaka' and 'catuṣṭaya', besides the fact that its meaning is different in Sanskrit astrology from the meaning of the Greek word (*kentron*, spike). Therefore, barely ten Greek words like Anaphā, Sunaphā remain which have a very minor role to play in Indian astrology and it is a far cry to argue or assert from the occurrence of these few words that the whole Indian astrology as developed in Varāhamihira was borrowed from Greek works. It is extremely doubtful whether any Indians except a few sages or gymnosophists ever went to Greece or lived long in Greece or settled there and returned to India to spread Greek words and astrological knowledge in India; but we have ample evidence that Greeks settled in India, composed inscriptions in Sanskrit and wrote extensive works on astrology in Sanskrit. Vide 'L' Astrologie Grecque' by Bouché-Grecque p. XIX for the Greek, Latin, French names and astrological symbols of the signs of the zodiac and planets and G. R. Kaye in Memoir No. 18 of the Archaeological Survey of India pp. 39-40 (for the Greek twelve names of Zodiacal signs and nine other Greek words occurring in Bṛ. J.) and p. 100 for Greek 'bhāvas' and symbols for signs and planets.

A good deal is said in Bṛ. J. II. 15-17, Laghujātaka II. 10-12, Sārāvalī IV. 28-31, Muhūrta-cintāmaṇi (VI. 27-28) and other works about the planets being friends, enemies or indifferent

among themselves. Friends and enemies are of two kinds, natural and incidental (temporary). The following table will show natural friends and enemies amog planets.

Planet	Friend	Enemy	Indifferent (udāsīna or madhya or sama)
Sun	Moon, Mars, Jupiter	Venus, Saturn	Mercury
Moon	Sun, Mercury	none	Mars, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn
Mars	Sun, Moon, Jupiter	Mercury	Venus, Saturn
Mercury	Sun, Venus	Moon	Mars, Jupiter, Saturn
Jupiter	Sun, Moon, Mars	Mercury, Venus	Saturn
Venus	Mercury, Saturn	Sun, Moon	Mars, Jupiter
Saturn	Mercury, Venus	Sun, Moon, Mars	Jupiter

It may be noticed that there is no reciprocity for these relationships. For example, the Moon has Mercury as one of its friends, while Mercury has the Moon as its enemy; the Moon has no enemy but Venus has the Moon as its enemy. According to the Yavanas no planet is *sama* (neither friend nor foe) but that planets are either friends or enemies.[871]

As regards temporary friendships and enmities the following rules apply; when planets are in 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 10th, 11th or 12th places from each other they become friends for the occasion (such as marriage, invasion or journey &c.), otherwise they become enemies when in the same rāśi or in 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th or

871. Vide उत्पल on बृहज्जातक II. 15 'अत्र च तेषां शत्रुमित्रव्यवहार एवेष्टो नोदासीनव्यवहारस्तस्मान्मित्रेभ्योऽन्ये ह्यमित्राणीति केचिद्यवनेश्वरादयः। तथा च यवनेश्वरः। रवेर्गुरुर्मित्रमतोन्यथान्ये गुरोस्तु भौमं परिहाय सर्वे। चान्द्रेरनर्को भृगुनन्दनस्य त्वर्केन्दुवर्जे सुहृदः प्रदिष्टाः॥ भौमस्य शुक्रः शशिजश्च मित्रे इन्दोर्बुधं देवगुरुं च विद्यात्। सौरस्य मित्राण्यकुजेन्दुसूर्याः शेषान् रिपून् विद्धि नृणां च तद्वत्॥. These occur on folio 6 of Nepal ms. of यवनजातक.

9th from each other. There are differences of opinion here but they are passed over.

The *bala* (strength) of planets is of four kinds (arises in four ways) viz. place, direction, activity (*ceṣṭā*), time. A planet is powerful in its position when it is in its own house or in exaltation (*ucca*) or in its friend's house or in its *trikoṇa* or navāṁśa. This is *sthānabala*. Mercury and Jupiter are powerful in the east (i. e. when they are in the *lagna*), the Sun and Mars in the south (i. e. in the 10th house), Saturn in the West (i. e. 7th house), the Moon and Venus are powerful in the north (i. e. 4th house). This is *digbala*. The Sun and Moon are powerful in the northern ayana[872] (i. e. in the six rāśis from Capricorn); the remaining planets are powerful when they are retrograde or in conjunction with the Moon or when there is a fight (between planets other than the Sun and the Moon), the one to the north being more powerful. Garga quoted in the Adbhutasāgara says that *grahayuddha* (fight of planets) occurs when one planet occults the other, or when it slightly covers, or when the light of one throws into the background the light of another or when one planet is to the left of the other slightly. This is *ceṣṭābala*. The Moon, Mars and Saturn are powerful at night, Mercury is powerful both by day and night, and others are powerful by day; *krūra* and *saumya* planets are respectively powerful in the dark half and bright half of the month; a planet is powerful in the year of which he is the lord, or on his own week-day or horā or in

872. उदगयने रविशीतमयूखौ वक्रसमागमगाः परिशेषाः । विपुलकरा युधि चोत्तरसंस्थाश्चेष्टितवीर्ययुताः परिकल्प्याः ॥ बृहज्जातक II. 20. This is explained by the following verse of विष्णुचन्द्र : दिवसकरेणास्तमयः समागमः शीतरश्मिसहितानाम् । कुसुतादीनां युद्धं निगद्यतेऽन्योन्ययुक्तानाम् ॥ q. by उत्पल on बृ. जा. II. 20. Conjunction of planets is of three kinds; when any planet is in conjunction with the sun, that is called *astamaya* (setting), when in conjunction with the moon it is called *samāgama*, when the other planets, Mars &c. are in conjunction with each other that is called *yuddha* (fight of the planets); (in the case of yuddha) that planet which is to the north of the other is called victorious or powerful (except in the case of Venus that is powerful when to the south of the other). गर्गः । छादनं रोधनं चैव रश्मिमर्दस्तथैव च । अपसव्यं ग्रहाणां च चतुर्धा युद्धमुच्यते ॥ अद्भुतसागर p. 207. The अ. सा. (p. 208) quotes पराशर as saying that there is no real fight between planets, but a sight of them being together or close indicates to people auspicious or inauspicious happenings. The अ. सा. is quoted in शान्तिकमलाकर (D. C. ms. No. 306 of 1884–87) folio 81a.

the month of which he is the lord. This is *kālabala*.[873] Yavaneśvara says 'for ten days from the 1st tithi of the bright half the Moon is of middling power but in the next period of ten days (from śukla 11th to kṛṣṇa) 5th Moon's power is highest and in the last ten days (from kṛṣṇa 6th to *amāvāsyā*) the Moon has slight power; but if Moon has an aspect with *saumya* planets (Jupiter &c.) he is always powerful.

A planet is said by Sārāvalī to have nine vicissitudes,[874] *dīpta* (blazing, when it is in exaltation), *svastha* (at ease when it is in its svagṛha), *mudita* (glad, when it is in a friend's *svagṛha*), *śānta* (quiet, when it is in an auspicious *varga*), śakta (capable, when it is shining brightly), *nipīḍita* (oppressed, when it is overwhelmed by another planet), *bhīta* (frightened, when it is in depression), *vikala* (impaired when its light is lost is Sun's light), *khala* (evil, when it is in the midst of evil company). The Sārāvalī (V. 5–13) describes at length the results of a planet being in these nine conditions.

How even mythological accounts are pressed into service by astrological works may be well illustrated by two verses from the Yogayātrā of Varāhamihira : 'The Sun was born in Aṅga (Bengal), the Moon among Yavanas, Mars in Avanti (Ujjayinī), Mercury in Magadha, Jupiter in Sindhu, Venus in Bhojakaṭa, Saturn in Surāṣṭra (Kathiawar), Ketu among Mlecchas and Rāhu in Kaliṅga; if these planets are affected, they cause distress to the countries in which they were born : hence a king should invade the respective countries when any one or more of the planets are affected.[875]

873. यस्माद्यवनेश्वरः। मासे तु शुक्लप्रतिपत्प्रवृत्तेः पूर्वे शशी मध्यबलो दशाहे। श्रेष्ठो द्वितीयेल्पबलस्तृतीये सौम्यैस्तु दृष्टो बलवान्सदैव॥ उत्पल on बृहज्जा. II. 21. This verse occurs in the Nepal ms. of यवनजातक folio 5; सारावली has probably this verse in view 'शुक्लप्रतिपद्दशके मध्यबलः कीर्त्यते यवनवृद्धैः। श्रेष्ठो द्वितीयदशके स्वल्पबलश्चन्द्रमास्तृतीये च॥' V. 16.

874. दीप्तः स्वस्थो मुदितः शान्तः शक्तो निपीडितो भीतः। विकलः खलश्च कथितो नवप्रकारो ग्रहो हरिणा॥ सारावली V. 2.

875. अङ्गेषु सूर्यो यवनेषु चन्द्रो भौमो ह्यवन्त्यां मगधेषु सौम्य । सिन्धौ गुरुर्भोजकटेषु शुक्रः सौरः सुराष्ट्रे विषये बभूव॥ म्लेच्छेषु केतुश्च तमः कलिङ्गे जातो यतोऽतः परिपीडितास्ते। स्वजन्मदेशान्परिपीडयन्ति ततोभियोज्याः क्षितिपेन देशाः॥ योगयात्रा III. 19–20; compare सारावली VII. 14–15, where शुक्र is said to have been born in समतट and both राहु and केतु in द्राविड. Vide the Chammak plate of Pravarasen II. where the village Carmāṅka is said to be in Bhojakaṭarājya (Gupta Inscriptions, No. 55 p. 237). In Brahmapurāṇa 201.9 Bhojakaṭa is said to be the capital of

(*Continued on next page*)

Antiyoga (Antiochus of Syria), Turamaya (Ptolemy II of Egypt), Antikina (Antigonus of Macedonia), Magā (Magas of Cyrene) and Alikasundara[899] (of Epirus). The Gospel of Matthew (chap 2. 1–2) states that at the birth of Christ in Bethlehem wise men from the east came to Jerusalem saying that they had seen in the east the star of the newly born child and had come to worship him. The life of Apollonius of Tyana written by Philostratus[900] (in the first quarter of the 3rd century A. D.) states that it was usual in India to show great hospitality to Babylonians and that the Indian king, Iarchus, presented to Apollonius seven rings named after the seven planets, of which he was to wear one on each week day.

The theory that is sought to be propounded here is that the sight of the signs of the Zodiac on such patent objects as monuments and boundary stones in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. excited the curiosity of Indians visiting Babylonia, that on knowing their significance they brought the knowledge back to their country and fitted it on to the nakṣatra astrology that already existed in India and developed the rāśi astrology in their own way. Varāhamihira expressly says about dreṣkāṇas that he describes them in accordance with the views of Yavanas. If the whole Indian astrology had been derived from the Yavanas there was nothing to prevent him from saying so. The verse 'Mlecchā hi yavanās &c.' (in note 743 above) implies that the Yavana astrological tradition and Indian one were not the same and that the Yavanas had composed Sanskrit works on astrology (as the author's two papers show). Varāha expressly differs from the Yavanas on

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899. The latest date at which all these five kings were alive is 258 B.C. Vide Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. I. (ed. by Hultzsch, 1925) pp. 48, 87.

900. Vide a summary of the 'Indian travels of Apollonius' by Osmond De Beauvoir Priaulx in JRAS 1860, pp. 70–105 (p. 78 for Babylonians and p. 99 for seven rings), Loeb Classical Library, vol. I p. 323. Some scholars hold that the life is a fabrication and that Apollonius never came to India. Supposing for argument that it is a fabrication, the fact remains that in the first quarter of the 3rd century A. D. Philostratus knew that Babylonians were respected in India, that seven planets were known in India and that planets were supposed to be propitiated by the wearing of rings on appropriate week days. Charpentier wrote a booklet 'Indian travels of Apollonius of Tyana' (Leipzig, 1934) in which he stated that he felt convinced that Apollonius had been in India but did not go further than the altars of Alexander (vide 'Indian Culture' vol. III. p. 241 for a review of Charpentier's booklet).

several substantial points.[901] About 200 B. C. the vernal equinox was at the beginning of the divisional sign Aries, which very closely coincided with the picture sign Aries. The Indian astronomers, when they began to make use of the signs Meṣa and others, switched over from the reckoning with the Kṛttikās as the beginning of the series of nakṣatras on to the reckoning from the nakṣatra Aśvinī, and counted Aśvinī as the first nakṣatra, though the vernal equinoctial point has now receded owing to precession to the Uttarābhādrapadā nakṣatra group. It is difficult to trace and describe the early efforts of Indian astrologers in the centuries preceding the Christian era on the system of rāśis, since the excellent work of Varāha, the Bṛhajjātaka, eclipsed all its predecessors and led to their gradual disappearance just as the two works of Ptolemy, Syntaxis (or Almagest) and Tetrabiblos, led to the gradual loss and disappearance of Greek works on astronomy and astrology composed before Ptolemy. Though all scholars maintain that Greek horoscopic astrology was influenced by Babylonian astronomy and astrology, the connecting links have snapped and become obliterated.[902] It is likely that, as both India and Greece were influenced by the Babylonian system of signs and astrology, both show some common characteristics. But it is too wide of the mark to assert that Indian astrology as developed in Varāhamihira was *borrowed* from Firmicus and Paulus Alexandrinus. Prof. Neugebauer, while asserting that the Sūrya-siddhānta is based on Greek eccentric and epicyclic devices, holds that they were modified by

901. To mention only a few striking matters of differences of opinion between Varāha and Yavanas; (1) Yavanas favoured the view that all planets could be lords of horā (half of a rāśi), while Bṛ. J. said no to this (I. 11-12); (2) Yavanas held that the moon was never a malefic planet, Bṛ. J. (II. 5) said it was so in certain cases; (3) Yavanas regarded Mars as sāttvika, while Bṛ. J.(II. 7) held Mars to be *tāmasika*; (4) Yavanas held that planets could only be friends or enemies among themselves, while Bṛ. J. (II. 15) held that they could also be neither friends nor foes; (5) Yavanas and Varāha differed on the temporary friendship or enmity of planets (Bṛ. J. II. 18); (6) Yavanas spoke of Vajrayoga, but Bṛ. J. (XII. 3 and 6) held that such a yoga was impossible; (7) Yavanas held that only the Kumbha-dvādaśāṁśa was inauspicious, the Bṛ. J. (XXI. 3) found fault with this.

902. Vide Prof. Neugebauer in E. S. A., p. 93. Prof. Waerden (in Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol. 8 p. 76) remarks that Hellenistic Astrology is a mixture of Chaldean, Egyptian and Greek elements and that there are more Babylonian elements in this mixture than is generall supposed.

the Indians and that what he means is not that there was *copying*, but an intelligent modification of the initial impetus (vide 'Archives Internationales D' Histoire des Sciences' for April–June 1955 (at p. 171 and note 22). It has been shown above in note 869 that the Br. J. differs from Firmicus as to dreṣkāṇas and about *bhāvas* (places in the horoscope). My hypothesis is that Indian astrology about rāśis and bhāvas was developed before even Ptolemy. I have pointed out the differences between Ptolemy and Varāha in many places. [903]

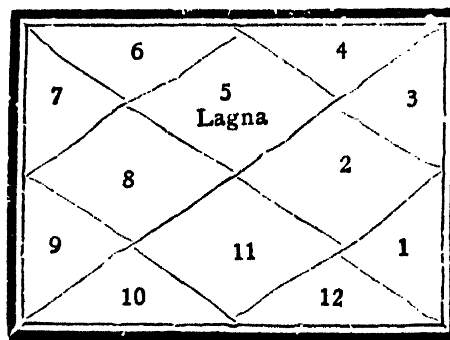
Horoscopes are cast not only for individuals, but also for companies, ships, animals, [903a] foundations of buildings, cities and countries. If a person comes to an astrologer for consultation on any matter, the astrologer notes the sign rising at the time the question is asked, calculates the positions of the planets also for that day and time and then makes his prognostications. [904] For casting the horoscope of an individual one must know the year, month, day, hour or *ghaṭikā* of birth and the place of birth. Almanacs are prepared on the basis of the latitudes and longitudes of cities like Bombay or Poona or Calcutta and they furnish tables by following which one can find the sign rising at the time of the birth of a person. But the almanacs being based on the latitudes and longitudes of certain towns and cities, if a person uses an almanac prepared in Poona for casting the horoscope of a person born in Berar or Central India there is likely to be some inaccuracy in arriving at the proper *lagna*.

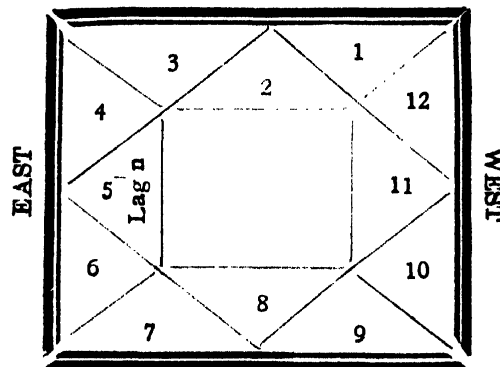
903. Vide e. g. pp. 568, 575, 583, 589.

903 a. Aldous Huxley in his novel ' Crome yellow ' (Phoenix Library, 1929) satirizes society ladies who spent their days in casting the horoscopes of horses on which they laid heavy bets (p. 13).

904. There are two well-known works dealing with astrology connected with the time of questions, viz. Ṣaṭ-pañcāśikā of Pṛthuyaśas, son of Varāhamihira, and the Āryāsaptati of Utpala (printed by Nirn. Press, Bombay). Two verses (5 and 35) from the first book may be quoted here: होरास्थितः पूर्णतनुः शशाङ्को जीवेन दृष्टो यदि वा सितेन। क्षिप्रं प्रणष्टस्य करोति लब्धिं लाभोपयातो बलवान् शुभश्च॥ दूरगतस्यागमनं सुतधनसहजास्थितैर्ग्रहैर्लग्नात् । सौम्यैर्नष्टप्राप्तिः लब्धागमनं गुरुसिताभ्याम्॥. लग्नात् in verse 35 means the lagna at the time the question is asked. Verse 55 of the same is अंशकाज्ज्ञायते द्रव्यं द्रेष्काणैस्तस्कराः स्मृताः। राशिभ्यः कालदिग्देशा वयो जातिश्च लग्नपात्॥ ' material stolen is inferred from the navāṁśa of the lagna at the time of the question, the characteristics of the thieves from dreṣkāṇas of the lagna (as described in Bṛ. J. chap. 27), from the rāśis time, direction and location are learnt and the age and caste of the thief from the lord of the lagna '.

Horoscopes are framed either in square figures or in circular figures and even as to square horoscopes, there is some variance in the practice of placing the *lagna* (the sign rising on the horizon at the time of birth). Supposing the lagna is Siṁha, the square horoscope as usually drawn in Mahārāṣṭra would be as follows where the figures 6, 2 and 4 would represent the 2nd, 10th and 12th *bhāvas* (places), while a horoscope cast on the modern European method would be like the one next to it with the same lagna and employs symbols for the signs as for Aries and for planets such as for Mars.





CHAPTER XVII

MUHŪRTAS FOR RELIGIOUS RITES

We shall now turn to the muhūrtas for religious rites and actions of individuals. Only a few of the rites and actions can be briefly dealt with here.

A few general rules may however be first stated. The Ātharvaṇa[905] Jyotiṣa says that a wise man should perform an act or rite with the concurrence of all the four, viz. *tithi*, *nakṣatra*, *karaṇa* and *muhūrta*, if he wants success in it: if a proper tithi cannot be secured then the other three should be availed of, if the first two are not available then the next two, if the first three are not available then secure muhūrta alone; but if there be necessity to hurry and none of the four can be secured, then with the loud declaration by (learned) brāhmaṇas that it is an auspicious day he should do the act and success is secured. Certain religious acts have to be done at stated times and in those cases, one should not consider the conditions of Jupiter and Venus called *bālya* and old age or the fact of Jupiter being in Lion sign, or of *dakṣiṇāyana* or there being an intercalary month, as for example, in the rites from *puṁsavana* up to *annaprāśana*. The Rājamārtaṇḍa[906] states 'the correct astrological position of planets and days is not meant for times of distress, all these (rules about auspicious positions) are to be considered when life is easy (matters are in good condition); so says Bhṛgu'. Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday confer success in all actions (begun on those days); only those actions succeed on Sunday, Tuesday and Saturday, for which those days are expressly laid down as proper. But the Nāradapurāṇa says that Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are the best, Sunday and Monday are middling and the other two, viz. Tuesday and Saturday, are condemned for Upanayana.[907]

905. चतुर्भिः कारयेत्कर्म सिद्धिहेतोर्विचक्षणः। तिथिनक्षत्रकरणमुहूर्तेनेति निश्चयः ॥ दूरस्थस्य मुहूर्तस्य क्रिया च त्वरिता यदि। द्विजपुण्याहघोषेण कृतं स्यात्सर्वसम्पदम् ॥ आथर्वणज्योतिष VII. 12 and 16.

906. ग्रहवत्सरशुद्धिश्च नार्ते कालमपेक्षते। स्वस्थे सर्वमिदं चिन्त्यमित्याह भगवान्भृगुः ॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 25a, verse 388.

907. सोमसौम्यगुरुशुक्रवासराः सर्वकर्मसु भवन्ति सिद्धिदाः। भानुभौमशनिवासरेषु च प्रोक्तमेव खलु कर्म सिध्यति ॥ रत्नमाला III. 15; आचार्यसौम्यकाव्यानां वाराः शस्ताः शशीनयोः। वारौ तु मध्यमौ चैव व्रतेऽन्यौ निन्दितौ मतौ ॥ नारदीयपुराण I. 56. 359–60.

The general rule is that all undertakings succeed when they are begun while the 3rd, 6th, 10th and 11th places from the *lagna* are either in conjunction with or have an aspect with an auspicious planet and the lagna is also in conjunction with the two, when the 8th and 12th places are faultless and the Moon is in the 3rd, 6th, 10th or 11th place.[908]

It should be remembered that the usual tendency of our medieval Dharmaśāstra writers is generally to heap details on what were originally simple ceremonies.

Among the saṁskāras it is best to begin with Jātakarma (rites at the birth of a child). The Ratnamālā[909] provides that the rites on the birth of a son should be performed on a *mṛdu, dhruva, kṣipra* or a *cara* nakṣatra and the good recommend the giving of a name when Jupiter or Venus is in *catuṣṭaya* (i e. in the 1st, 4th, 7th or 10th bhāva in the infant's horoscope). As regards birth some writers (e. g. M. M. IV. 19) speak of Gaṇḍānta which is inauspicious in birth, marriage and starting on a journey or invasion, viz. the conjunction of 15th tithi with *pratipad* for two *ghaṭikās*, similarly half a ghaṭikā when Cancer and Lion or Scorpion and Archer or Fish and Ram join and the four ghaṭikās of the junction of Revatī and Aśvinī, Āśleṣā and Maghā, Jyeṣṭhā and Mūla. These Gaṇḍānta conjunctions produce evil for the child's father or mother &c. Similar results are predicted for birth on certain parts of Āśleṣa and Mūla. About naming a child Manu provides that it should be performed on the 10th or 12th day from birth or on an auspicious tithi or on a muhūrta or nakṣatra possessed of auspicious characteristics.[910] About *caula* or cūḍākarma (tonsure) Āśvalāyana-gṛhya (I. 17. 1) provides a simple rule that it should be performed in the third year after birth or according to family usage, while Manu (II. 35) provides that it may be performed in the first or third year; the Āśv. gṛ., however, has provided for caula, upanayana, godāna and marriage the proper time of the northward passage of the sun, the fortnight of the waxing moon and an auspicious nakṣatra. The Āp. gṛ. (16. 3) states that it may be performed

908. व्ययाष्टशुद्धोपचये लग्नगे शुभदृग्युते । चन्द्रे त्रिषड्दशायस्थे सर्वारम्भः प्रसिध्यति ॥ मु. चि. II. 44.

909. मृदुध्रुवक्षिप्रचरेषु भेषु सूनोर्विधेयं खलु जातकर्म । गुरौ भृगौ वापि चतुष्टयस्थे सन्तः प्रशंसन्ति च नामधेयम् ॥ रत्नमाला XIII. 2.

910. नामधेयं दशम्यां तु द्वादश्यां वास्य कारयेत् । पुण्ये तिथौ मुहूर्ते वा नक्षत्रे वा गुणान्विते ॥ मनु. II. 30.

in the 3rd year after birth on Punarvasu nakṣatra. But medieval writers have added numerous astrological details. For example, the Rājamārtaṇḍa devotes thirty-two verses to *cūḍā* (folios 16 to 18), one remarkable provision being that the Yavanas regarded *cūḍākarma* in the Sun's northward passage as auspicious.[911] Vyāsa quoted by Sm. C. says 'tonsure should be performed on Aśvinī, Śravaṇa, Svātī, Citrā, Puṣya, Punarvasu, Dhaniṣṭhā, Revatī, Jyeṣṭhā, Mṛgaśīrṣa and Hasta and should not be performed on the person's nakṣatra of birth, nor on Pūrvābhādrapadā, Uttarābhādrapadā and Kṛttikā; one should avoid for tonsure the first tithi (after amāvāsyā), *riktā* tithi (4th, 9th and 14th), *Viṣṭi*, Sunday, Tuesday, Saturday and night.[912]

Similar rules are laid down for ordinary shaving in the case of grown-up men.[912a] Some verses may be quoted here: 'the following nakṣatras are beneficial in the matter of shaving, viz. the nakṣatras, Hasta,[913] Citrā, Svātī, Mṛgaśiras, Śravaṇa, Dhaniṣṭhā Śatabhiṣak, Revatī, Aśvinī, Jyeṣṭhā, Puṣya and Punarvasu or when any nakṣatra is at the time of its rise in conjunction with the moon provided there is also *tārābala* (as defined below). Shaving is commended when the rising sign is Makara, Dhanus, Kanyā, Mithuna or Vṛṣa; observing this produces prosperity, strength and growth of intelligence; if shaving is done when any of the other signs is rising, that leads to disease and danger. Shaving is allowed on all nakṣatras at the king's command, with a brāhmaṇa's consent, at the time of marriage, on the advent of impurity due to death, on the release of an imprisoned person and in *dīkṣā* (consecration rites) on a solemn Vedic sacrifice '.

We now turn to Upanayana, one of the two most important *saṁskāras*. Āśvalāyana-gṛhya (I. 4. 1) as noted above (p. 605)

911. उत्तरवर्त्मनि सवितुश्चूडाकरणं जगुः शुभं यवनाः। रा. मा. folio 16b, verse 255. This proves that the Greek author had become thoroughly Hinduized.

912. व्यासः। अश्विनी श्रवणं स्वाती चित्रा पुष्यपुनर्वसू। धनिष्ठा रेवती ज्येष्ठा मृगहस्तेषु कारयेत्॥ नक्षत्रे न तु कुर्वीत यस्मिञ्जातो भवेन्नरः। न प्रोष्ठपदयोः कार्यं नैवाग्नेये च भारत॥ तिथिं प्रतिपदं रिक्तां विष्टिं चैव विवर्जयेत्। वारं शनैश्चरादित्यभौमानां रात्रिमेव च॥ स्मृतिच. I. p. 23, अपरार्क p. 29 on या. I. 11-12.

912 a. A proverbial line quoted as early as 4th century A. D. by Ausonius (310-393 A. D.) in Eclogues p. 203 (vide Loeb Classical Library, 1919) runs 'cut nails on Tuesday, beard on Wednesday, hair on Friday.'

913. हस्तात्रयं मृगशिरः श्रवणत्रयं च पौष्णाश्विशुक्रगुरुभानि पुनर्वसू च। क्षौरे तु कर्मणि हितान्युदयक्षणे च युक्तानि चोडुपतिना यदि शस्ततारा:॥ क्षौरं प्रशस्तं मृगचापलग्ने

(*Continued on next page*)

laid down one simple rule for the proper time of four saṁskāras. Āp. Dh.[914] S. laid down two further rules providing that the upanayana of a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya or vaiśya boy should be performed respectively in spring, summer and autumn and the proper ages for these three are respectively the 8th, 11th and 12th from conception. The same ages are prescribed by Manu II. 36 and Yāj. I. 14. It may be noted that none of the sūtras nor the smṛtis of Manu and Yājñavalkya say a word about the position of planets or rāśis or week-days or month. Gradually such rules were heaped up. The Rājamārtaṇḍa devotes 70 verses (from 304 to 373 on folios 20a to 24a) to upanayana. It states that the years were to be counted from conception or birth. To find proper muhūrtas for upanayana has become a very intricate matter and such muhūrtas are few and far between. Only a few such rules can be indicated here. First as to months. One text lays down ' Upanayana is commended (for all) when performed in the five months from Māgha (i. e. from Māgha to Jyeṣṭha); while Vṛddha-Gārgya quoted in Kālādarśa provides that it may be performed in the six months from Māgha.[915] Another rule provided ' that no auspicious rites (like upanayana and marriage) should be performed on the nakṣatra, month and week-day on which the person concerned was born and no auspicious rite for the eldest son or eldest daughter should be performed in the month of Jyeṣṭha.'[916] The sages differed about the month of birth. Vasiṣṭha said that only the day of birth was to be avoided, Garga says only eight days of the month of birth were to be

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कन्याख्यलग्ने मिथुने वृषे च। पुष्टिं बलं बुद्धिविवर्धनं च शेषेषु रोगं कुरुते भय च ॥ नृपाज्ञया ब्राह्मणसंमतेन विवाहकाले मृतसूतके च। बद्धस्य मोक्षे क्रतुदीक्षणे च सर्वेषु शस्तं क्षुरकर्म भेषु ॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 16b, 17b, 18a, verses 258, 272, 279, भुजबल pp. 130–131, अपरार्क p. 30 (first verse), स्मृतिच. I. p. 23 (last verse). The last verse (नृपाज्ञया &c.) is बृहत्संहिता 98. 14 (Kern's ed.).

914. वसन्ते ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत ग्रीष्मे राजन्यं शरदि वैश्यं गर्भाष्टमेषु ब्राह्मणं गर्भैकादशेषु राजन्यं गर्भद्वादशेषु वैश्यम् ॥ आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 19. Śabara in his bhāṣya on Jaimini VI. 1. 33 quotes the words वसन्ते ब्राह्मण...वैश्यम् apparently as a Vedic text. उपनयनमाहुरिष्टं द्विजस्य गर्भाष्टमेऽष्टमे वाब्दे। नो चेन्नवमे वर्षे शशिरविजीवेषु शस्तेषु ॥ राजमार्तण्ड verse 310.

915. तथा च ज्योतिःशास्त्रम्। माघादिषु तु मासेषु मौञ्जी पञ्चसु शस्यते। स्मृतिच. I. p. 27, नि. सि. p. 262 (quotes it from हेमाद्रि on काल p. 747); कालादर्शे वृद्धगार्ग्यः। माघादिमासषट्के तु मेखलाबन्धनं मतम्। नि. सि. p. 262.

916. जन्ममासि न च जन्मभे तथा नैव जन्मदिवसेपि कारयेत्। आद्यगर्भदुहितुः सुतस्य वा ज्येष्ठमासि न तु जातु मङ्गलम् ॥ रत्नमाला XVI. 5 of श्रीपति q. by com. on मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि V. 45. This prohibition about Jyeṣṭha has no basis beyond the fact that the same word is applied to the month and to the eldest son or daughter.

avoided, Atri says ten days and Bhāguri says the fortnight of birth in the month was to be avoided.[917] No upanayana was to be performed when the moon was lost in the rays of the sun, when Venus had set, when the sun was in the first *aṁśa* (degree) of a rāśi and on days which were declared to be unfit for vedic study and on *galagraha*.[918] Certain tithis and times were called galagraha (as stated in the note).[919] If Jupiter be in the 2nd, 5th, 7th, 9th or 11th rāśi from the rāśi of birth, then Jupiter is very auspicious; if Jupiter be in the 1st, 3rd, 6th or 10th rāśi from the rāśi of birth he becomes auspicious after a *śānti* rite; if Jupiter be in the 4th, 8th or 12th rāśi from birth he is inauspicious.[920]

One rather convenient doctrine of the astrologers was that an evil planet may be mollified and the evil consequences of its influence avoided, or, if not altogether avoided, substantially reduced or abated by appropriate rites (called śāntis) or by wearing certain precious stones and metals and by various other means enumerated in the Ratnamālā[921] ' one should wear coral for appeasing Mars and the Sun, silver for Venus and the Moon, gold for Mercury, pearl for Jupiter, iron for Saturn and *rājāvarta* (a kind of inferior gem) for the other two (Rāhu and Ketu). The Ratnamālā provides that planets may not possibly afflict a man if he engages in prostrations before images of gods and before brāhmaṇas, if he carries out the advice of elders, by holding daily conversations with the good, by listening to the

917. जातं दिनं दूषयते वसिष्ठो ह्यष्टौ च गर्गो नियतं दशात्रिः। जातस्य पक्षं किल भागुरिश्च शेषाः प्रशस्ताः खलु जन्ममासि च॥ राजमार्तण्ड q. by नि. सि. p. 263.

918. नष्टे चन्द्रेऽस्तगे शुक्रे निरंशे चैव भास्करे। कर्तव्यमौपनयनं नानध्याये गलग्रहे॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 32 and स्मृतिच. I. p. 27, हेमाद्रि (on काल) p. 751 (from रत्नकोश).

919. अष्टमी सप्तमीविद्धा त्रयोदश्या चतुर्दशी। प्रतिपदा द्वितीया च गलग्रह उदाहृतः॥ त्रयोदश्यादि चत्वारि सप्तम्यादि दिनत्रयम्। चतुर्थी त्वेकतः प्रोक्ता अष्टावेता गलग्रहाः॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 23a and b, verses 363 and 365; हेमाद्रि (on काल) p. 751 for त्रयोदशी चतुष्कं च सप्तम्यादि &c.

920. बटुकन्याजन्मराशेस्त्रिकोणायद्विसप्तगः। श्रेष्ठो गुरुः खषट्त्र्याद्ये पूजयान्यत्र निन्दितः॥ मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि V. 46.

921. धार्यं तुष्ट्यै विद्रुमं भौमभान्वो रौप्यं शुक्रेन्द्वोश्च हेमेन्दुजस्य। मुक्ता सूरेर्लोहमर्कात्मजस्य रालाभावः (राजावर्तः ?) कीर्तितः शेषयोश्च॥ रत्नमाला X. 15 quoted in com. पीयूषधारा on मु. चि. IV. 11 (धार्यं लाजावर्तकं राहुकेत्वोः); देवब्राह्मणवन्दनाद्गुरुवचःसम्पादनात्प्रत्यहं साधूनामभिभाषणात् श्रुतिरवश्रेयःकथाकर्णनात्। होमादध्वरदर्शनाच्छुचिमनोभावाज्जपाद्दानतो नो कुर्वन्ति कदाचिदेव पुरुषस्यैवं ग्रहाः पीडनम्॥ रत्नमाला X. 29; शमयोद्गतामशुभदृष्टिमपि विबुधविप्रपूजया शान्तिजपनियमदानदमैः सुजनाभिभाषणसमागमैस्तथा॥ बृहत्संहिता 103. 48.

loud recitation of the Vedas and to the stories about the great, by offering *homa*, by seeing the performance of Vedic sacrifices, by making the mind pure, by *japa* (inaudible repetition of mantras), by making gifts. The Bṛhatsaṁhitā has a similar verse. Ratnamālā X. 16 and Muhūrtacintāmaṇi IV. 9 provide that one should possess a golden ring divided into nine compartments, one being in the middle in which there is to be a ruby for placating the Sun, and in eight directions from the east onwards should be set in order: a diamond for placating Venus in the east, a fine pearl for the moon (in S. E.), coral for Mars (South), *gomeda* for Rāhu (in S. W.), fine sapphire for Saturn (West), Vaiḍūrya (cat's eye gem) for Ketu (N. W.), puṣyarāga (topaz) for Jupiter (North), emerald for Mercury (N. E.). Such rings are worn even in these days by some people.

As in ancient times upanayana was meant for conferring on the boy the authority to study Veda and as the planet Jupiter (Guru) was identified with Bṛhaspati, the *guru* of the gods and the Lord of Speech, great importance was attached to the position of Jupiter. But exceptions were introduced even when Jupiter was apparently not favourable. One exception was 'even if Jupiter be in the 8th place from the rāśi of birth or be in the sign of Lion (which is the svagṛha of the Sun) or in depression (i. e. in Makara) or in the house of his enemy, upanayana would be auspicious if performed in Caitra when the Sun is in Pisces (which is the svagṛha of Jupiter). This exception is due to the fact that the principal time for upanayana is the 8th year from conception or birth and other conditions are of secondary importance, as the Dharmasindhu says.[922] Certain nakṣatras alone were declared to be auspicious for upanayana and *samāvartana* of dvijas viz. on the nakṣatras Hasta, Citrā, Svātī, Puṣya, Dhaniṣṭhā, Revatī, Aśvinī, Mṛgaśiras, Punarvasu and Śravaṇa; upanayana was to be performed on a commended tithi when the Moon is powerful (i. e. from 5th of bright half to the 5th of the dark half).[923]

Very intricate astrological rules are provided for marriage. The Āśv. gṛ. S. (I. 4. 1-2) laid down a very simple rule about

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922. अष्टमवर्षादिमुख्यकाले गुरुबलाभावेपि मीनगतरवियुतचैत्रे वा शान्त्या वा व्रतबन्धः कार्यो न तु मुख्यकालातिक्रमः। नित्यकालस्य बलीयस्त्वात्। धर्मसिन्धु p. 201.

923. हस्तत्रये पुष्यधनिष्ठयोश्च पौष्णाश्विसौम्यादितिविष्णुभेषु। शस्ते तिथौ चन्द्रबलेन युक्ते कार्यौ द्विजानां व्रतबन्धमोक्षौ॥ हेमाद्रि on काल p. 749, रा. मा. (folio 20 b verse 316) quoted by अपरार्क p. 32 (without name).

the proper times for four saṁskāras which has been quoted above (p. 536 note 778). The Baud. gṛ. (I. 1. 18–20) provides that marriage may be celebrated in all months, that according to some, the months of Āṣāḍha, Māgha and Phālguna are to be avoided and that the auspicious nakṣatras for marriage are Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśirṣa, Uttarā-Phalgunī and Svātī (vide notes 726 and 777 above). The Āp. gṛ. (I. 2. 12–13) is to the same effect as to months (vide note 775). The Kauśikasūtra[924] (75. 2–4) approaches medieval and modern practice as it prescribes that marriage should be celebrated after the Full Moon of Kārtika up to the Full moon of Vaiśākha or one may do as one likes but one should avoid the month or half month of Caitra. In medieval and modern times there was some difference of opinion. The Rājamārtaṇḍa (that devotes over 150 verses to the treatment of marriage) allowed all months for marriage except Caitra and Pauṣa.[925] But works like the Dharmasindhu say that the months of Māgha, Phālguna, Vaiśākha and Jyeṣṭha are auspicious, Mārgaśirṣa is middling and in some works Āṣāḍha and Kārtika are allowed and that usages of the country should be followed.

Then consideration is to be given to the nakṣatras, the week days, the positions of the planets, particularly Jupiter, Venus, Sun and Moon. But before doing so I would like to draw the attention of modern sticklers for astrological requirements about the marriage of a girl to the practical advice and wise words of the Rājamārtaṇḍa and Bhujabala composed in the first half of the 11th century A. D. The Rājamārtaṇḍa[926] says 'when

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924. ऊर्ध्वं कार्तिक्या आ वैशाख्याः। याथाकामी वा। चित्रापक्षं तु वर्जयेत्। कौशिकसूत्र 75. 2–4.

925. मङ्गल्येषु विवाहेषु कन्यासंवरणेषु च। दश मासाः प्रशस्यन्ते चैत्रपौषविवर्जिताः॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 29a verse 480 q. by उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 124, ज्योतिस्तत्त्व p. 604, नि. सि. p. 307. रत्नमाला says: नाषाढप्रभृति चतुष्टये विवाहो नो पौषे न च मधुसंज्ञिते विधेयः। XVI. 3.

926. राज्ञा ग्रस्तेऽथवा युद्धे पितॄणां प्राणसंशये। अतिप्रौढा तु या कन्या न तु कालं प्रतीक्षते। अतिप्रौढा तु या कन्या न तु धर्मविरोधिनी। अविशुद्धा तु सा देया लग्नचन्द्रबलैर्विना॥ राजमार्तण्ड (folio 24b and verses 397–398) q. by उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 124 (reads नानुकूल्यं प्रतीक्षते and चन्द्रलग्नबलेन तु), नि. सि. p. 303 (reads राहुग्रस्ते). संवर्त (verse 67) laid down that a girl was to be married before she reached puberty, but the marriage of a girl when she is eight years old is to be commended. Parāśara (VII. 9) says that a brāhmaṇa who marries a girl after she has reached puberty becomes unfit to sit for dinner in a row of brāhmaṇas and he becomes the husband of a vṛṣalī. राजमार्तण्ड (folio 25a verse 391) is: अष्टवर्षा भवेद्गौरी दशवर्षा च कन्यका। संप्राप्ते द्वादशे वर्षे परतस्तु रजस्वला॥. So some stigma atta-

(*Continued on next page*)

(an invading) king has seized a country or when war is raging or when the life of the parents is in danger, a maiden who is very much grown up is not to wait for an (auspicious) time; when a maiden is very much grown up, but does not act against the rules of dharma she should be given in marriage, even though she is impure, without minding whether the Moon and the *lagna* are powerful '. The Bhujabala[927] (or Bhujabalabhīma) provides ' the sages declare that in the case of maidens the auspiciousness of planets and of the year, the month, *ayana*, season and days is to be considered only before maidens reach the age of ten years '.

There is some difference of opinion about the auspicious nakṣatras for marriage, but all are agreed as to Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśiras, Maghā, Uttarā-Phalgunī, Uttarāṣāḍhā, Uttarā-bhādrapadā, Hasta, Svātī, Mūla, Anurādhā, Revatī (vide Bṛ. S. 100. 1). Others like Haradatta add four more viz. Aśvinī, Citrā, Śravaṇa, Dhaniṣṭhā. But if any one of these is in conjunction with a malefic planet, it should be avoided. Among weekdays, Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are auspicious, the other three are middling. According to a verse quoted in Jyotistattva weekdays have no force at night and particularly Tuesday, Saturday and Sunday.[928] Among tithis amāvāsyā is forbidden; *riktā* tithis (4th, 9th, 14th) yield little good; the other tithis yield much good; the bright half of a month is the best and the dark half of a month upto 13th tithi is middling.

Marriage[929] in the case of maidens should be performed in even years after the 6th year if Jupiter is auspicious; in the case of bridegrooms marriage is auspicious (in uneven years), if the Sun is auspicious; marriage is auspicious to both if the Moon is

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(*Continued from last page*)

ches to the grown-up girl also. The भुजबल says ' दशवर्षव्यतिक्रान्ता कन्या शुद्धिविवर्जिता। तस्मात्तारेन्दुलग्नानां शुद्धौ पाणिग्रहो मतः॥ ' p. 152. Therefore the राजमार्तण्ड employs the word अविशुद्धा. The उद्वाहतत्त्व softens the rule by saying that all that should be considered is the moon and the lagna at the time of the marriage of a grown-up girl.

927. ग्रहशुद्धिमब्दशुद्धिं शुद्धिं मासायनर्तुदिवसानाम्। अर्वाग्दशवर्षेभ्यो मुनयः कथयन्ति कन्यकानाम्॥ भुजबल q. by उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 124, ज्योतिस्तत्त्व p. 605.

928. शतानन्दरत्नमालायाम्। न वारदोषाः प्रभवन्ति रात्रौ विशेषतो भौमशनैश्चरार्काः। ज्योतिस्तत्त्व p. 596.

929. गुरुशुद्धिवशेन कन्यकानां समवर्षेषु षडब्दकोपरिष्टात्। रविशुद्धिवशाच्छुभो वराणामुभयोश्चन्द्रविशुद्धितो विवाहः॥ मु. चि. VI. 12.

beneficent. If Jupiter is in exaltation[930] or in its own house or in the house of a friendly planet then he confers full life, various kinds of wealth and happiness, but if Jupiter is in the first or 8th or is depressed or in the house of an enemical planet or lost in the brilliance of the Sun he produces widowhood and distress to the issue. As regards the lagna at the time of marriage the Sun in the 3rd, 6th, 8th from it, the Moon in the 2nd, 3rd or 4th place from it, Mars in the 3rd and 6th, Mercury and Jupiter in the 8th and 12th are to be avoided. If Venus is in the *lagna* or in the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 9th or 10th place from it, Saturn, Rāhu and Ketu in 3rd, 6th and 8th from it and every planet in the 11th place from *lagna* conduces to happiness in marriage. If at the time of marriage Jupiter[931] is 2nd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 11th from the rāśi of birth he is auspicious to the maiden; if in 1st, 3rd, 6th or 10th place therefrom, he becomes beneficent by performing a śānti rite; if he is 4th, 8th or 12th he is inauspicious: but if Jupiter is (at the time of marriage) in Karka, Dhanus or Mīna, he ceases to be inauspicious even though he may be in the 4th, 8th or 12th place (from rāśi of birth); in a time of pressing difficulty Jupiter though in the 4th or 12th becomes auspicious after performing two śāntis (Bṛhaspati homas) and though in the 8th after three śāntis. In the case of the bridegroom the Sun in the 3rd, 6th, 10th or 11th rāśi from the bridegroom's rāśi at birth is auspicious; if in other rāśis the Sun becomes auspicious after the performance of a homa.

If a maiden[932] has attained the age of puberty then one should not stop to consider whether Jupiter is auspicious; even if Jupiter be 8th from the girl's rāśi of birth marriage should be brought about after three śāntis.

If Jupiter be in the house of the Sun (i. e. in Siṁha sign) and the Sun is in the house of Jupiter (i. e. in Mīna or Dhanus) that is called Gurvāditya, which is condemned for all rites.

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930. उच्चस्थः स्वगृही सुहृद्भवनगो वाचस्पतिर्नित्यशः पूर्णायुर्विविधार्थसौख्यजनको जन्माष्टगो वा भवेत्। नीचस्थोऽरिगृही दिवाकरकरच्छायानुगामी सदा इष्टानिष्टफलं ददाति नियतं वैधव्यपुत्रापदम्॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 27a verse 434.

931. द्विपञ्चसप्तनवैकादशस्थो गुरुः कन्यायाः शुभः, जन्मतृतीयषष्ठदशमस्थानेषु पूजाहोमात्मकशान्त्या शुभः, चतुर्थाष्टमद्वादशस्थानेषु दुष्टफलः कर्कधनुर्मीनगश्च चतुर्थादिस्थानेषु न दुष्टः। सङ्कटे चतुर्थद्वादशस्थो द्विवारमष्टमस्त्रिवारं होमादिरूपपूजयार्चितः शुभः। धर्मसिन्धु p. 248. कर्क is the *ucca* (exaltation) of Jupiter and Dhanus and Mīna are his *svagṛhas*.

932. रजस्वलायाः कन्याया गुरुशुद्धिं न चिन्तयेत्। अष्टमेपि प्रकर्तव्यो विवाहस्त्रिगुणार्चनात्॥ लल्ल q. by नि. सि. p. 304.

A good deal is said in the medieval works on Siṁhastha Guru and the rules laid down on this topic are even now observed by most people. The Rājamārtaṇḍa devotes six verses to it. When Jupiter is in the sign Lion several rites would become inauspicious such as marching on an invasion, marriage, *upanayana*, first entrance in a newly built house, the establishment of the image of a god. Certain modifications were introduced by sages. Parāśara provided that no marriage should be performed in the countries between the Ganges and the Godāvarī, when Jupiter was in Lion sign and that when Jupiter was in Maghā nakṣatra (the first of the $2\frac{1}{4}$ nakṣatras of Siṁha) and when the Sun was in Mīna no marriage in all the countries (of India) should take place; Vasiṣṭha said 'marriage and Upanayana are not bad in *siṁhastha* Guru when performed in a country north of the Ganges and to the south of the Godāvarī.[933]

On account of the complicated nature of the muhūrta for marriage, a short cut was hit upon called *Godhūlī* or *Gorajas* (literally, dust raised by cows) muhūrta. The Rājamārtaṇḍa devotes ten verses to it (folios 34b and 35a, verses 550–559). Three of them are set out here.[934] 'While the Sun, though setting, appears like saffron or red sandalwood paste, while the stars in the sky are not seen to sparkle with their light, while the sky is filled with the dust pounded by cows (returning to their pens) with the tips of their hoofs, that time is declared to be Godhūlikā, which gives rise to wealth and crops and prosperity. In this muhūrta the planets, the tithis, Viṣṭi or stars or constellations do not create an obstacle; this unimpeded *yoga* was

933. यात्रा विवाहो व्रतबन्धनं च प्रवेशयानं च सुरप्रतिष्ठा। अन्येषु कार्येषु च शोभनेषु दोषो भवेत्सिंहगते सुरेज्ये । भुजबल p. 275; गुरौ हरिस्थे न विवाहमाहुर्हारीतगर्गप्रमुखा मुनीन्द्राः। राजमार्तण्ड folio 67a verse 1057; पराशरः। गोदाभागीरथीमध्ये नोद्वाहः सिंहगे गुरौ। मघास्थे सर्वदेशेषु तथा मीनगते रवौ॥ वसिष्ठोपि। विवाहो दक्षिणे कूले गौतम्या नेतरत्र तु। भागीरथ्युत्तरे कूले गौतम्या दक्षिणे तथा। विवाहो व्रतबन्धश्च सिंहस्थेज्ये न दुष्यति॥ नि. सि. p. 305.

934. यावत्कुङ्कुमरक्तचन्दननिभोऽप्यस्तङ्गतो भास्करो यावच्चोडुगणो नभःस्थलगतो नो दृश्यते रश्मिभिः। गोभिश्चापि खुराग्रभागदलितैर्व्याप्तं नभः पांसुभिः सा वेला धनधान्यवृद्धिजननी गोधूलिका शस्यते॥ नास्मिन्ग्रहा न तिथयो न च विष्टिवारा ऋक्षाणि नैव जनयन्ति कदा न विघ्नम्। अव्याहतः स तु नामवा (सततमेव ?) विवाहकाले यात्रासु चायमुदितो भृगुजेन योगः॥ लग्नं यदा नास्ति विशुद्धमन्यद् गोधूलिकं साधु तदादिशन्ति। लग्ने विशुद्धे सति वीर्ययुक्ते गोधूलिकं नैव शुभं वदन्ते॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 34b and 35a, verses 551, 556, 559. The last two are quoted by ज्योतिस्तत्त्व (without name) pp. 610–611 (and one more viz. 555). Compare बृहत्सं. 102. 13 'गोपैर्यष्ट्या हतानां खुरपुटदलिता या तु धूलिर्दिनान्ते सोद्वाहे सुन्दरीणां विपुलधनसुतारोग्यसौभाग्यकर्त्री॥ तस्मिन्काले न चर्क्षं न च तिथिकरणं नैव लग्नं न योगः ख्यातः पुंसां सुखार्थं शमयति दुरितान्युत्थितं गोरजस्तु॥'

declared by Bhārgava as time for marriage and for starting on an invasion. When no other auspicious *lagna* can be found then sages direct that Godhūlikā (muhūrta) is auspicious; but if a lagna which is auspicious and powerful can be found the Godhūlikā muhūrta does not bring about auspicious results. The Dharmasindhu (p. 254) simply quotes the Muhūrta-mārtaṇḍa IV. 38, which says that this muhūrta is intended for śūdras, but that in times of great difficulty when the girl has reached puberty it may be auspicious also for brāhmaṇas and persons of other varṇas. In these days also this Gorajas muhūrta is sometimes resorted to by all varṇas.

There are other complicated astrological matters for consideration in marriage such as Daśayogacakra (R. M. folios 35b–36b), Saptaśalākācakra (R. M. folio 36b–37b), which are passed over here. But there in one matter that is sometimes gone into even now and that must be briefly alluded to, viz. the calculation of the *guṇas* (marks) on the comparison of eight matters concerning the nakṣatra and rāśi on which the intending bride and bridegroom were born. This is designated 'vadhūvaramelakavicāra' or 'ghaṭitaguṇavicāra'. The eight matters (kūṭas as they are called) are varṇa, vaśya, tārā, yoni, grahamaitrī, gaṇamaitrī, rāśikūṭa and nāḍī,[935] varṇa carrying one mark, each succeeding one having one more mark (in all 36) than the one immediately preceding. All of them are not described even in the latest works; for example, the Dharmasindhu deals only with the last four. Two of these, viz. gaṇa and nāḍī are attached great importance even now among brāhmaṇas and other classes also. I have described these two in H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 515. All these eight are described at length in Muhūrtamārtaṇḍa (IV. 1-12) and Muhūrta-cintāmaṇi (VI. 21-35), Saṁskāraprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya) pp. 773ff. and Saṁskāra-ratna-mālā pp. 519ff. One[936] rule made matters easy in some cases, viz. when the rāśi of birth of both bride and bridegroom was the same, but the nakṣatras of their birth were different or where the nakṣatra was the same but the rāśis were

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935. वर्णो वश्यं तथा तारा योनिश्च ग्रहमैत्रकम् । गणमैत्रं भकूटं च नाडी चैते गुणाधिकाः ॥ मु. चि. VI. 21.

936. राश्यैक्ये चेद्भिन्नमृक्षं द्वयोः स्यान्नक्षत्रैक्ये राशियुग्मं तथैव । नाडीदोषो नो गणानां च दोषो नक्षत्रैक्ये पादभेदे शुभः स्यात् ॥ मु. चि. VI. 36. If, for example, the bridegroom was born during the first quarter of kṛttikā nakṣatra and the bride in the 4th quarter of the same their rāśis would be different (viz. Meṣa and Vṛṣabha) but the nakṣatra would be the same.

different, then no consideration need be paid to *gaṇa* and *nāḍi* and the like and if the nakṣatra of both is one and the same it would be auspicious if they were born on different quarters of the same nakṣatra. Now that in most educated families the age of the bride and bridegroom is twenty years and beyond and there are also love marriages the rigours of this examination of astrological details have been very much reduced, but they are not completely gone even now. In the author's youth nearly sixty years ago, even if the girl was quite eligible from all other points of view, a marriage among the well-to-do classes was almost impossible if this tallying of marks was not astrologically favourable.

Great importance was attached to the favourable position of Jupiter in the case of marriages. The Ratnamālā[937] states 'Mercury that could be seen (being a good deal away from the Sun) and occupying the 1st, 4th or 10th place in the horoscope removes one hundred astrological defects; Venus removes double of such defects and the teacher of the gods (Jupiter) when powerful certainly renders nugatory even one hundred thousand defects'.

In marriages both *candrabala* and *tārābala* were required. As stated in note 772 above the 3rd, 5th and 7th nakṣatras from the nakṣatra of birth were called respectively 'vipad (calamity), 'pratyari' (facing enemy) and 'vadha' (destruction) and they yielded results in consonance with their names; therefore they were to be avoided in auspicious rites and particularly in marriage. The nakṣatras from that of birth were arranged in three groups of nine. In the 2nd group the evil ones would be 12th, 14th and 16th and in the 3rd group 21st, 23rd and 25th. It was laid down that, where the Moon[938] is powerful, the *tārābala* need not be considered, but where the Moon is weak (as in the dark half), then the strength of tārās is pre-eminent. Some authors regarded even the nakṣatra of birth as one to be avoided in certain rites, though acceptable in others. The evil tārās called 'vipad', 'pratyari' and 'vadha' were to be placated respectively by gifts to brāhmaṇas of jaggery, salt, and gold with sesame.

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937. दोषाणां शतमपहन्ति सोमपुत्रः केन्द्रस्थो द्युनमपहाय दृश्यमूर्तिः। दैत्येज्यो द्विगुणमिदं पुनर्बलीयानाचार्यः शमयति लक्षमप्यवश्यम्॥ रत्नमाला XVI. 26.

938. जन्माह्वयं सम्पदथो विपच्च क्षेमप्रत्यारिसाधका वधश्च। मित्रातिमैत्रेति नवैव ताराः स्युर्जन्मभात् त्रिः परिवर्तनेन॥ न खलु बहुलपक्षे शीतरश्मेः प्रभावः कथितमिह हि तारा वीर्यमार्यैः प्रधानम्। ...शुक्ले पक्षे शीतरश्मिर्बलीयान् न प्राधान्यं तारकायास्तु तत्र। ...यात्राद्वाहाद्येषु कार्येषु नूनं संज्ञातुल्यं तत्फलं चिन्तनीयम्॥ रत्नमाला XI. 4, 5, 6, 7; कृष्णे बलवती तारा शुक्ले च बलवान् शशी। तस्मात्कार्यं प्रयत्नेन विशुद्धे चन्द्रतारके॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 38b, verse 617.

In relation to marriage the Rājamārtaṇḍa[939] says: tithi is declared to have a single value while weekday is four times as good, nakṣatra is 16 times better, *yoga* has a hundredfold result, the Sun is a thousandfold efficacious, while the Moon is efficacious one hundred thousand times; therefore leaving aside all other *balas* (astrological strengths) one should look to the strength of the Moon as (the pre-eminent) strength.

Now that in most countries including India the kingly office has been abolished, muhūrtas for coronation are of purely academic interest and therefore they are not set out here. Those interested may refer to Ratnamālā XIV. 1–8, Muhūrtamārtaṇḍa VIII. 1, Muhūrta-cintāmaṇi X. 1–4, Rājanītiratnākara pp. 82-84 (ed. by K. P. Jayaswal).

One very important astrological subject was *Yātrā*, which has two meanings, viz. starting on a journey for going to *tīrthas* or for earning wealth and marching out for victory by kings. The first kind of yātrā is common to persons of all varṇas, while the second is concerned only with kṣatriyas or the king.[940] It appears that not only professed works on astrology but also the Smṛtis, the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and Purāṇas attached great importance to this subject. The Āśramavāsikaparva[941] 7. 12-18, Manu VII. 181–212, Matsya 240–243, Agni 233–235, Viṣṇudharmottara II. 175–176, the Arthaśāstra in books IX ('the work of one who wants to be an invader') and X (relating to war) deal exhaustively with the subject of *Yāna* or *Yātrā*. The subjects of Yātrā are summarised in the Bṛhat-saṁhitā as follows[942]: Under Yātrā are included knowledge of proper

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939. तिथिरेकगुणा प्रोक्ता वारश्चैव चतुर्गुणः । ऋक्षं षोडशमित्याहुर्योगश्चैव शताधिकः ॥ सहस्रांशो रविः प्रोक्तश्चन्द्रो लक्षगुणाधिकः । वर्जयित्वा बलं सर्वं तस्माच्चन्द्रबलाबलम् ॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 39a, verses 611–612. These are quoted in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व p. 590 but not from रा. मा.

940. किंचित्कार्यमुद्दिश्य देशान्तरगमनं यात्रा। सा च संक्षेपतो द्विविधा-एका समरविजययात्रा, अपरा सामान्ययात्रा। तत्र शत्रुनगरजयार्थं वक्ष्यमाणयोगलग्नजातकोक्तराजयोगलग्नेषु प्राधान्येन या यात्रा सा समरविजयाख्या। ...या द्रव्यार्जनार्थं वाराणस्यादितीर्थदर्शनार्थं वा तिथ्यादिशुद्धिमंगीकृत्य यात्रा सा सामान्ययात्रा। पीयूषधारा on मु. चि. XI. 1.

941. यात्रां गच्छेद्बलैर्युक्तो राजा सद्भिः परन्तप । युक्तश्च देशकालाभ्यां बलैरात्मगुणैस्तथा ॥ हृष्टपुष्टबलो गच्छेद्राजा वृद्ध्युदये रतः । अकृशश्चाप्यथो यायादवृतावपि पाण्डव ॥ आश्रमवासिकपर्व 7. 12–13.

942. यात्रायां च तिथिदिवसकरणनक्षत्रमुहूर्तविलग्नयोगदेहस्पन्दनस्वप्नविजयस्नानग्रहयज्ञगणयागाग्निलिङ्ग-हस्त्यश्वेङ्गितसेनाप्रवादचेष्टादिग्रहषाड्गुण्योपायमङ्गलामङ्गलशकुनसैन्यनिवेशभूमयोऽग्निवर्णा मन्त्रिचरदूताटविकानां यथाकालं प्रयोगाः परदुर्गलम्भोपायाश्चेति । बृहत्सं॰ chap. II (p. 6 of Kern's ed., p. 71 of Dvivedi's ed.).

tithis, week days, *karaṇas*, nakṣatras, muhūrtas, the vilagna (the lagna at the time of starting), the (different) yogas (conjunctions of planets, nakṣatras, rāśis &c.), the throbbings of the limbs of the body, dreams, baths for victory, sacrifice to the planets, worship of deities in groups (such as Guhyakas), the indications drawn from fire-flames (at the time of homa), the indications derived from the gestures of elephants and horses, the talk of men in the army and its activities, the (nine) planets, the employment of six *guṇas* (*sandhi*, *vigraha*, *yāna*, *āsana*, *dvaidhībhāva*, *āśraya*) according to the strength of planets, auspicious and inauspicious things and sights, the four upāyas (sāma, dāna, daṇḍa, bheda), *śakunas* (omens), the ground for army encampment, the colour of the flames of fire, the employment as time may require of ministers, spies, envoys, forest tribes and means of securing the enemy's forts.

Varāhamihira, besides devoting several chapters of the Bṛhatsaṁhitā (such as 43-50, 88-96) to matters falling under 'Yātrā' composed three works on it, viz. the Bṛhadyogayātrā, the Yogayātrā and Ṭikkanikā.[943] Apart from the verses in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā, Varāhamihira devotes over 1100 verses to Yātrā. Yātrā is dealt with in several other works also such as the Ratnamālā (XV. 1-74), Rājamārtaṇḍa (folios 42a-50a, verses 653-795), the Muhūrtacintāmaṇi (XI. 1-109). The reason why the work is

943. I have not been able to find any printed edition of Bṛhad-yogayātrā. I have used a badly written ms. of it in the Bhau Daji collection of the Bombay Asiatic Society. Part of the Yogayātrā (chapters 1-9) was published by Kern in the Indische Studien vol. X. pp. 161-212, vol. XIV pp. 312-358, vol. XV pp. 167-184 (with translation in German). Mr. Jagadish Lal of Lahore published the whole of it in 1944, but he had a defective ms. and there are many gaps in the text as printed. There is a ms. of the Yogayātrā in the Bhau Daji collection of the Bombay Asiatic Society with the commentary of Utpala. There are 16 chapters of the Yogayātrā with about 467 verses (17 chap. in the Lahore ed.) and the Bṛhadyogayātrā ms. has 34 chapters and about 520 verses i e. the latter is slightly larger than the former. The Ṭikkanikā is a small work (in nine chapters and about one hundred verses) recently published by Mr. V. R. Pandit (who devotes great industry and acumen in arriving at a tolerable text) in the Journal of the Bombay University, vol. XX part 2 (for 1951) pp. 40-63. Vide my paper on 'Varāhamihira and Utpala ' in JBBRAS vol. 24-25 (new series) pp. 2-4 and 27. The word is variously written in the mss. and by Utpala as टिकनिक, टिक्कणि, टिक्कनिका, टिक्कनिकयात्रा.

called Yogayātrā is as follows: When a war[944] is impending, to look out and wait for auspicious tithis, week-days, nakṣatras would involve a great delay. Therefore, the conjunctions and positions of certain planets in some fixed places (i. e. yoga) is looked upon as the principal astrological matter. The Yogayātrā and Ratnamālā say:[945] Just as even a poison may work like nectar when mixed (with other substances like milk) or just as even honey taken with ghee may act like poison, in the same way a planet giving up its own peculiar power yields results due to certain conjunctions. Kings march out on conjunctions, thieves and bards act on *śakunas*, brāhmaṇas act on the efficacy of nakṣatras, others (than these) secure their objects on the strength of muhūrtas.

In Bṛhaj-jātaka (28.3) Varāha declares that he will enumerate the topics concerning Yātrā[946] and verses 4-5 specify th topics, which agree in the main as to names of titles and their order with those in the Bṛhad-yogayātrā chapters II-XX and not with those of the Yogayātrā. All these works cover a very wide field and deal with many subjects that are not strictly astrological (as the quotation from the Bṛhatsaṁhitā cited above in note 942 will show). Even the purely astrological material runs into hundreds of verses and all that can be attempted here is to indicate very briefly some of the material.

If a person's rising sign at birth (lagna) is not known, then the lagna at the time of asking a question about Yātrā may be used for astrological purposes. If such a lagna is either Meṣa, Karka, Tulā or Makara and is occupied by auspicious

944. साधारणयात्रा तु वर्णचतुष्टयसाधारणी। तत्र बहुधा बहुना कालेन बहुदोषदानं बहुगुणोपादानं चोदितम्। द्वितीया समरविजयाख्या राज्ञामेव। तत्र योगयात्रा समरविजयोपयोगिनी। उपस्थिते युद्धे पञ्चाङ्गशुद्धिर्बहुदिवसप्राप्येति तद्विचारानुपयोगात्। ...अत एव योगेन यात्रा योगयात्रेत्यन्वर्थसंज्ञाविज्ञानमपि प्रतीयते। योगो नाम कियतां ग्रहाणां नियतस्थानावस्थितत्वम्। पीयूषधारा com. on मु. चि. XI. 54.

945. योगैः क्षितिपा विनिर्गताः शकुनैस्तस्करचारणादयः। नक्षत्रगुणैर्द्विजातयः क्षणवीर्यादितरो जनोर्थभाक्॥ यद्वद्योगवशाद् व्रजत्यगदतां द्रव्यैर्विषं योजितं संयुक्तं मधुना घृतं च विषतां गच्छद् यथा दृश्यते॥ तद्वद्योगसमुद्भवं प्रकुरुते हित्वा ग्रहः स्वं फलं यस्मात्तेन समुद्यतोऽस्मि गदितुं योगान् विचित्रानिमान्॥ योगयात्रा IV. 4-5; यथाहि योगादमृतायते विषं विषाय मध्वपि सर्पिषा समम्। तथा विहाय स्वफलानि खेचराः फलं प्रयच्छन्ति हि योगसम्भवम्॥ रत्नमाला of श्रीपति XV. 29; compare मु. चि. XI. 54 with योगयात्रा IV. 4.

946. नेष्टा योगा जातकं ...जन्मन्येतद्यात्रिकं चाभिधास्ये॥ प्रश्नास्तिथिर्भं दिवसः क्षणश्च चन्द्रो विलग्नं त्वथ लग्नभेदः। शुद्धिर्ग्रहाणामथ चापवादो विमिश्रकाख्यं तनुवेपनं च॥ अतःपरं गुह्यकपूजनं स्यात्स्वप्नं ततः स्नानविधिः प्रदिष्टः। यज्ञो ग्रहाणामथ निर्गमश्च क्रमाच्च दिष्टः शकुनोपदेशः॥ बृहज्जातक 28. 3-5.

planets or has an auspicious aspect with any of them, then the questioner becomes successful in his undertaking; but if the lagna, whatever it may be, is occupied by Mars and the Moon or if the Moon is aspected by Saturn or is in the 7th or 8th place and the Sun is in lagna or if a malefic planet occupies the lagna or the 4th, 7th or 8th place, then in all these cases the questioner would be defeated or destroyed (by his enemies).[947] The week-days were regarded as not of much importance in Yātrā. The 6th, 8th, 12th tithi, Full Moon tithi, amāvāsyā, riktā tithi (4th, 9th, 14th) and the first of the bright half were not commended for Yātrā (the rest were commended) and yātrā was commended on nine nakṣatras, viz. on Aśvinī, Punarvasu, Anurādhā, Mṛgaśiras, Puṣya, Revatī, Hasta, Śravaṇa and Dhaniṣṭhā. The Yogayātrā IV, Rājamārtaṇḍa (verses 695-752), Ratnamālā XV verses 1-74, Muhūrtacintāmaṇi XI. 55-74 furnish numerous conjunctions that would make a king successful. A few are set out here by way of sample. That king that has at the time of marching on an expedition Jupiter in the *lagna*, Mercury and Venus respectively in 4th and 5th places, Mars and Saturn in 6th, the Sun in the 3rd and the Moon in the 10th secures the complete fruit of what he desires [948]; (the king is victorious) if Jupiter is in the lagna and the other planets are in the 2nd and 11th places; [949] when at the time of marching the king has Venus, Mercury and the Sun respectively in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd places his enemies fall into the fire of battle like moths; [950] when Venus occupies either the 4th, 3rd or 11th house, if he has an aspect with Jupiter that is in a *kendra* (1st, 4th, 7th or 10th house) and the malefic planets are in places other than the 7th, 8th or 9th place such a conjunction procures for the king heaps of wealth (and victory).[951]

Certain other astrological matters may be alluded to here. Rainfall in the four months from Pauṣa is called unseasonable;

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947. Vide मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि XI. 4–5.

948. लग्ने गुरुर्बुधभृगू हिबुकात्मसंस्थौ षष्ठे कुजार्कतनयौ दिनकृत् तृतीये । चन्द्रश्च यस्य दशमे भवति प्रयाणे तस्याभिवाञ्छितफलाप्तिरलं नृपस्य ॥ योगयात्रा IV. 6; compare मु. चि. XI. 55.

949. लग्नगतः स्याद्देवपुरोधाः । लाभधनस्थैः शेषनभोगैः ॥ मु. चि. XI. 58.

950. मूर्तिवित्तसहजेषु संस्थिताः शुक्रचन्द्रसुततिग्मरश्मयः । यस्य यानसमये रणानले तस्य यान्ति शलभा इवारयः ॥ योगयात्रा IV. 11; compare मु. चि. XI. 60 almost in the same words.

951. अशुभखगैरनवाष्टमदस्थैर्हिबुकसहोदरलाभगृहस्थः । कविरिह केन्द्रगीष्पतिदृष्टो वसुचयलाभकरः खलु योगः ॥ मु. चि. XI. 67; योगयात्रा IV. 20 is almost in the same words.

one should avoid vrata and yātrā for seven days thereafter; unseasonable rainfall does not create any defects to a king (starting on an invasion) if the ground is not (so muddy as to be) marked with the soiled footprints of men and beasts.[952] The Muhūrtacintāmaṇi says[953] 'one (the king) should not start as long as the periods of upanayana rite, the establishment of an image, marriage, festivals (like *holikā*) and impurity (on birth or death) have not come to an end and for seven days after unseasonable flashes of lightning, clouds, fall of rain or snow'.

Going out of the house on the 9th tithi from the tithi of entrance, or entering a house on the 9th tithi after the tithi of leaving it and the 9th tithi itself are prohibited and the same applies to week-day and nakṣatra also.[954]

One should avoid starting in such a way as to face Venus. This belief is very old as the Śāntiparva and Kālidāsa refer to it.[955] If the king or any one else has decided on a very auspicious day and conjunction for marching out, but some unforeseen or urgent business prevents him from actually going, he should arrange for what is called *prasthāna* (starting, but returning after going a very short distance or sending forward something on the auspicious day and starting within a certain number of days thereafter). A brāhmaṇa should[956] send out a sacred thread, (a kṣatriya) a weapon, vaiśya should send honey and a śūdra should send out a pure fruit (like cocoanut) or anyone of whatever varṇa may send whatever is dear to his heart. The sages differed as to the distance one should proceed

952. पौषादिच्चतुरो मासान् प्रोक्ता वृष्टिरकालजा। व्रतं यात्रादिकं तत्र वर्जयेत्सप्तवासरान्। वृष्टिः करोति दोषं तावन्नाकालसम्भवा राज्ञः। यावन्न भवति गमने नरपशुचरणाङ्किता वसुधा॥ रा. मा. folios 23b and 24a, verses 368, 372, both quoted in शुद्धिकौमुदी p. 315.

953. व्रतबन्धनदैवतप्रतिष्ठाकरपीडोत्सवसूतिकासमाप्तौ। न कदापि चलेदकालविद्युद्घनवर्षातुहिनेऽपि सप्तरात्रम्॥ मु. चि. XI. 76; सौदामिनीवर्षणगर्जितेषु नाकालमेषु प्रव्रसेन्नरेन्द्रः। आ सप्तरात्राद् ध्रुवमद्भुतेषु दिव्यान्तरिक्षक्षितिजेषु चैवम्॥ रत्नमाला XV. 59.

954. प्रवेशान्निर्गमं तस्मात् प्रवेशं नवमे तिथौ। नक्षत्रेऽपि तथा वारे नैव कुर्यात्कदाचन॥ मु. चि. XI. 79.

955. यतो वायुर्यतः सूर्यो यतः शुक्रस्ततो जयः। पूर्वं पूर्वं ज्याय एषां सन्निपाते युधिष्ठिर॥ शान्तिपर्व 100. 20; दृष्टिप्रपातं परिहृत्य तस्य कामः पुरःशुक्रमिव प्रयाणे। कुमारसम्भव III. 43. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 229 note 308 for further details.

956. प्रस्थानं ब्राह्मणादीनां यज्ञसूत्रमथायुधम्। मध्वमलफलोपेतं प्रशस्तं वृद्धिकारणम्॥ रा. मा. folio 49b, verse 771; कार्याधैरिह गमनस्य चेद्विलम्बो भूदेवादिभिरुपवीतमायुधं च। क्षौद्रं चामलफलमाशु चालनीयं सर्वेषां भवति यदेव हृत्प्रियं वा॥ मु. चि. XI. 89.

for *prasthāna* and then return. Gārgya[957] said that he may proceed from his own house to another house (though very near), Bhṛgu holds that one should leave the boundaries of one's village and stay in another village, Bharadvāja provides that one may go as far as an arrow may be discharged and Vasiṣṭha says he must go out of the city. The *prasthāna* should be made in the direction in which one intended to proceed. If the king resorts to prasthāna he cannot stay in one place for ten days (i. e. he may stay nine days), a feudatory chief not for seven days and any other ordinary person not for five days and if a person stays beyond these limits he can only start again on a fresh good muhūrta.[958] Even in modern times some people resort to this method of *prasthāna* and generally it is a friendly neighbour's house where the bundle of substances (some rice, betelnut, turmeric &c.) is kept and taken away when actually starting on a journey.

The Yogayātrā XIII. 3 provides that a king when starting on an expedition should see, hear and touch *maṅgalas* and enumerates them in verses 4–6, 10–15 at length. A few of them are noted here. Auspicious sounds are those of the recitations of the Veda and the auxiliary lores of the Veda, of conches, drums, of words like 'puṇyāha' (it is a holy day) and of the Purāṇas, Dharmaśāstras, Arthaśāstras, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa; the auspicious chirpings of cranes, *cāṣa*, peacocks, swans and jīvajīvika (partridge); crows sitting on the backs of tortoises marked with mud; auspicious objects are the bilva tree, *chowries*, sandalwood, cow with calf, a goat, *priyaṅgu* creeper, fried grains, a chariot filled with men; banners, *sarvauṣadhi*, *svastika* sign, vessels filled with presents; horse, undried ginger, cowdung, mustard, mirror, a bull bound with ropes, meat, a jar full of water, turban, lute, umbrella, curds, honey, ghee, yellow pigment, maiden, flagstaff, gold, lotus, conch, white ox, flowers, fine clothes, fish, well-dressed brāhmaṇas, street walkers, and dancing girls, fire in flames, elephants, wet earth, goad, weapons; various precious stones such as emerald, ruby, crystal; a young woman accompanied by her son; these signs and objects should

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957. गृहाद्गृहान्तरं गार्ग्यः सीम्नः सीमान्तरं भृगुः। शरक्षेपाद् भरद्वाजो वसिष्ठो नगराद्बहिः। रा. मा. folio 49b verse 769: मु. चि. XI. 90 is almost in the same words.

958. वसेन्न चैकत्र दश क्षितीशो दिनान्यथो सप्त च माण्डलीकः। यः प्राकृतः सोपि न पञ्चरात्रं भद्रेण यात्रा परतः प्रयोज्या॥ रत्नमाला XV. 56; vide मु. चि. XI 92 for a similar verse.

be arranged for or they may present themselves spontaneously. The Agnipurāṇa chap. 243, Ratnamālā XV. 97–98, Muhūrtamārtaṇḍa VII. 15–16, 20 and several others contain similar long lists of auspicious matters on a king's *yātrā*. Long lists of auspicious and inauspicious sights, persons, animals and substances are furnished by the Bṛ. S. chapters 86–96 (expressly based upon the works of Ṛṣabha, Bhāguri, Devala, Bhāradvāja and authors on yātrā like Garga dealing with śakunas of all kinds, including barking of dogs, chirping of birds and crows), the Bṛhadyogayātrā chapters 21–28 dealing with omens derived from the movements of elephants, horses, the cries of she-jackals, crows &c , the Yogayātrā XIII. 14, Muhūrtacintāmaṇi XI. 99–100, Muhūrtamārtaṇḍa VII. 17–19, Rājanītiprakāśa pp. 335–360 and other works. As an illustration only one verse from the Yogayātrā is [959] translated here. The following are inauspicious (on Yātrā)– cotton, herbs and drugs, black corn, salt, an impotent person, bones, orpiment, fire, serpent, coals, poison, serpent's slough, excreta, razor, diseased persons, one who has vomited or is mad or paralysed or blind, grass, husk, a famished person, butter milk, an enemy, one whose head is completely shaved, one whose body is anointed with oil, one with hair dishevelled, a sinner, one wearing reddish garments.

The construction of a house (*vāstu*) is a very important matter even in the gṛhya and dharma-sūtras. Construction of a house and the first entrance into it have been described in the H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 833–836 but the astrological requirements were not illustrated there. The Pāraskara-gṛhya [960] simply provides that the construction of a house should be begun on an auspicious day. The Hiraṇyakeśigṛhya is more specific and says that a shed or house should be begun after kindling fire in the northward passage of the Sun, in the fortnight of the waxing moon, on the nakṣatras of Rohiṇī or the three Uttarās, viz.

959. कार्पासौषधकृष्णधान्यलवणक्लीबास्थितालानलं सर्पाङ्गारगराहिचर्मशकृतः केशारिसव्याधिताः। वान्तोन्मत्तजडान्धकतृणतुषक्षुत्क्षामतक्रारयो मुण्डाभ्यक्तविमुक्तकेशपतिताः काषायिणश्चाशुभाः॥ बृहद्योगयात्रा 27 6, योगयात्रा XIII. 14, टिक्कनिकायात्रा 9. 15 (variant readings in all) q. by पीयूषधारा on मु. चि. XI. 99–100 (from बृहद्योगयात्रा). These agree closely with the inauspicious things and persons mentioned in मत्स्यपुराण chap. 243. 1–8. Vide also आदिपर्व 29. 34, नारदस्मृति (प्रकीर्णक 54) and under 'Maṅgala' on p. 366 above.

960. अथातः शालाकर्म। पुण्याहे शालां कारयेत्। पारस्करगृह्य III. 4. 1–2. शालां कारयिष्यन्नुदगयने आपूर्यमाणपक्षे रोहिण्यां त्रिषु चोत्तरेष्वग्निमुपसमाधाय &c.। हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य I. 27. 1.

Uttarā Phalgunī, Uttarāṣāḍhā and Uttarābhādrapadā. The Matsyapurāṇa chap. 253, Ratnamālā chap. 17, Rājamārtaṇḍa verses 805–884 (folio 51b–55b), Hemādri on Kāla pp. 817–829, Muhūrtadarśana IX, Jyotistattva pp. 662–670, Muhūrtacintāmaṇi XII. 1–29, Nirṇayasindhu p. 364 deal with the construction of a house. Matsya (252. 2–4) names eighteen teachers of Vāstuśāstra. A few astrological details are set out here. Matsya (253. 1–5) states the results of beginning the construction of a house in the twelve months from Caitra respectively as disease, fine cows, death, good servants and plenty of cattle (in Āṣāḍha), servants, loss, wife's death, wealth and crops (in Kārtika), rice, danger from thieves, various benefits, gold and son (in Phālguna). The auspicious nakṣatras for commencing a house are Aśvinī, Rohiṇī, Mūla, the three Uttarās, Mṛgaśiras, Svātī, Hasta and Anurādhā and all weekdays (except Sunday and Tuesday) are auspicious (Matsya 253. 6–7). The Rājamārtaṇḍa[961] puts many of the astrological requirements in two verses as follows; ' the sages say that the auspicious work of (constructing) a house should be begun on the auspicious nakṣatras of Punarvasu, Puṣya, Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśiras, Citrā, Dhaniṣṭhā, Uttarā (three of them), Revatī, Śravaṇa, Śatabhiṣak, Anurādhā, Svātī endowed with auspicious tārās, on Monday, Wednesday, Thursday or Friday, on an auspicious Yoga, on a tithi other than *riktā* (i. e. 4th, 9th, 14th) and on a day when there is no Viṣṭi; when beneficial planets occupy the kendra (1st, 4th, 7th and 10th places), the 8th and 12th places, when malefic planets occupy the third, 6th and 11th places, when Jupiter is in the *lagna* or *kendra*, or Venus occupies any of these latter and when the *rāśi* of the owner is auspicious, and when any of the *sthira* nakṣatras are rising, one should commence a house or make the first entrance into it. The Ratnamālā says that the construction of a house should not be begun on *cara* rāśis. There are several other complicated calculations and diagrams employed in finding out a proper time for beginning the construction of a house such as *āya*, *vyaya* and *Rāhumukhacakra* that are passed over here.

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961. आदित्येज्यभरोहिणीमृगशिरश्चित्राधनिष्ठोत्तरा पौष्णं विष्णुशतानुराधपवनैः शुद्धैः सुताराम्वितैः। सौम्यानां दिवसेऽथ पापरहिते योगे विरिक्तातिथौ विष्टित्यक्तदिने वदन्ति शुभयो वेश्मादिकार्यं शुभम्॥ शुद्धैर्दशकेन्द्रनैधनगृहैः पापैस्त्रिषष्ठायगैर्लग्ने केन्द्रगतेथवा सुरगुरौ दैत्यस्य पूज्येथवा। सर्वारम्भफलप्रसिद्धिरुदये राशौ च कर्तुः शुभे सुग्रामे स्थिरभोदयेषु भुवनं कार्यं प्रवेशोपि वा॥ राजमार्तण्ड (folios 55b, 56a, verses 886-87), the first q. by ज्योतिस्तत्त्व p 666; compare रत्नमाला XVII. 17–18.

It is stated in the Rājamārtaṇḍa verse 887 (quoted in note 961) that the same astrological conditions are required in the case of the first entrance in a newly built house as in commencing to build a house. Vide Rājamārtaṇḍa (folio 57 verses 900–908), Ratnamālā XVIII. 1-11, Jyotistattva pp. 670–71, Muhūrtacintāmaṇi XIII, Nirṇayasindhu p. 366 for rules about gṛha-praveśa (first entrance into house). The Rājamārtaṇḍa says that[962] first entrance into a newly built house should be made on the nakṣatras Revatī, Dhaniṣṭhā, Śatabhiṣak, Rohiṇī, the three Uttarās, on an auspicious week-day, when the moon is not weak, on a tithi other than *riktā*. He should enter the house on the floor of which plenty of flowers are strewn, which has good ornamental arches, which is adorned with jars filled with water, in which the gods have been worshipped with sandalwood paste, flowers and offerings and which rings with the recitation of (the Vedas by) brāhmaṇas.

It may be stated here that some of the astrologicial requirements about the construction of a house and the first entrance into a newly built house are observed even now.

The proper times for the establishment of the images of gods are specified in many works such as Bṛhatsaṁhitā 60. 20–21, Matsya-purāṇa (264), Viṣṇudharmottara III. 96, Rājamārtaṇḍa (folios 57b–59b, verses 909–943), Hemādri on Kāla pp. 830–847, Jyotistattva pp. 666-667 and 672–73, Nirṇayasindhu pp. 334-335, Dharmasindhu p. 318. The Bṛhatsaṁhitā[963] lays down the general rules for the establishment of the images of all gods. ' In the northward passage of the sun, in the bright half, when the moon is in the *varga* of Jupiter, when the *lagna* is a sthira rāśi and the navamāṁśa rāśi of the lagna is sthira and beneficent planets occupy the kendra places or the 5th and 9th places in the horoscope (of the establisher), when the malefic planets are in the 3rd, 6th, 10th or 11th places, on nakṣatras called *dhruva*

962. पौष्णे धनिष्ठास्वथ वारुणेषु स्वायम्भुवर्क्षे त्रिषु चोत्तरासु। अक्षीणचन्द्रे शुभवासरेषु तिथावरिक्ते च गृहप्रवेशः॥ भूरिपुष्पनिकरं सुतोरणं तोयपूर्णकलशोपशोभितम्। गन्धपुष्पबलिपूजितामरं ब्राह्मणध्वनियुतं विशेद्गृहम्॥ राजमार्तण्ड (folio 57, verses 900 and 907), last q. by पीयूषधारा on मु. चि. XIII. 7.

963. उदगयने सितपक्षे शिशिरगभस्तौ च जीववर्गस्थे। लग्ने स्थिरे स्थिरांशे सौम्यैर्धीधर्मकेन्द्रगतैः॥ पापैरुपचयसंस्थैर्ध्रुवमृदुहरितिष्यवायुदेवेषु। विकुजे दिनेऽनुकूले देवानां स्थापनं शस्तम्॥ बृहत्संहिता 60. 20–21 (Kern's ed. and chap. 59 in Dvivedi's edition). वर्ग has been defined in बृहज्जातक I. 9; जीववर्ग would be धनुः or मीन राशि, its होरा, द्रेष्काण, नवमभाग, द्वादशभाग, त्रिंशभाग; स्थिरलग्न would mean वृषभ, सिंह, कुम्भ.

or *mṛdu* or on Śravaṇa, Puṣya or Svātī nakṣatra, on a favourable week day (other than Tuesday) the establishment of the images of gods is commended'. The Matsya states (264. 3–12) that the establishment (*pratiṣṭhā*) of the images of all gods leads to beneficent results when done in the months of Caitra, Vaiśākha, Jyeṣṭha, Māgha or Phālguna, in the bright fortnight after dakṣiṇāyana ends, on the tithis 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 10th, Full moon, 13th (this is the best), on sixteen named nakṣatras (excepting Bharaṇī, Kṛttikā, Ārdrā, Punarvasu, Āśleṣā, Maghā, Pūrvā-phalgunī, Citrā, Viśākhā, Dhaniṣṭhā, Śatatārakā), when the *lagna* has an aspect with the three beneficent planets Mercury, Jupiter and Venus, on an auspicious *yoga*, when the lagna or nakṣatra (of establisher) is free from malefic planets and on *brāhma* muhūrta.

The Ratnamālā[964] provides different nakṣatras for the establishment of the images of different gods, one interesting provision being that the image of Buddha was to be established on Śravaṇa nakṣatra. In the case of the images of the Mātṛs, Bhairava, the Varāha, Narasiṁha and Trivikrama incarnations and of Devī, the killer of Mahiṣāsura, establishment may be made even in Dakṣiṇāyana. For the establishment of Liṅga special rules are provided for which Nirṇayasindhu (pp. 335–336) may be consulted.

The Rājamārtaṇḍa[965] provides that the 2nd, 3rd, 10th, 13th and 15th tithis are always commended for establishment of images of gods and even the 7th and 6th if the establisher likes.

In the Indian Antiquary vol. VI. p. 363 we find an inscription of Cālukya king Maṅgalīśa dated *śake* 500 (578–79 A. D.) recording the grant of a village named Lañjīśvara on the auspicious occasion of the establishment of an image of god Viṣṇu.[965a]

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964. रोहिण्युत्तरपौष्णवैष्णवकरादित्याश्विनीवासवीनूराधेन्दवजीवभेषु गदितं विष्णोः प्रतिष्ठापनम्। पुष्यश्रुत्यभिजित्सुरेश्वरकयोर्वित्ताधिपस्कन्दयोर्मैत्रे तिग्मरुचेः करे निर्ऋतिभे दुर्गादिकान्तं शुभम् ॥ गणपरिवृढरक्षोयक्षभूतासुराणां प्रमथफणिसरस्वत्यादिकानां च पौष्णे। श्रवसि सुगतनाम्नो वासवे लोकपानां निगदितमखिलानां स्थापनं च स्थिरेषु ॥ रत्नमाला 20. 2-3.

965. पराशराद्यैः प्रतिपद्-द्वितीया-त्रयोदशी-पञ्चदशीदशम्यः। एताः प्रशस्तास्तिथयः सदैव सप्तम्यपि स्वाभिमतेन षष्ठी ॥ रा. मा. verse 942.

965 a. श्रीमङ्गलीश्वररणविक्रान्तः प्रवर्धमानराज्यसंवत्सरे द्वादशे शकनृपतिराज्याभिषेकसंवत्सरेष्वतिक्रान्तेषु पञ्चसु शतेषु'''विष्णोः प्रतिमाप्रतिष्ठापनाभ्युदयनिमित्तं लञ्जीश्वरं नाम ग्रामं''' । I. A. vol. 6 at p. 363.

Auspicious times were prescribed for wearing new garments for the first time. The Nirṇayasindhu quotes two verses[966] '*It is desirable to put on new garments for the first time on* nakṣatras of Aśvinī, the three Uttarās, Punarvasu, Puṣya, Revatī, *Dhaniṣṭhā.* The following are the consequences of wearing new *garments for the first time on the week days from Sunday* respectively, viz. becoming worn out, constantly wet with water, sorrow, wealth, knowledge, meeting with one's dear ones, becoming dirty; the woman who wears new garments or new ornaments for the first time on Rohiṇī, Puṣya, Punarvasu, Uttarā-Phalgunī and takes a bath on Śatatārakā nakṣatra does not stay with her husband (i. e. she leaves him). If a woman wears for the first time a garment dyed with *Kusumbha* (safflower) or ornaments of gold, precious stones, coral, glass, conch-shell on Revatī, Aśvinī, Dhaniṣṭhā, Hasta, Citrā, Svātī, Viśākhā, Anurādhā, that leads to male progeny, wealth and happiness, but if she puts on these on Rohiṇī, the three Uttarās, Punarvasu and Puṣya, that leads to the unhappiness of the husband.

Muhūrtas are prescribed for beginning to take medicine in Rājamārtaṇḍa (folio 62a, verses 973 ff), Jyotistattva pp. 678 ff, Nirṇayasindhu p. 362. Only one verse is cited[967] here; 'If one begins to take medicine on the nakṣatras Mūla, Anurādhā, Mṛgaśiras, Puṣya, Punarvasu, Revatī, Aśvinī, Śravaṇa, Jyeṣṭhā, Hasta, Citrā, Svātī, and on Monday, Thursday or Friday, that would benefit the patient. Medieval works like the Rājamārtaṇḍa, Bhujabala, Muhūrta-mārtaṇḍa, Jyotistattva, Nirṇayasindhu describe the muhūrtas and inauspicious times for all matters under the sun (not necessarily religious) such as for purchase and sale of merchandise and animals, for agricultural operations, for planting trees, for digging tanks and wells, for oil bath, for baths with ground myrobalans &c.

The foregoing discussion about the astrological requirements in several religious and secular matters are enough to show how astrology and omens have had a very firm hold on the minds

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966. रोहिणीषु करपञ्चकेऽश्विभे त्र्युत्तरासु च पुनर्वसुद्वये। रेवतीषु वसुदैवते च भे नव्यवस्त्रपरिधानमिष्यते ॥ जीर्णं रवौ सततमम्बुभिरार्द्रमिन्दौ भौमे शुचे बुधदिने तु भवेद्धनाय। ज्ञानाय मन्त्रिणि भृगौ प्रियसङ्गमाय मन्दे मलाय च नवाम्बरधारणं स्यात् ॥ रोहिणीगुरुपुनर्वसूत्तरे या बिभर्ति नववस्त्रभूषणे। सा न योषिदवलम्बते पतिं स्नानमाचरति वारुणेऽपि या॥ श्रीपति q. by नि. सि. p. 357. Vide ज्योतिस्तत्त्व p. 671 for other verses on the same subject.

967. मूलानुराधमृगतिष्यपुनर्वसौ च पौष्णाश्विनीश्रवणशक्रकरत्रये च। वारेषु वाक्पतिसितेन्दुदिनेषु शस्तं भैषज्यभक्षणममीषु हितं नराणाम् ॥ चण्डेश्वर quoted by नि. सि. p. 362.

of Indians for the last two thousand years or more. With regard to favourable and unfavourable omens Varāhamihira himself says 'If all favourable and unfavourable signs[968] were on one side and on the other side there is purity of heart, it is the latter that brings success' or 'on one side all omens, on the other the purity of the mind (it is the mind that counts); in a battle the mind may be suddenly seized with fear and even the wind may be the cause of victory or defeat'. The Matsyapurāṇa after mentioning unusual occurrences and omens in connection with the march of a king on an invasion winds up as follows;[969] 'Auspicious planets are commended, particularly Jupiter (as indicative of future success). Belief in god, faith, honouring those that deserve honour–all these are commended and whatever else may be approved by one's conscience. In this matter (of invasion) the peace of the mind is the highest indication of (coming) success, when all omens are on one side and the mind's peace on the other'. A purely astrological work like the Ratnamālā[970] of Śrīpati says the same thing.

Owing to the almost universal belief in astrology, there was always the temptation to fasten fanciful horoscopes on renowned avatāras and heroes. Some Mss. of the Rāmāyaṇa[971] contain a few details of the horoscope of Rāma, the principal ones being that the lagna was Karkaṭa, in which the Moon and Jupiter were in conjunction and that five planets were in exaltation (*ucca*). As the Moon was in Cancer, that planet was not in exaltation, since Taurus (Bull) is exaltation of the Moon. As Rāma was born on Caitra bright half 9th the Sun was in Meṣa (Aries, Ram), which is also the *ucca* of the Sun. Therefore,

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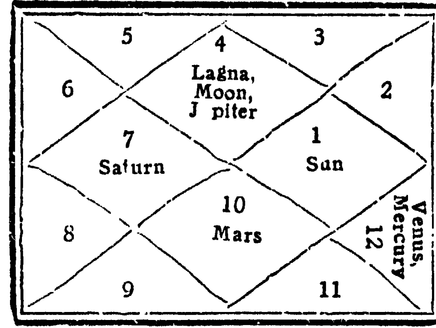
968. शुभाशुभानि सर्वाणि निमित्तानि स्युरेकतः । एकतस्तु मनःशुद्धिस्तद्विशुद्धं जयावहम् ॥ बृहद्योगयात्रा 14. 3; एकतश्च सकलानि निमित्तान्येकतश्च मनसः परिशुद्धिः ॥ चेतसोऽस्ति सहसापि रणे भीर्मारुतोऽपि विजयाजयहेतुः ॥ योगयात्रा 5. 15. Jagadish Lal's edition reads सहयानरणे भीः.

969. अनुलोमा ग्रहाः शस्ताः वाक्पतिस्तु विशेषतः ॥ आस्तिक्यं श्रद्दधानत्वं तथा पूज्याभिपूजनम् । शस्तान्येतानि धर्मज्ञ यच्च स्यान्मनसः प्रियम् ॥ मनसस्तुष्टिरेवात्र परमं जयलक्षणम् । एकतः सर्वलिङ्गानि मनसस्तुष्टिरेकतः ॥ मत्स्य 243. 25-27. The verse मनसस्तुष्टि...कतः occurs also in विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण II. 163. 32. अग्निपु. 230. 13 has एकतः...रेकतः ।.

970. निमित्तराशिरेकतो नृणां मनस्तथैकतः । अथो चियासतां बुधैर्मनोविशुद्धिरिष्यते । रत्नमाला 15. 48.

971. ततश्च द्वादशे मासे चैत्रे नावमिके तिथौ । नक्षत्रेऽदितिदैवत्ये स्वोच्चसंस्थेषु पञ्चसु । ग्रहेषु कर्कटे लग्ने वाक्पताविन्दुना सह । प्रोद्यमाने जगन्नाथं सर्वलोकनमस्कृतम् । कौसल्याजनयद्रामं सर्वलक्षणसंयुतम् ॥ बालकाण्ड 18. 9-10.

Mercury must be either in conjunction with the Sun or in Taurus or Pisces. None of these is the *ucca* of Mercury. Probably Mercury should be taken to be with Venus as they are friends, while if Mercury be placed in Vṛṣabha (Taurus or Bull) he would be in the house of an enemy. The Rāmāyaṇa does not mention Rāhu and Ketu at all. So the horoscope of Rāma would be as follows: [972]

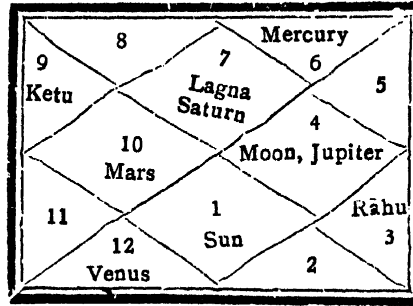


Vide Pillai's 'Indian Ephemeris' vol. I part 1 pp. 112–123 for discussion on Rāma's horoscope. Kālidāsa in the Raghuvaṁśa (III. 13) states that Raghu, the ancestor of Rāma, was born when five planets were in exaltation and were not setting (i. e. were a good many degrees away from the Sun). But he does not furnish the *lagna* nor even the month of his birth.

As regards Paraśurāma, the Nirṇayasindhu quotes the Bhārgavārcanadīpikā[973] to the effect that Viṣṇu himself was born as the son of Reṇukā on Vaiśākha, bright half, 3rd tithi, on Punarvasu nakṣatra in the first quarter of the night, when six planets were in exaltation and Rāhu was in Mithuna (Gemini, Twins). The Moon being in Punarvasu, that is either in Mithuna or Karkaṭa, none of which is Moon's *ucca* all the remaining six planets must be held to be in exaltation. Therefore, Paraśurāma's horoscope must be supposed to be somewhat like this :

972. Vide my paper in the Journal of Oriental Institute, Baroda, vol. I. pp. 5–7 about the horoscopes of Rāma and his three brothers stated in the Rāmāyaṇa.

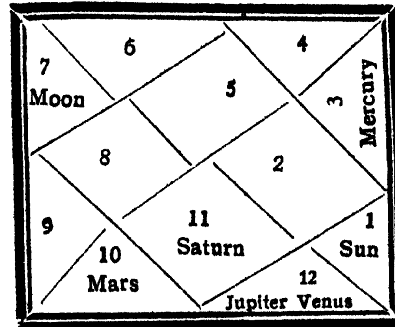
973. तदुक्तं भार्गवार्चनदीपिकायां स्कान्दभविष्ययोः । वैशाखस्य सिते पक्षे तृतीयायां पुनर्वसौ । निशायाः प्रथमे यामे रामाख्यः समये हरिः । स्वोच्चगैः षड्ग्रहैर्युक्ते मिथुने राहुसंस्थिते । रेणुकायास्तु यो गर्भादवतीर्णो हरिः स्वयम् ॥ इति । नि. सि. p. 95.



This horoscope cannot be right. The *ucca* signs of the Sun and Mercury are Meṣa (Aries) and Kanyā (Virgo) respectively. Mercury cannot be so far away from the Sun. So this is only a fancy horoscope without any reality behind it.

Coming to historical times, Bāṇabhaṭṭa[974] in the Harṣacarita (4th Ucchvāsa) tells us that Harṣa was born on the 12th of the dark half of the month of Jyeṣṭha, on Kṛttikā nakṣatra, at nightfall when all the planets were in exaltation. But Bāṇa is delightfully vague about the name of the *lagna* and it is not clear what he means by 'all planets' being in exaltation. At the end of Jyeṣṭha the Sun cannot be in Meṣa, which is the ucca of the Sun, but may be in Vṛṣabha or Mithuna.

The commentary Sudhāvidyotinī[975] on the Saundaryalaharī, a work attributed to the great philosopher Śaṅkarācārya, furnishes a horoscope of Śaṅkarācārya, viz. the *lagna* was Siṁha (Lion), Jupiter in Fishes, Sun in Ram, Mercury was in Mithuna, Venus in Fishes, Saturn in Aquarius, Mars in Capricornus, Moon swallowed by Rāhu (there was an eclipse) and in Hasta or Citrā (either in Kanyā or Tulā). This horoscope also seems to be a fancy one, since Mercury cannot be in Mithuna when the Sun is in Meṣa.



974. ततश्च मासे ज्येष्ठामूलीये मासि बहुलासु बहुलपक्षद्वादश्यां व्यतीते प्रदोषसमये समारुरुक्षति क्षपायौवने··· मान्धाता किलैवंविधे व्यतीपातादिसर्वदोषाभिषङ्गसहितेऽहनि सर्वेषूच्चस्थानस्थितेष्वेवं ग्रहेष्वीदृशि लग्ने भेजे जन्म। हर्षचरित IV.

975. Vide Journal of Indian History, vol. 4 p. 39.

Kalhaṇa[976] in the Rājataraṅgiṇī says that king Harṣa of Kashmir(born 1059 A.D., ruled 1089-1101 A.D.) was born on the Karkaṭa *lagna* when Mars and Saturn were in the 5th house, Jupiter and Mercury in the 6th, Venus and the Sun in the 7th and the Moon in the 10th, that like Duryodhana he caused the extinction of his family as the astrological conjuction at his birth indicated and as the authors of *Saṁhitās* declared that Kauravas destroyed their families because in their horoscopes the Moon, Venus and malefic planets were in the 10th, 7th and 5th houses. This horoscope may be true, as Kalhaṇa wrote only about fifty years after Harṣa's death.

Some inscriptions show that kings rewarded men for astrological devices. For example, the Kadaba plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja III granted in *śake* 735 to a Jain *Muni* the village of Jālamaṅgala for having warded off the evil influence of Saturn from Vimalāditya, one of his governors.[977].

Some of the previous volumes of this History of Dharmaśāstra have been criticized in two different ways by critics. Some said that the author should have stopped at describing what transformations several of the topics dealt with underwent in the course of centuries and that no personal opinions should have been expressed about what changes should be made in the present or in future. Another set of scholars complained that the author should have expressed his personal views in many matters on which he expresses no definite opinion or does not advance a definite theory of his own. Bearing in mind these criticisms the author proposes to indicate his own personal views on Indian Astrology in relation to Dharmaśāstra.

Modern scientists, philosophers and theologians have generally ignored astrology. Some ridicule it, some have condemned it as superstitious, as 'a delusion and a snare'. In spite of the condemnation by eminent scientists astrology enjoys great vogue among millions of people in the educated West. Many of those who condemned it in scathing terms appear to have done so on *a priori* arguments and do not appear to have studied

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976. राजा दुर्योधन इव स्ववंशच्छेदमिच्छता। सोभूज्जातकयोगेन कारितः स्वकुलक्षयम्॥ तस्यास्तां क्ष्मार्कजौ जीवबुधौ शुक्रोष्णगू शशी। तनयामित्रजामित्रखेषु कर्कटजन्मनः॥ चन्द्रदैत्येज्यपापेषु खमद्यास्तजगेषु यत्। आहुः सुसंहिताकाराः कौरवादीन् कुलान्तकान्॥ राजतरङ्गिणी VII, 1718-1720.

977. Vide E. I. vol. VI, pp 332-349 at p. 340.

astrological works. The more effective method would perhaps have been to study the horoscopes of well-known persons, to examine them by the rules of the astrologers themselves, to show that the application of their own rules leads to contradictions, confusion and absurd results and lastly to exhibit that the principles on which they evolve their rules and make their predictions have hardly any basis in fact and are imaginary.

The fundamental doctrine of astrology that the Sun, the Moon and the planets exert some influence on terrestrial life and things is scientific.[978] The matter to be considered is whether the principles laid down in such astrological works as the Bṛhajjātaka can stand rational analysis and tests. The author may state here that in his boyhood there was an astrologer called Mahāḍkar Jyotishi who never took money, who was employed as a bailiff in a civil court in the Bombay State and who correctly stated the *lagna* and the positions of the planets in the horoscopes of people by looking for a few minutes at their faces, eyes and hands. The percentage of his mistakes in this respect was very low, barely one to five percent. This led many educated people to believe in those days that astrological works may be right so far that the physical features of a man may have some relation to the planets and their positions at his birth. But, when he set about the business of stating important facts about the lives of the persons whose horoscopes he correctly stated he often went wrong. One cannot also ignore the facts that some predictions turn out to be true. Unless one holds that they are all mere inexplicable co-incidences, they require to be carefully considered. There is an astrological *sanad* (grant) which records most wonderful and detailed predictions that came out to be true. The grant was made in 1793 A. D. to one Chinto Mahadeo Gole by Govindrao Gaikwad, a scion of the Gaikwad family that ruled in Gujarat at Baroda. It recites[979] that Govindrao Gaikwad had to leave his inheritance at Baroda and stayed near Poona for twenty-five years, that thereafter he consulted Chinto who was a great astrologer, and it was agreed that he should make a prediction after consulting *śāstras* as to when Govindrao would be able to recover his inheritance and if the prediction proved true Govindrao agreed to donate to Chinto a village yielding five thousand rupees yearly revenue. The grant

978. Compare Prof. Neugebauer in E. S. A. p. 164; J. C. Gregory on 'Ancient Astrology' in 'Nature', vol. 153 pp. 512–515.

979. Vide Indian Antiquary, vol. 16 p. 317.

further recites that the astrologer gave to Govindrao a closed letter which stated that the Peshwa at Poona would call Govindrao to his presence in the first watch of Friday, 8th tithi, Mārgaśīrṣa dark half of *śake* 1714 (7th December 1792 A. D.) when the sign ascending would be Dhanus (Archer) and, after taking from Govindrao an agreement to give certain cash and to cede some territory, would restore him to his inheritance and honour him by the present of three *śirpeñch* (turban ornaments or spray of gems) containing 45 rubies and 14 diamonds (out of which three would be large and eleven small), one pearl crest (containing about 496 pearls), one elephant and one blue horse. It is further recited in that sanad that the letter stated that even after this Govindrao would have to stay for eleven months in Poona out of which he would suffer for eight months great calamities, that thereafter the Peshwa would return to Govindrao the territories he had agreed to cede, that he would then return to Baroda in the month of Māgha. The sanad in the end recites that all this that was contained in the closed letter came to be true to the very letter and therefore as agreed before the village of Ayana was donated. It would be noticed in what details the prediction entered. There is no reason to doubt the solemn words of this grant that everything as predicted came out to be true. How the astrologer pointed out all these details is not at all clear, as no astrological work that I know of, enters into such detailed predictions or gives rules for that purpose.

Just as the Sun and the Moon influence terrestrial phenomena such as the tides, the author feels from the instance of the Mahaḍkar Jyotishi mentioned above and from the hundreds of horoscopes that he has seen that it might be possible to state the physical characteristics of the persons concerned from their horoscopes. But no such efforts have been made by anybody nor published if made. The author, however, feels also that hardly anything can be said about the mental capacities of a person or the fortunes and vicissitudes of his life from his horoscope. It would not be relevant to enter into further discussion of this matter in this work.

What firm grip astrological considerations had on the minds of people and writers on astrology is demonstrated by certain rules in astrological works about a child's birth on Āśleṣā or Jyeṣṭhā nakṣatra or on what is called *Gaṇḍa* or *Gaṇḍānta* and how it was recommended that the innocent and helpless infant born on these supposed very unlucky times should be abandoned

in spite of what love and pity should dictate. We have seen above that the roots of this belief go back to the Atharvaveda (vide note 753 above). Some verses are translated here. Garga quoted in Prayogapārijāta[980] prescribes 'a child born on Gaṇḍānta by day causes the father's death, one born in the night on Gaṇḍānta causes the mother's death and one born at twilight causes its own death; no Gaṇḍa is safe (free from danger). Abandonment of children born on Gaṇḍa is laid down or (the father) should avoid seeing it or hearing its cry for six months'. Bhallāṭa[981] provides 'a child born during the period of the last *ghaṭikā* of Jyeṣṭhā and the first two ghaṭikās of Mūla should be abandoned or the father should not see its face for eight years; in the case of a child born on the first quarter (of Mūla) the father dies, if born in the second quarter of Mūla the mother dies, if born in the third quarter there is loss of wealth and (birth in) the 4th quarter (of Mūla) is auspicious; the same results follow in the case of birth on Āśleṣā but in the reverse order from the last quarter of it.' The author knows the case of his father's first cousin who was born to his father when the latter was over forty years of age and when he had been long and anxiously waiting for a son, that was born on an unlucky quarter of Mūla nakṣatra. The astrologers recommended that the child be abandoned at the foot of a sacred tree. The father absolutely refused to accept the advice, saying that he would rather gladly die than abandon an innocent and anxiously desired son. The author saw the father when he had lived beyond 80, and the son also reached a pretty old age.

Ptolemy subscribed to the geocentric hypothesis and in order to account for the puzzling movements of the planets adopted the theory of eccentric orbits and epicycles. Though his theories viewed in the light of modern astronomical science were wrong,

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980. प्रयोगपारिजाते गर्गः। पितृघ्नस्तु दिवा जातो रात्रिजातस्तु मातृहा। आत्मघ्नः सन्ध्ययोर्जातो नास्ति गण्डो निरामयः। सर्वेषां गण्डजातानां परित्यागो विधीयते। वर्जयेद् दर्शनं श्रावं तच्च षाण्मासिकं भवेत्॥ शान्तिकमलाकर (D. C. No. 306 of 1884–1887) folio 28. The verse सर्वेषां...भवेत् is q. by निर्णयसिन्धु also p. 244.

981. भल्लाटः। अभुक्तमूलसम्भवं परित्यजेत्तु बालकम्। समाष्टकं पिताथवा न तन्मुखं विलोकयेत्। तदाद्यपादके पिता द्वितीयके जनन्यथ। धनक्षयस्तृतीयके चतुर्थकः शुभावहः। प्रतीपमन्त्यपादतः फलं तदेव सार्पभे॥ अभुक्तमूलं त्वाह वृद्धवसिष्ठः। ज्येष्ठान्ते घटिका चैका मूलादौ घटिकाद्वयम्। अभुक्तमूलमित्याहुस्तत्र जातं शिशुं त्यजेत्॥ निर्णयसिन्धु p. 244. The great Hindi poet and saint Tulsidas (born in *samvat* 1589 i. e. 1532 A.D.) was an अभुक्तमूल child and was abandoned by his parents and was brought up by a *sādhu*. Vide Grierson in I. A. vol. XXII at p. 265.

he and his followers could predict eclipses. That suggests that correct inferences may be drawn in certain cases from premises some of which may be wrong. Besides, no one appears to have examined the theory of Varāhamihira and his followers that a horoscope is only like a sketch or plan that indicates only future trends in a man's life depending on his actions in his previous life or lives. It is not probable that this theory will ever be tested and examined. There are weighty and practical reasons for this. Millions of people are not at all interested in knowing what they did in their past lives nor do many of them believe in metempsychosis or the theory of past and future lives of the individual soul. They are mainly concerned with predictions about their future. The theory of horoscopes being only sketches or maps indicating future tendencies cuts the very ground from under the feet of professional astrologers. They would, if they persisted only in telling their clients mere future tendencies and did not furnish positive predictions, find that their occupation was gone. In the minds of millions not only in India but in many parts of the world astrology is a living faith and it appears that neither scientists nor historians can possibly destroy such a tenaciously held and deep-seated belief. But the belief that planets *cause* persons to do certain things is likely to have serious consequences. The sense of moral responsibility for all acts done by a person will bs impaired by such a belief; and a person guilty of a crime may plead (or may at least believe) that he was helpless before the influence of the heavenly bodies.

Before closing this brief account of Indian astrology I must in a few words advert to a work called Bhṛgusaṁhitā in Sanskrit which is supposed to contain numberless horoscopes with descriptions of persons born on the twelve rāśis from Meṣa onwards, references to the deeds of such persons in previous lives, the horoscope with the positions of the several planets, the important happenings in each person's present life from the year of his birth to his death. Persons who profess to have in their possession the Bhṛgusaṁhitā are generally averse to showing the whole work to any one, but read to those who consult them verses from the work said to be in their possession and people feel often amazed at the accounts about themselves which are read out to them. There is much of deception in this. I have examined four Mss. in the Desai Collection of Sanskrit mss. in the Bombay University called Bhṛgusaṁhitā said to have been imparted to Śukra by his father Bhṛgu on mount Gandhamā-

dana which contain about 600 horoscopes each of the four *lagnas*, Meṣa, Vṛṣabha, Mithuna and Karka, describing in 15 to 20 verses each of the horoscopes in the same lagna but with different positions of the planets in each case. No Bhṛgusaṁhitā can be accommodated even in a big library if it contains descriptions of all possible horoscopes in 15 or 20 verses each. There are twelve rāśis as lagnas, 9 planets (including Rāhu and Ketu) and twelve *bhāvas*. By permutations and combinations of these there would be crores of possible horoscopes and if at least 15 verses were to be assigned to each there would be millions on millions of verses. Hence describing a horoscope by extracts from Bhṛgusaṁhitā is often a fraud.

In Indian Astrology the most important matters are the rāśis, the planets and the twelve bhāvas (or places). Take the rāśis first. What is the reason for naming certain groups of stars or constellations as Meṣa or Vṛṣabha &c. ? There are no Rams and Bulls in the sky. Some observers on the earth imagined that certain constellations presented to the eye the appearance of certain animals, human figures and mythical beings. As shown above (p. 565) the Chinese and Japanese name them differently. Therefore, there is a great element of arbitrariness and imaginary analogies in naming the so-called rāśis. Once named, the rāśis are classified in various ways and predictions are based on the class to which a rāśi belongs. All these classifications are based on ideas of symmetrical sequence and fancy. Why should Meṣa and Mithuna (which is represented as 'twins' man and woman) be called male, while Vṛṣabha and Vṛścika be classed as female ? There is no explanation except this that the twelve rāśis had to be classified in two groups, male and female, and symmetry required that they be alternately called male and female. For the same reason of symmetrical order Meṣa and Karka are grouped as *cara* (mobile), while Siṁha and Vṛścika are classified as *sthira* (firm immobile). The Sun (the giver of all light and support of the world) is called *krūra* or *pāpa* (a malefic) planet along with Mars and Saturn, while Jupiter and Venus are classed as beneficent and the waning Moon is also held to be malefic. Here association of ideas and analogy play a great part. Jupiter and Venus are both brilliant and white or whitish, while Mars is red (the colour of blood). Besides, the first two are supposed to be the preceptors of the gods and *asuras* respectively. Therefore, they are beneficent and the blood-red Mars is malefic. The Sun, Jupiter and Mars are said

to be masculine, the Moon and Venus feminine and Mercury and Saturn neuter for the same reason, viz. association of ideas and analogy. The Moon and Venus are beautiful and mild, therefore they are feminine, while the Sun (that has fierce heat), Mars (with blood red hue) and Jupiter (the *ācārya* of the gods) are masculine. Modern astronomy declares that the Moon is dry and waterless and contains the remains of extinct volcanoes; yet if the astrologers be followed we shall have to regard the Moon as feminine. In classical Sanskrit the Moon is called 'Śaśāṅka'. The Japanese Moon Goddess Gwaten is drawn with a hare. Vide figure opposite p. 18 in Prof. Zinner's 'The stars above us.' Then we may consider the doctrines of *svagṛhas* and *uccas* (exaltations of planets). There are twelve rāśis and seven planets; five must be given two rāśis as *svagṛhas* and the other two only one rāśi each as *svagṛha*. The Bṛ. J. assigns only one rāśi as *svagṛha* to the Sun and Moon, viz. Siṁha (Lion) and Karka (Crab) respectively, while two rāśis are assigned to each of the other five planets. There is absolutely no logical or satisfactory explanation of this. Moreover, in assigning two rāśis as *svagṛhas* the only principle that seems to have been followed is that of sequence, viz. one rāśi beyond Siṁha and one beyond Karka i. e. Kanyā and Mithuna to Mercury and in the same way to the remaining planets in the order of distance. The result is that Vṛṣabha and Tulā (Scales) are the svagṛhas of the beautiful and brilliant planet Venus and Dhanus (Archer) and Mīna (Fishes) are the svagṛhas of Jupiter. If one turns to the doctrine of exaltation, no rational or astronomical explanation is given why Aja (goat), Vṛṣabha (Bull), Makara, Kanyā, Karka, Mīna and Tulā should be the *uccas* of the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn respectively. The naming and arrangement of the twelve *bhāvas* hardly follows any rational basis. One may at the most concede that the first bhāva in which the sign rising at a person's birth is placed is plausibly called *tanu* (body) and that regarding the 7th *bhāva* therefrom as the one on which love and marriage may be considered has also some plausibility. Birth and death are the two ends of a person's life. If the first bhāva is called *tanu*, the bhāva about death should be the 12th, the last, but in the Bṛhaj-jātaka and other works, it is the 8th bhāva that is called mṛtyu (death). Some of the bhāvas have too many matters crowded into them. For example, the 4th bhāva is supposed to be the one on which a person's relatives, friends, house, happiness and conveyance are to be considered.

The fifth bhāva is concerned with sons, intellect, learning, speech. Supposing that that bhāva is very favourably placed, the prognostications would have to be that the person would have many sons, he would be a learned man and a good speaker. But all these very rarely go together. A man of great intellect has often no sons, while a very learned man is often not a good speaker.

Then there is the question of friendships and enmities among planets. There is no rhyme nor reason in this respect. Why Venus, a beneficent planet in theory, should be the enemy of the Sun, when Jupiter another beneficent planet is a friend, is something which it is difficult to understand or explain. Besides, these relationships are not reciprocal. The Moon has no enemy, but from the point of view of Venus, the Moon is the enemy of Venus. Mercury (mythologically the son of the Moon) is said to be a friend of the Moon, but from the point of view of Mercury the Moon is its enemy. There is a further strange matter to be noticed. As men fight among themselves, it has been supposed that the planets (excepting the Sun and the Moon) fight among themselves[982] (vide note 872 above). Besides there are thousands of minor planets between Mars and Jupiter and ancient and medieval horoscopes took no account of Uranus, Neptune and Pluto among the planets nor of the numerous satellites of Jupiter.

Another important doctrine in Indian astrology is that of dṛṣṭi (glance, aspect) which has been explained above (note 876). That doctrine had some plausibility when the distances between the planets and the stars were not known. But in view of modern astronomical knowledge the doctrine of the dṛṣṭis of planets has hardly any meaning. Every planet and star really

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982. The idea of ग्रहयुद्ध is very old as the बृहत्संहिता chap. 17 (1-27 verses) deals with it at great length and as it expressly states that Parāśara and other sages of old had developed it long before. It deals with the astrological results of ग्रहयुद्धs to specific countries, kings, and people. Three verses are quoted here. आसन्नक्रमयोगाद्भेदोल्लेखांशुमर्दनासव्यः। युद्धं चतुःप्रकारं पराशराद्यैर्मुनिभिरुक्तम्॥ भेदे वृष्टिविनाशो भेदः सुहृदां महाकुलानां च। उल्लेखे शस्त्रभयं मन्त्रिविरोधः प्रियान्नत्वम्॥ अंशुविरोधे युद्धानि भूभृतां शस्त्ररुक्क्षुदवमर्दाः। युद्धे चाप्यपसव्ये भवन्ति युद्धानि भूपानाम्॥ बृहत्संहिता 17. 3–5 q. by अद्भुतसागर p. 208. भेद, उल्लेख, अंशुमर्दन and असव्य correspond to the words छादन, रोधन, रश्मिमर्द and अपसव्य of गर्ग quoted above in note 872.

faces every other planet and star in this vast Universe at all times unless there happens to be another celestial object in the line connecting any two of them and it is very difficult to understand how one planet can look at another planet or star at a quarter or a half or ¾ths aspect (i. e. at various angles).

When an astrologer says that a planet (say Venus) is in its svagṛha (own house) i. e. Vṛṣabha (Bull) with the Moon let us understand what it means. The rāśi Vṛṣabha is constituted by many stars, the most brilliant of which is Rohiṇī (Aldebaran). Light travels at 186000 miles a second and modern astronomy finds that light takes 57 years to reach the earth from Aldebaran. The position then is this that the observer on the earth sees the Moon, Venus and Aldebaran very near each other. According to modern astronomy the Moon is only about two hundred and forty thousands miles from the earth, Venus a few *crores* of miles from it and Aldebaran billions of billions of miles away. They appear to be near only on account of the effect of perspective. This creates difficulties which the astrologers altogether ignore. When an observer sees Aldebaran to-day the rays he sees today started some 57 years ago, while the rays of Mars are seen within a few minutes of their start and of the Moon almost immediately.

The principles of rāśi astronomy were probably established in India in the three centuries preceding the Christian era. The predecessors of Varāhamihira and Varāhamihira himself saw Meṣa, Vṛṣabha and other rāśis occupying certain definite sectors of the Zodiac and propounded certain rules about the physical and mental characteristics and professions of persons born when the Moon was in Meṣa and the other rāśis (in chap. 17 of the Bṛ. J.) and also of persons born on Meṣa and the other rāśis, when the Sun, Mars and the other planets occupied those signs (*ibid.* chap. 18). The zodiacal section where Vṛṣabha stood about two thousand years ago is now occupied by the constellations comprising Meṣa (Ram) owing to precession. How can the astrological consequences of being born on Taurus two thousand years ago be the same now when Taurus does not occupy the Zodiacal sector which it occupied then and when that particular sector is occupied now by Aries ?

The above discussion is enough to show the flaws in the teachings of Indian astrology and would lead thoughtful persons

to conclude that the rules of astrology should have very little influence in determining the times of their undertakings. It appears that astrological details which were conspicuous by their absence in ancient Dharmaśāstra works have attained so much growth during the last two thousand years that the fundamental religious requirements have been smothered thereby. Those who believe that all events affecting men are necessitated by the planets and stars appear to go wrong in two ways. They thereby deprive God of control and providence in human affairs and they take away man's free will. The dilemma is that if astrologers cannot stop or foil what the planets indicate, what is the use or benefit of their prescience; if they can stop or frustrate what is deemed to be fated to happen how can they support the thesis that planets compel events ?

The question arises then how far religious matters, such as Upanayana and marriage, should be regulated by astrological considerations. It has been already shown above (p. 606 and p. 610) how the astrological requirements for Upanayana and marriage were very few and simple in the times of the gṛhyasūtras and the Manusmṛti (i. e. several centuries before the christian era), how later writers went on adding one requirement after another and how even in the 11th century A. D. orthodox works like the Rājamārtaṇḍa advised neglect of all astrological requirements in the case of girls whose marriages had to be postponed very long for some reason or other. Therefore, in respect of religious ceremonies like Upanayana and marriage the author would advise, as a first step towards getting rid of oppressive and meaningless astrological conditions, that people should revert to the simple rules of the gṛhyasūtras and Manu. There are two views on the observance of the rules about the details of religious rites. One is that a person[983] need not go beyond the provisions contained in the gṛhyasūtra of his own Veda or *Śākhā* and that when one observes those provisions he would be deemed to have performed all that the śāstra requires of him. The second view (held by a majority of medieval writers of digests) was that one should include in a religious rite details mentioned in works of other śākhās, though not mentioned in his own śākhā, provided the former details are not

983. बह्वल्पं वा स्वगृह्योक्तं यस्य कर्म प्रकीर्तितम्। तस्य तावति शास्त्रार्थे कृते सर्वः कृतो भवेत्॥ कात्यायन q. by अपरार्क p. 8, स्मृतिच I. p. 5.

in direct conflict with the details in his own śākhā.[984] These people follow what is called the 'sarvaśākhā-pratyayanyāya' of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā. Both these view-points have been explained at great length by the author in H. of Dh. vol. III p. 870 and vol. IV pp. 852–855. In these times one may at most follow the astrological rules provided by the sūtras and Manu. Though the author has pointed out great flaws in the whole structure of Indian astrology, he does not think that it is his duty as a mere historian of Dharmaśāstra to advise people how far they should accept or discard astrology in general.

984. यन्नाम्नातं स्वशाखायां पारक्यमविरोधि यत्। विद्वद्भिस्तदनुष्ठेयमग्निहोत्रादिकं यथा॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 35 q. by अपरार्क p. 8, हेमाद्रि on श्राद्ध p. 756, आचारादर्श of श्रीदत्त folio 115a (of ms. D. C. No, 194 of 1884–87).

CHAPTER XVIII

Calendar, eras, various reckonings about years, months &c.

In order to be able to perform *vratas* and celebrate *utsavas* at the proper times and in order to find out the appropriate times for religious rites like sacrifices, upanayana and marriage people require a calendar or almanac. A calendar is a methodical combination or book about days, months and years for the purpose of registering in advance religious festivals and astronomical or astrological phenomena and for purposes of civil life. In India about thirty calendars are in use by Christians, Parsis, Moslems and Hindus. Confining oneself to Hindus there is a bewildering variety of calendars in use at present. Some are based on the data of the Sūryasiddhānta and some on those of the Āryasiddhānta, while others follow comparatively later manuals like the Grahalāghava; some begin the year with Caitra *śukla pratipad* (or *pratipadā*), others with Kārtika śukla pratipad and there are small tracts like the Halar[985] *prānt* (in Kathiawad) where the year begins with the 1st day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha. Gujarat and North India except Bengal use the Vikrama era, while the Deccan and South India generally employ the Śaka year, but Kāshmir follows the *Laukika* reckoning. In some parts (North India and Telaṅgaṇa) and communities the months are pūrṇimānta (i. e. end with Full Moon), while other parts (Bengal, Mahārāṣṭra and south India) follow the amānta (month ending with amāvāsyā) reckoning. The result is that some fasts and celebrations universally observed throughout India such as the Ekādaśī and Śivarātri fasts and the celebrations of the birth of Śrīkṛṣṇa are observed on two different days in different parts of the country and by different sects and there is a difference of one month between the days of some observances i. e. while on the pūrṇimānta reckoning a certain festival may be observed in Āśvina dark half, the same month

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985. Vīde Mrs. Stevenson's 'Rites of the twice-born' p. 301 n; also I. A. vol. 18 p. 93, where it is said that the Halari year used in Halar prant of Kathiawad and also at Amreli and Jetpur begins on Āṣāḍha śukla pratipad instead of Kārtika śukla and there is also another beginning on *amānta* Āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa 2.

may be called Bhādrapada dark half (by amānta reckoning) and the same festival may be celebrated one month later. The confusion is worse confounded in modern times by some calendars being what are called *Dṛk* or *Dṛkpratyaya* based on the data of the Nautical Almanac in order that such happenings as eclipses predicted in the pañcāṅga may be found to tally exactly with what is actually seen by the people. It appears that in South India there are rather too many pañcāṅgas (calendars). In Tamilnad there are two kinds of pañcāṅgas, one is based on *dṛk-gaṇita*, the other is based on the Vākya method (that follows medieval calculations based on Āryabhaṭa which produce less accurate results). There is the Pudukoṭṭai pañcāṅga (a Vākya one) issued under the authority of the *rājas* of the principality of that name. The Śrīraṅgam pañcāṅga (a Vākya one) is used by the Śrivaiṣṇavas, while followers of another Vaiṣṇava sect, the Mādhvas, have a pañcāṅga of their own. The Kanjanur pañcāṅga is the most common Vākya pañcāṅga used by the smārtas who do not use the *dṛk-gaṇita* pañcāṅga issued under the authority of the Śaṅkarācārya. The Telugus follow the Siddhānta-candra[986] pañcāṅga based on the Grahalāghava of Gaṇeśa composed in *śake* 1442 (1520 A. D.). In Malabar the people have a dṛk-pañcāṅga, but it is based on a revision of the old Malabar system called Parahita and is not the dṛk-pañcāṅga followed by the Tamils. The Telugus follow the Cāndra reckoning and begin their year called Yugādi from Caitra śukla, while the Tamils follow the Saura reckoning, start their Caitra with Meṣa Viṣu, though, their vratas and religious ceremonies being based on *tithis*, they have to follow the *Cāndra-māna.* Bengalis use solar months and lunar days with triennial adjustment by the insertion of an intercalary month.

There are three siddhāntas in use, viz. the Sūryasiddhānta (used throughout India on account of its accuracy), the Ārya-siddhānta (relied on in Travancore, Malabar, and by the Mādhvas in Karṇāṭaka and in Tamil Districts of Madras State) and the Brāhma-siddhānta (followed in Gujerat and Rajputana). The last, however, is losing ground in favour of the first. In the Siddhāntas calculations are made from the epoch of the

986. Warren's Kālasaṅkalita (pp. 65-68) publishes a skeleton of the Siddhāntacandra pañcāṅga for the 4924th luni-solar year of the Kaliyuga current (i. e. śake 1745, A. D. 1822) for the Meridian and Latitude of Madras which is mainly based on Telugu Pañcāṅga, but furnishes Tamil data also.

mahāyuga and are so elaborate that pañcāṅgas can hardly be made from them direct. Therefore, works called karaṇas based on the Siddhāntas are used to prepare pañcāṅgas, such as Makaranda in Bengal and the Grahalāghava of Gaṇeśa; the tables of the latter called Tithicintāmaṇi are used in the Deccan, Central India and some other parts of India. There are two important points of difference between the Siddhāntas among themselves viz. the length of the year (but the difference is only of a few *vipalas*) and the second is the number of revolutions of the Moon and the planets in the Kalpa or Mahāyuga or Yuga. The Siddhāntaśiromaṇi (I. 6) specifies the matters with which a siddhānta must deal, the very first of which is the enumeration of the units of time from *truṭi* up to the end of *pralaya*.

It should not be supposed that India is singular in this respect. The present European calendar is also very unsatisfactory. Originally it was Julius Caesar who introduced a revised calendar in 46 B. C. with the provision that every 4th year was to be a leap year. But his calculations were not very accurate and the result was that by 1582 A. D. the spring equinox occurred on 10th March instead of on 21st March. Pope Gregory XIII declared that 4th October 1582 was to be followed by 15th October (i. e. ten days were dropped). He further provided that century years were not to have a leap year unless they could be divided by 400 (so that years 1700, 1800, 1900 of the christian era have no additional day, but 2000 would have one). Even so, there is still a slight error, but only after more than 33 centuries one day would have to be dropped. The Gregorian year is longer by 26 seconds than the correct length of the year arrived at by modern astronomical calculations. Protestant England did not follow Pope Gregory's reform till 1750 A. D. when Acts were passed whereby 2nd of September 1752 was to be followed not by 3rd September but by 14th September (dropping eleven days). Vide 'the Calendar New Style Act' 1750 (24 Geo. 2, chapter 23) and the Calendar Act 1751 (25 Geo. 2, chapter 30), which changed the year beginning from 25th March to 1st January and embodied the reforms made by Pope Gregory XIII. The European calendar is still very inconvenient. Under it a month may have from 28 to 31 days, the quarters of a year consist of 90 to 92 days; the two halves of the year (January to June and July to December) contain respectively 181 (or 182) and 184 days, working days per month vary from 24 to 27 days and years and months begin on different

week-days. Easter, the Queen of feasts, could fall even after 1751 on 35 different dates from 22nd March to 25th April, as Easter is first Sunday after the Full Moon occurring on or after 21st March.

It has been stated above (p. 480) that this work will not deal with pure astronomical questions; therefore, the author proposes to avoid going into details of astronomical computations. But something would have to be said about them as occasion requires. Those who are interested in ancient Indian astronomy and its later ramifications may consult and study the following works and articles; Warren's Kālasaṅkalita; the Sūryasiddhānta translated and annotated by Whitney; Indian Metrology by J. B. Jervis, pp. 174-259; the Pañca-siddhāntikā of Varāhamihira (text and translation by Thibaut and M. M. Suddhakar Dwivedi); S. B. Diksita's 'Bhāratīya Jyotiṣaśāstra' (in Marathi a masterly work); Sewell and Diksit's 'Indian Calendar' (1896); Sewell's 'Indian Chronography' (1912); Sewell's 'Siddhāntas and Indian Calendar'; 'Vedic Chronology and Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa' by B. G. Tilak (1925): Divan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai's 'Indian Ephemeris', 7 volumes (vol. I part 1 being general and the rest being Tables); V. B. Ketkar's Jyotirgaṇitam, Ketakī, Vaijayantī, Grahagaṇita and 'Indian and foreign chronology' (Extra Number LXXV-A of the JBBRAS); Jacobi's papers in Epigraphia Indica vol. I. pp. 403-460 (on computation of Hindu dates), vol. II. pp. 487-498 (tables for calculating Hindu dates in true local time), vol. XII. pp. 47 ff (for planetary tables), XII pp. 158 ff (special Tables for Hindu dates); Sewell's papers in E. I. vol. 14 pp. 1 ff, 24 ff, vol. 15 pp. 159 ff, vol. 16 pp. 100-221 (on Ārya-siddhānta and Tables), vol. 17 pp. 17 ff (on first Ārya-siddhānta), pp. 173ff (on Brāhmasiddhānta of Brahmagupta) and pp. 205 ff; Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. IV. pp. 483-511, vol. X pp. 332-336 (for Jain calendar); Nautical Almanac for 1935, explanations by J. K. Fotheringham pp. 754 ff; 'Ancient Indian chronology' by Prof. Sen-Gupta (1947, University of Calcutta); Karaṇa-kalpalatā (in Sanskrit) and Bhāratīya-Jyotiḥśāstra-nirīkṣaṇa (in Marathi) of Dr. K. L. Daftari; Dr. M. N. Saha's paper on 'Reform of the Indian calendar' in 'Science and culture' (Calcutta), 1952 pp. 57-68, 109-123 and Report of the Calendar Reform Committee (published by the Government of India 1955, a very exhaustive and useful work.)

Among all nations the fundamental periods of time are the same, viz. the day, the month and the year (consisting of

seasons). The years are the constituents of eras that are vital for chronology and history. Though the fundamental periods of time are the same, there are variations in the arrangement of days to form months and years, about the sub-divisions of the day, about the commencement of the day, about the divisions of the year among seasons and months, about the number of days in each month and in the year and about various kinds of months. The great time measurers are the Sun and the Moon. The day is due to the revolution of the earth round its axis. The month is mainly a lunar phenomenon and the year is due to the apparent motion of the Sun (but in reality it is due to the revolution of the earth round the sun). The tropical year is the time of the passage of the Sun from one vernal equinox to the next. The latter is shorter than the sidereal year (i. e. the time between the two successive arrivals of the Sun at the same fixed star) by about 20 minutes as the vernal equinox point shifts to the west at the rate of about 50 seconds per year.[987] A modern calendar mentions the current year (by some era), the month and the day of the month and generally the week-day, besides several other matters of religious and social interest. The eras and accurate knowledge of the length of the year and the month came to man rather late. The synodic month is a little over $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, while the tropical year is a little less than $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. These are incommensurable periods. For ordinary life and calendars whole days are required; besides, the starting of the year and the month must be properly defined and must correspond to seasons and some era must be used. These are the requirements of a calendar which has to be used for civil and religious purposes. The complexity of calendars is due mainly to the incommensurability of the above two astronomical

987. Besides the two motions of the earth (viz. its daily revolution on its own axis and its yearly revolution round the sun) there is a third motion which is not so well-known. The earth is not a sphere, its equatorial diameter being longer than its polar diameter. The result is that there is a mass of matter bulging out at the equator which is in excess of what it would be if the earth were perfectly spherical, The earth's axis has a slight conical wobbling motion like that of a toy top and it describes a cycle in about 25800 years, the yearly shift being about $50''\cdot2$ seconds, due to the pull of the sun and the moon on the equatorial bulge. This causes the appearance of the fixed stars and even the pole-star changing their positions from century to century or from period to period. Vide Sir Norman Lockyer's ' Dawn of astronomy ' pp. 124-128, Van Pen Bergh in ' Universe in Space and Time ' p. 82, Hickey's ' Introducing the Universe ' p. 117

periods. The Moslems solved it by ignoring the length of the tropical year and holding fast by the Moon as the measurer of time. They had a purely lunar year. The result was that the Moslems' year was of 354 days and that in about 33 years all their festivals travelled through all the months of the year. On the other hand, the ancient Egyptians ignored the moon as the measurer of time and their year was of 365 days (12 months of 30 days each plus five epagomenal, i. e. additional days). Their priests stuck to this system for 3000 years, they had no leap years or intercalary months. Most ancient peoples including Indians followed a luni-solar calendar and tried to adjust the lunar months to the solar year by the system of intercalary months. It has been seen above (p. 489 note 710) that even the Ṛgveda speaks of an additional month (in I. 25. 8) but how it was arrived at and where in the scheme of months it was introduced we do not know. We know that the Vedāṅgajyotiṣa[988] added two months in five years. The people of those ancient times had to solve the problem of adjusting the reckoning of the months by the moon and the years by the sun. People wanted to know in advance when the Full Moon or New Moon on which many ancient festivals were celebrated may be expected, when to expect monsoon or winter, when to prepare ground for sowing and when to sow. Sacrifices had to be in spring and other seasons, as also on New Moon and Full Moon. The lunar year of 354 days was less by about 11 days than the solar year. Therefore, the seasons would shift back if the lunar year alone were observed. Hence intercalary months were introduced by several nations. The Greeks had the 'Octaeteris' (eight years cycle), that contained 99 months of which three were intercalary, viz. in the 3rd, 5th and 8th years. Then was introduced the Metonic cycle of 19 years in which occurred seven intercalary months (19×12 plus $7 = 235$). Olmstead (in American Journal of Semitic Languages, vol. 55 for 1938) says at p. 116 that the cycle of intercalation in Babylon was of eight years and that it was followed by the Greeks. Fotherigham (in Journal of Hellenistic studies, vol. 39 p. 179) says that intercalation in Babylon was irregular till 528 B. C. and in Greece it was unsystematic in the 5th and 4th centuries B. C. Vide also C. R. C. Report pp. 175-176.

988. Vide Lokamanya Tilak's 'Vedic chronology' pp. 21-25, Journal of Ganganath Jha Research Institute, vol. IV. pp. 239-248 for the Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa Calendar and its salient features and Pillai's 'Indian Ephemeris' Vol. I. part 1 pp. 443-456.

The use of eras in India for calendrical purposes is not much older than about two thousand years. Continuous era reckoning first began to be employed in the records of the Indo-Scythian kings that ruled over modern Afganistan and North Western India between about 100 B. C. and 100 A. D. This is not peculiar to India; most of the ancient civilizations such as those of Egypt, Babylon, Greece and Rome did not employ a continuously running era till late in their careers. In the Jyotirvidābharaṇa (which is a later fabrication, though it professes that it was finished in *gatakali* 3068 i. e. 33 years before the christian era) mentions the names of six persons as the founders of eras in Kaliyuga, viz. Yudhiṣṭhira, Vikrama, Śālivāhana, Vijayābhinandana, Nāgārjuna, Kalkin[989] and states that their eras respectively last for 3044, 135, 18000, 10000, 400000, 821 years. In ancient[990] countries no continuous era was used, but only regnal years were employed. In India also Aśoka employs only regnal years in his edicts (e. g the 4th pillar edict at Laurīya-nandana-garh and the 5th pillar edict at Rāmpurvā, C. I. I. vol. I pp. 147, 151, were engraved in the 26th year of his kingship). Kauṭilya[991] also, when setting forth the business of the collector

989. युधिष्ठिरो विक्रमशालिवाहनौ नराधिनाथो विजयाभिनन्दनः । इमे तु नागार्जुनमेदिनीविभुर्बलिः क्रमात् षट् । शककारकाः कलौ ॥. Some read कल्की षडेते for बलिः &c. Vide Z. D. M. G. vol. 22 p. 717 verse 110, Fleet in JRAS for 1911 p. 694 for variant readings in this verse, Poona Orientalist vol. V pp. 205-209 on 'Jyotirvidābharaṇa and the Nine Jewels' by K. Madhava Krishna Sarma for other readings and date.

990 Vide Fotheringham in Explanation to Nautical Almanac for 1935 at p. 755 about Egyptians not using a continuous era, but being content to number the years of each reign separately.

991. राजवर्षं मासाः पक्षो दिवसश्च व्युष्टं वर्षाहेमन्तग्रीष्माणां तृतीयसप्तमा दिवसोनाः पक्षाः शेषाः पूर्णाः पृथगधिमासक इति कालः । Arthaśāstra II. 6 p. 60. This passage is variously interpreted by Fleet, Sham Sastri and others. The difficulty is due to the word 'vyuṣṭa', which literally means 'daybreak or light' and here means 'the first day of the year which is deemed to be very auspicious.' Vide 'तत्र च दीयते कार्यं भववत् । व्युष्टादिभ्योऽण् ।' पा० V. 1.96-97. To the author it appears that this passage means 'the royal (or regnal) year, month, fortnight, day, the auspicious (first day of the year), the third and seventh fortnights of the three seasons viz. rain, winter, summer have one day less (than thirty), the other fortnights are full (i. e. months have full 30 days each), an intercalary is a separate (period of time) - these are the times (the collector of revenue has to note). In ancient times, the year had six seasons, twelve months and 30 days in each month. The Arthaśāstra here says that there were six fortnights of 29 days each and so the (lunar year was of 354 days. In order to bring it in line with the solar year an intercalary month had to be resorted to.

of revenue specifies the times with which the collector would be concerned as 'the royal year, the month, the fortnight, the day &c.' This practice continued even under the Kuṣaṇas and Sātavāhanas; vide Lüder's list in E. I. X, No. 22, 32 for Kaniṣka, No. 1024 (Kanheri cave Inscription of Gotamiputa-sāmi-Siriyaña Sātakaṇi), No. 1100 and 1122 (Karle and Nasik cave inscriptions of Vāsiṭhīputa Siri–Pulumāvi). The Kaliṅga king Khāravela (generally assigned to the 2nd century B. C.) uses only regnal years and no era (vide E. I. vol. 20 p. 71 at pp. 79–80).

A variety of eras have been used in India for hundreds of years; this has created a great deal of confusion in chronology and history. For the lists of eras now in use or met with in inscriptions and Sanskrit literature, vide Cunningham on Indian eras, 'Indian Ephemeris' by Swamikannu Pillai vol. I part 1 pp. 53–55, V. B. Ketkar's 'Indian and foreign chronology' pp. 171–172; P. C. Sen-Gupta in 'Ancient Indian eras' (pp. 222–238) and Dr. Saha's paper in 'Science and Culture' for 1952 (Calcutta) at p. 116 that gives a table of eras with the starting year of the eras, their current years, year beginnings (solar and luni-solar), lunar month end, provenance &c. Vide also p. 258 of the C.R.C. Report (Table 27) for a similar long list of eras. In this work only a few eras of importance will be briefly dealt with. Alberuni (Sachau vol. II. p. 5) names five eras, viz of Śri Harsha, Vikramāditya, Śaka, Valabha and Gupta. He gives two different versions about the first and leaves the question undecided.

Differing views were held even in ancient times, as to when the Kaliyuga[992] started and what event the Kaliyuga era commemorates. At present the Kaliyuga era is supposed to have started in 3102 B. C. and a past Kaliyuga year is to be arrived at by adding 3101 to the A. D. years. There are four principal views about the starting point, viz. (1) the starting point is when Yudhiṣṭhira ascended the throne; (2) it is 36

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992. Vide JRAS for 1911 pp. 479-96 and 675-698 (Dr. Fleet), H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 896–902 for discussions about the Kaliyuga beginning. In 'Ancient Indian chronology' Prof. Sen–Gupta after a lengthy and somewhat vehement argument concludes that the date of the Bhārata battle is 2449 B. C. and that the year 3102 B. C. for it is wrong (p. 1–59). Vide C.R.C. Report pp. 252–254 for Kaliyuga era. It may be noted that Janamejaya, son of Parikṣit, is mentioned as the performer of an Aśvamedha sacrifice in Śat. Br. XIII. 5. 4. Whether he is the same as the Mahābhārata hero is more than one can say, but it is not unlikely that he is the same.

years later when Yudhiṣṭhira crowned as king Parikṣit, the grandson of Arjuna; (3) according to the Purāṇas [993] Kaliyuga started when Kṛṣṇa passed away (vide Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 24. 108 to 113); (4) According to [993a] to Varāhamihira, 2426 years prior to the starting of Śaka-kāla, Yudhiṣṭhira era started i. e. 653 years after the start of Kaliyuga according to the 2nd view. The Aihole inscription appears to follow the 2nd view, since it equates [994] 556 śaka year with 3735 Kaliyuga year (past). One of the earliest references to the Kaliyuga era is that by Āryabhaṭa who states that he was twenty-three years old when 3600 years of Kaliyuga had expired (i. e. he was born in 476 A. D.).[995] There is an early Cola record dated 4044 of the Kaliyuga era (i. e. 943 A. D.). Vide JRAS for 1911 pp. 689–694 for several instances of the employment of Kaliyuga era in inscriptions. Medieval Indian astronomers believed that all planets (including the sun and the moon) were together at sunrise on Sunday of Caitra śukla pratipad at the beginning of Kaliyuga and also of Kalpa.[595a] It is suggested by modern writers like Burgess and Dr. Saha that this epoch was arrived at by astronomical calculations carried back-ward at a late period and is a mere fiction (vide p. 253 of the C. R. C. Report). It is rather difficult to hold that this was all pure imagination on the part

993. यस्मिन् कृष्णो दिवं यातस्तस्मिन्नेव तदाहनि । प्रतिपन्नं कलियुगमिति प्राहुः पुराविदः॥ भागवत XII 2. 33; compare वायु 99. 428–429, मत्स्य 273. 49–50, विष्णुपु. IV. 24. 110, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 74.241 for similar verses.

993a. आसन्मघासु मुनयः…शककालस्तस्य राज्ञश्च ॥ बृहत्संहिता 13.3 quoted in note 746. This is followed by कल्हण in his राजतरङ्गिणी I. 51 'शतेषु षट्सु सार्धेषु त्र्यधिकेषु च भूतले । कलेर्गतेषु वर्षाणामभूवन् कुरुपाण्डवाः ॥

994. त्रिंशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाहवादितः । सप्ताब्दशतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु ॥ पञ्चाशत्सु कलौ काले षट्सु पञ्चशतासु च । समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूभुजाम् ॥ E. I. vol. VI at p. 7. Apparently here कलियुग is deemed to have started immediately after the Bhārata War. Later astronomical works hold that the śaka era began when 3179 years of Kali era had expired; vide 'याताः षण्मनवो युगानि भमितान्यन्यद्युगाङ्घ्रित्रयं नन्दाद्रीन्दुगुणास्तथा शकनृपस्यान्ते कलेर्वत्सराः । सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि I. 28. नन्दाद्रीन्दुगुणाः is equal to 3179 (नन्द = 9, अद्रि = 7, इन्दु = 1, गुण = 3).

995. षष्ट्यब्दानां षष्टिर्यदा व्यतीतास्त्रयश्च युगपादाः । त्र्यधिका विंशतिरब्दास्तदेह मम जन्मनोऽतीताः ॥ आर्यभटीय, कालक्रियापाद verse 10 (ed. Kern).

995a. लङ्कानगर्यामुदयाच्च भानोस्तस्यैव वारे प्रथमं बभूव । मधोः सितादेर्दिनमासवर्षयुगादिकानां युगपत् प्रवृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहगणित, मध्यमाधिकार verse 15 (of भास्कराचार्य); चैत्रसितादेरुदयाद् भानोर्दिनमासवर्षयुगकल्पाः । सृष्ट्यादौ लङ्कायां समं प्रवृत्ता दिनेऽर्कस्य ॥ ब्राह्मस्फुटसिद्धान्त I. 4.

of the ancient Siddhānta writers; it is more probable that they had a persistent tradition of long standing before them.[995b].

In the *Saṅkalpa* (declaratory formula) for every religious ceremony the performer has to mention the grand divisions and sub-divisions of time beginning with Śvetavārāhakalpa, such as Vaivasvata manvantara, Kaliyuga and its first quarter together with the geographical position of the place of performance in Bharatavarṣa, and the Zodiacal signs occupied by the Sun, Jupiter and other planets, the era, name of year (Jovian), the month, the fortnight, the tithi, nakṣatra, Yoga and Karaṇa. A verse of Devala states that if a man performing a religious rite does not mention the month, the fortnight, the tithi and the occasion (of the rite) he will not reap the merit of the rite.[996]. That is the importance of eras, years and its sub-divisions in the religious life of our people. Therefore a calendar (*pañcāṅga*) is absolutely necessary for every religious Hindu.

The origin and use of the Vikrama era are as much shrouded in doubts and mystery as is the case with the *śaka* era.[997] Doubts have been expressed as to whether there was any king called

995 b. Vide E. I. vol. VIII p. 261. In E. I. vol. 28 p. 63 there are plates of Arkeśvara-deva dated in *yugābda* 4248 (i. e. in Kaliyuga era), corresponding to 6th February 1148 A. D. Vide also a paper contributed to 'Annals of Science', vol. 8 No. 3 (1952) pp. 221-228 by Prof. Neugebauer and Dr. O. Schmidt on 'Hindu Astonomy at Newminster in 1428', in which reference is made to an anonymous treatise composed in England at Newminster containing astronomical calculations for the year 1428 and for the latitude of Newminster. That treatise quotes several Arabic authorities, among which is one 'Omer' (or Umar, who died about 815 A. D.) and the treatise remarks that Alfonso began the year of the Flood on February 16, 3102 years before the Incarnation, a date which is obviously identical with the beginning of the Kaliyuga era (employed by Indian astronomers).

996. देवलः। मासपक्षतिथीनां च निमित्तानां च सर्वशः। समुल्लेखमकुर्वाणो न तस्य फलभाग्भवेत्॥ इति। शान्तिमयूख p. 2.

997. On Vikramāditya the reader may consult the scholarly paper of Dr. H. C. Rayachaudhuri 'Vikramāditya in History and Legend' in the Vikramāditya Commemoration volume (Ujjain, 1948) pp. 483-511. Vide also Journal of Benares H. University vol. VIII pp. 163-205 for Vikrama and his era, Bhandarkar Commemoration volume pp. 187-194 (D. R. Bhandarkar). Vide Mr. S. K. Dikshit's paper on 'The problem of the Kuṣāṇas and the origin of the Vikrama Saṁvat' in A.B.O.R.I. published in book form in 1958.

Vikramāditya about 57 B. C. the supposed starting point being[998] Nov. 58 B. C. in Gujarat where the year begins with Kārtika *śukla* pratipad and April 58 B. C. in Northern India where the year begins with Caitra *kṛṣṇa* pratipad. The expired Vikrama year is equal to A. D. year plus 57. In certain rather early inscriptions, years are referred to as Kṛta. For example, in Nandsa Yūpa Inscription the Kṛta year 282 is mentioned and in three Maukhari Inscriptions on *yūpas* (sacrificial posts) the year 295 Kṛta is found.[999] The Bijayagad pillar Inscription is dated in Kṛta 428, the Mandasor Inscription in Kṛta 461 and the Gangadhar Inscription in Kṛta 480.[1000] Scholars are generally agreed that the Kṛta era is a precursor of the Vikrama era. But the name Kṛta applied to the years has not been satisfactorily explained.[1001]

998. K. P. Jayaswal (I. A. vol. 47 p. 112 and I. A. 46 pp. 145–153) holds that Vikrama was historical, ended the rule of Nahapāna-Śakendra in 58 B. C, and belonged to the Sātavāhana family.

999. Vide E. I. vol. 23 pp. 42–52 for three Maukhari Inscriptions dated the 5th day of Phālguna śukla in *Kṛta* year 295 (i. e. 239 A. D.) by Dr. A. S. Altekar. For Nandsa Yūpa Ins. of Kṛta 232, vide E. I. vol. 27 pp. 252–267 (ed. by Dr. A. S. Altekar)

1000. For the Gangadhar Inscription dated in 480 of the Kṛta year (i. e 423–424 A. D.) and the Bijayagaḍh stone pillar Inscription of Kṛta year 428 (371–72 A. D. expired), vide Gupta Inscriptions edited by Fleet pp. 73–78 and pp. 252–254 respectively.

1001. Vide Bombay University Journal vol. 17 pp. 19–25 where Prof. K. B. Vyas puts forward the rather novel theory that the word *Kṛta* in the ancient Inscriptions refers to the Kaṭha people and J. of Indian History vol. 24 (for 1945) pp 105–109, where Prof. D. N. Mookerjee mentions nine Inscriptions in the Kṛta or Mālava-gaṇa era and contends that Kṛta is the era started by Kalkin who is supposed to have ushered in the Kṛta-yuga in the 5th century B. C. The author does not agree with both these views. Prof. Sen-Gupta in 'Ancient Indian Chronology' pp. 238 ff. holds that the Kṛta era started in 63 B. C. His grounds are that certain Mahābhārata and Paurāṇic passages set out in a prophetic vein the circumstances when Kṛta-yuga will start and he holds that those conditions were satisfied about 63 B. C. and therefore the era was called Kṛta In the first place the passages refer to a future date. No one thought in ancient India that the start of the Kṛta age was near. Besides, one of the passages on which he relies is Mahābhārata, Vanaparva 190. 90–91 (of the Bombay edition) and 188. 87 (of the critical BORI edition) and is differently read in the Śāradā Codex and several Kāśmir Mss. viz. as यदा चन्द्रश्च सूर्यश्च तथा तिष्यबृहस्पती। एकरात्रे समेष्यन्ति प्रपत्स्यति तदा कृतम्॥ and not एकराशौ as he reads. Therefore this verse is hardly of use for chronological purposes. Besides Vāyu 99. 413 also reads ekarātre (only one Ms. reads 'ekarāśau'). Some Purāṇas like Viṣṇu IV. 24. 102,

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Some inscriptions are also dated in the era of the Mālava-gaṇa (Malava tribe), as e. g. the Mandasor[1002] Inscription of Naravarman. The Kṛta and Mālava era are held to be identical and the inscriptions so far discoverved as dated in these two eras are found in eastern Rajasthan and Western Malva. It is further to be noted that, whereas we have inscriptions in 282 and 295 of the Kṛta year, no inscription of the Mālava era has yet been found that is dated so early. It is possible that Kṛta is the earlier name and when the Mālavas adopted the same era it came to be called 'Malava-gaṇāmnāta' or 'Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti.' But it may be remarked that if Kṛta and Mālava both refer to what later became the Vikrama era, they were both being used concurrently for at least one nundred years, as we have the Kṛta era

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Brahmāṇḍa III 74. 225 no doubt read एकराशौ. The three Matsya-purāṇa verses he quotes are not from the same chapter. The first verse simply says that Viṣṇu created *Yavas* on 3rd tithi of Vaiśākha bright half and that he started Kṛtayuga on that tithi. It is impossible to draw any definite date from this verse by itself. The other two verses are Matsya 65. 2-3. They describe a vrata and fast on 3rd tithi of the bright half of Vaiśākha, which yield inexhaustible fruits to the performer, equal to all good deeds. If on that tithi when joined to Kṛttikā one does special worship, whatever is donated or offered in the fire and whatever mantras are recited become inexhaustible. These two verses contain not a word about Kṛtayuga and the first says nothing about Kṛttikā. It is, to say the least, a strange method to put together verses apart from their context and aver that a particular date has been established.

1002. Vide I. A. vol. 42 (1913) p. 161-163 for Mandasor Inscription of Naravarman which is dated the 5th of the bright half of Āśvoja of the Mālava year 461 (404 A, D.) as traditionally handed down by the Mālava tribe (Mālavagaṇāmnāta). The important verse is: श्रीमालवगणाम्नाते प्रशस्ते कृतसंज्ञिते। एकषष्टयधिके माते समाशतचतुष्टये ॥. In the Mandasor Pillar Inscription of Yaśodharman occur the words 'मालवगणस्थितिवशात्कालज्ञानाय लिखितेषु' (year 589 of Mālava era); vide Gupta Ins. No. 35 at p. 154). On मालवगणस्थिति, vide Prof. Shembavnekar in J. I. H. vol. X pp, 143-155, where (on p. 145) he holds that 'gaṇasthiti' is equal to 'gaṇanāpaddhati'. His arguments though plausible are not correct. There should be contemporary authority (of the 5th or 6th century A. D.) for 'gaṇa' meaning 'gaṇanā'. In the Bijaygadh stone Ins. (Gupta Ins. No, 58 p, 251) we come across the words 'यौधेयगणपुरस्कृतस्य महाराजमहासेनापते: &c.'. Therefore 'Mālava-gaṇasthiti' should really mean 'the usage of the Mālavagaṇa' and मालवगणाम्नात: should mean 'as traditionally handed down among the Mālavagaṇa'. Besides a 'Mālavagaṇa-viṣaya' mentioned in the Nandsa Yūpa inscription edited in E. I., vol. 27, p. 252 at p. 259 makes it almost certain that 'Mālavagaṇa' means 'Mālava tribe' and nothing else.

480 and also the Mālava era year 461. The author does not think it possible that the word Kṛta was applied to the era because it was believed at its foundation that the Kṛta-yuga had started. It is possible that Kṛta has the same meaning as *siddha* (just as kṛtānta means siddhānta) and it indicates that it was established by agreement among certain people. The Vikrama era is specifically mentioned by name only from about 8th or 9th century A. D.[1002a] Besides, the Vikrama era has hardly ever been employed in Sanskrit astronomical works and it is generally desiganted *saṁvat* to distinguish it from the śaka era. The Yeḍarāve Inscription of Cālukya Vikramāditya VI shows that that king superseded the śaka era and started a Cālukya Vikrama era the first year of which was 1076-77 A. D. Vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. 1 part 2 p. 447 and 477 (and I. A. VII pp. 61–66 for reference to 400 śakakāla 1478 A. D.).

Almost all astronomical works in Sanskrit from about 500 A. D. employ the Śaka era. Why the Śaka era is so called, whether it was to commemorate the coming of the famous Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka to the throne or when and where it came to be first used are among the most difficult and unsolved problems of Indian History and Chronology. In one of the earliest inscriptions expressly dated in the Śaka era, viz. that of Cālukya king Maṅgaleśvara in 500 śaka (expired, i.e, 578 A.D.) it is cited as the era of the crowning of the Śaka[1003] king. Varāhamihira speaks of it as Śakakāla (in the Pañca-siddhāntikā[1004] and Bṛhat-saṁhitā 13. 3) and as Śakendrakāla

1002 a. Vide I. A. vol. 12 p. 155 the Dhinikī Grant of King Jāikadeva of Saurāṣṭra of the Vikrama year 794 (737 A. D.) 'विक्रमसंवत्सरशतेषु सप्तसु चतुर्नवत्यधिकेषु अङ्कतः ७९४ कार्तिकमासापरपक्षे अमावास्यायां आदित्यवारे ज्येष्ठानक्षत्रे रविग्रहणपर्वणि &c.

1003. 'शकनृपतिराज्याभिषेकसंवत्सरेष्वतिक्रान्तेषु पञ्चसु शतेषु महाकार्तिकपौर्णमास्यां &c.' in I. A. vol. III p. 305 and VI. 363; Kielhorn's list No. 3 in E. I. VII. Appendix.

1004. सप्ताश्विवेदसंख्यं शककालमपास्य चैत्रशुक्लादौ । अर्धास्तमिते भानौ यवनपुरे सोमदिवसाद्ये ॥ पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका I.8, which means 'deducting śaka year 427 (from the śaka year for which ahargaṇa is required) at the beginning of the bright half of *caitra* when the sun has half set in Yavanapura at the beginning of Monday.' Since Varāha employs in his several works the words शककाल, शकेन्द्रकाल and शकभूपकाल as synonyms it cannot be gainsaid that to him at least Śakakāla has something to do with śaka kings. One regrets that

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or Śakabhūpakāla (in Bṛhat-saṁhitā VIII. 20-21). Utpala (about 966 A. D.) while commenting on Bṛhat-saṁhitā (VIII. 20) remarks that the Śaka era started from the time when the Śaka king was killed by Vikramāditya. Its years begin with Caitra for luni-solar reckoning and Meṣa for solar reckoning. Its years are generally expired ones and it begins with vernal equinox of 78 A. D. The earliest inscription so far discovered in which the śaka era is expressly mentioned is that of Cālukya Vallabheśvara dated in 465 śaka (i. e. 543 A. D.)[1005] The inscriptions of the Kṣatrapa kings that bear the number of the year but no era are generally ascribed to the śaka era, e. g. those of Rudradāman in 52 and 72; of Rudrasiṁha in 103, of Rudrasena in 122 (Lüder's list Nos. 965, 963, 962). Emperor Kaniṣka (of the Kuṣāṇa race) is also connected by some with the foundation of the śaka era.[1006] One of the earliest date for the śaka era in literature is mentioned as śaka 380 in the Jain work Lokavibhāga of Siṁhasūri.[1007] As the Pañcasiddhāntikā (XII. 2) takes the 2nd year of the śaka era as the epoch of the Pitāmahasiddhānta, it is not too much to assume that the original siddhānta of which a summary is given by Varāhamihira was composed according to him in the first quarter of the first

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since independence some Indian scholars are bent upon not admitting patent facts of history and put forward novel theories. The verse ' आसन्... राज्ञश्च ' in note 746 does not stand by itself and has to to be taken along with the other verses in the same work (as in Bṛ. S. VIII. 20–21) and शकेन्द्रकाल in पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका (vide note 1008); the verse ' आसन् &c. ' says that śaka years when added to by 2526 (or 2566) represent the time of Yudhiṣṭhira. The suggestion made by some that śakakāla simply means method of reckoning cannot be accepted in view of the words Śakendrakāla or Śakabhūpakāla. One may raise a dispute as to whether the śaka era was *founded* by a *śaka king* or whether it was *founded by an Indian king* who defeated the Śakas. But the central fact remains that śaka-kāla has something to do with the Śakas and a Śaka king.

1005. Vide E. I. vol. 27 pp. 4–8. Vide E. I. vol. 16 p. 19 at p. 23 for Andhau Inscription of Rudradāman in the year 52 ' फगुणबहुलस द्वितीय व २ '.

1006. Vide Prof. A. L. Basham's interesting paper on ' Śaka-Kuṣāṇa ' in Bulletin of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. 15 pp. 80–97, where he brings together much that has been written about Śakas, Kuṣāṇas, Vikramāditya &c.

1007. Vide Mysore Arch. Report for 1922 p. 23 quoted on p. 5 of E. I. 27 'संवत्सरे तु द्वाविंशे काञ्चीशः सिंहवर्मणः । अशीत्यग्रे शकाह्वानां (v. l. शकाब्दानां) सिद्धमेतच्छतत्रये ॥'.

century of the śaka era.[1008] In later medieval and modern times (as also in the Jyotirvidābharaṇa) the śaka era goes by the name of Śālivāhana. But the form Śālivāhana as that of the era occurs only in the inscriptions of the 13th or 14th century A. D. e. g. the two earliest inscriptions so far discovered mentioning the word Śālivāhana are those recorded in the plate of Devagiri Yādava king Kṛṣṇa dated in Śālivāhana era 1172 (1251 A. D.)[1009] and the plate of Bukka I dated in śaka 1276, current (1354 A. D.). Vide No. 455 in Kielhorn's list in E. I. VII. It is possible that the name Sātavāhana (mentioned in Harṣa-carita as the composer of the Gāthāsaptaśatī) was changed into Śālavāhana, then into Śālivāhana and this conjecture is supported by the fact that in the Gāthāsaptaśatī (V. 67) king Sālāhaṇa (a Prakrit form of Sātavāhana) is mentioned; 'only two know how to raise high distressed families (by *śleṣa*, the family of Aparṇā), viz. Śiva beloved of the heart of Gaurī or the king Sālāhaṇa (Sātavāhana).' Vide C. R. C. Report pp. 244–256 for the śaka era and Ludwig Bachhofer's paper on 'Greeks and Śakas in India' in J. A. O. S. vol. 61 (1941) pp. 223–250, where he attacks some of the downright and very emphatic assertions of Dr. W. W. Tarn in 'the Greeks in Bactria and India.'

Another era, which is current even now in Kashmir, is the Saptarṣi era, also called Laukika era. According to the Rājataraṅgiṇī the Laukika year 24 was equal to śaka 1070 (expired).[1009a] In the use of that era the centuries are generally omitted. It is a luni-solar era supposed to have begun in April 3076 B. C. on the first day of Caitra-śukla. Vide Cunningham's 'Indian eras' pp. 6–17 and Stein's Introduction to translation of the Rājataraṅgiṇī pp. 58 ff. The Bṛhatsaṁhitā [1010] notes a tradition that the Saptarṣis (Ursa Major) occupy each nakṣatra for a hundred years and that they occupied the constellation of Maghā when king Yudhiṣṭhira reigned. Probably this is the

1008. द्व्यूनं शकेन्द्रकालं पञ्चभिरुद्धृत्य शेषवर्षाणाम्। द्युगणं माघसिताद्यं कुर्याद् द्युगणं तदहर्न्युदयात्॥ पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका XII. 2.

1009. Vide Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, vol. 17 pp. 92–93 (Dr. Gai's paper).

1009 a. लौकिकेऽब्दे चतुर्विंशे शककालस्य साम्प्रतम् । सप्तत्याभ्यधिकं यातं सहस्रं परिवत्सराः॥ राजतरङ्गिणी I. 52.

1010. आसन्मघासु…राज्ञश्च॥ एकैकस्मिन्नृक्षे शतं शतं ते चरन्ति वर्षाणाम्। बृहत्संहिता 13. 3–4 q. above in note 746.

origin of the Kashmir era in cycles of one hundred years. For Inscriptions dated in the Laukika era, vide Bhandarkar's list No. 1431–1443 in E. I. vol. 20 Appendix and No. 1444–45 for Saptarṣi era.

Several other eras such as the Vardhamāṇa and Buddha-nirvāṇa eras, Gupta, Cedi, Harṣa, Lakṣamaṇa-sena (in Bengal), Kollam or Paraśurāma era (prevelent in Malabar), most of which were once in great vogue (at least in civil life) but are now practically unused, are passed over here, as of only academic interest in these days. For Vardhamāna nirvāṇa era, vide I. A. vol. 25 p. 346 where the year 2493 after the nirvāṇa of Vardhamāna is said to be equal to Vikrama year 1888 and śaka year 1752 (1830 A. D.) and Buddha-nirvāṇa era in JRAS for 1875 at p. 358 (a Ceylonese Inscription of Sāhasa-malla's time about 1191 A. D.), where mention is made that the king was crowned 1743 years, three months and 27 days after the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha. Great controversies have raged over the Gupta era (which Fleet holds began in 319 A. D.). There are some who hold that it is really the Vikrama era (J. I. H. vol. 17 p. 293 ff and J. I. H. special number of March and April 1941 pp. 71–84). For Harṣa era, vide E. I. 19 p. 52 and Nos. 1385–1421 in Bhandarkar's list in vol. 20 Appendix of E. I. From Alberuni (Sachau vol. II. p. 5) it appears that Harṣa era started in 606 A.D. There has been some connflict of views on this; vide JHQ vol. 27 pp. 321 ff, vol. 28 p. 280 ff (by R. C. Majumdar) and vol. 29 pp. 72-79 (Dr. D. C. Sirkar). The Kollam era is said to have started in 1176 B. C.

It has already been shown how in Vedic works the year was denoted by several synonyms such as saṁvatsara, samā, varṣa. In the Nārada-saṁhitā[1011] it is said that there are nine kinds of

1011. ब्राह्मं दैवं मानुषं च पित्र्यं सौरं च सावनम्। चान्द्रमार्क्षं गुरोर्मानमिति मानानि वै नव। एषां तु नवमानां व्यवहारोऽत्र पञ्चभिः। तेषां पृथक् पृथक् कार्यं वक्ष्यते व्यवहारतः॥ नारदसंहिता III. 1–2. (Chowkhamba S. Series). कल्प (to be explained later) is a day of Brahmā (Sūryasiddhānta I. 20); one human year was supposed to be a day of the gods (एकं वा एतद् देवानामहो यत्संवत्सरः। तै. ब्रा. III. 9. 22. 1); one human month was held to be the *ahorātra* of pitṛs (मनु. I. 66). मानुषमान is विमिश्र (mixed) because men employ four reckonings (*māna*). for different purposes as stated in the सि.शि. I.30–31 (ज्ञेयं विमिश्रं तु मनुष्यमानं मानैश्चतुर्भिर्व्यवहारवृत्तेः॥ वर्षायनर्तुयुगपूर्वकमत्र सौरान्मासास्तथा च तिथयस्तुहिनांशुमानात्। यत्कृच्छ्रसूतकचिकित्सितवासरार्थं तत्सावनाच्च घटिकादिकमार्क्षमानात्॥). But the सि. शि. further on (I. 32) says that computations about planets are to be made by human reckoning (ग्रहास्तु साध्या मनुजैः स्वमानात्).

reckonings of time, viz. Brāhma (of Brahmā), Daiva (of the gods), Mānuṣa (human), pitrya (of the Pitṛs), Saura, Sāvana, Cāndra, Nākṣatra and Bārhaspatya, but that in ordinary wordly matters only five of these are employed. The Vedāṅga-jyotiṣa appears to refer to four when it says that in a *yuga* (of five years) there are 61 *sāvana* months, 62 lunar months, 67 nākṣatra months. Hemādri (on Kāla, p. 9) dwells on only three of these year reckonings, viz. cāndra, saura, and sāvana, while Mādhava (in Kālanirṇaya-kārikās 11–12) speaks of two more, viz. Nākṣatra and Bārhaspatya. The Viṣṇudharmottara speaks of four (not mentioning Bārhaspatya). The three mentioned by Hemādri are those most employed in religious and civil matters, and dharmaśāstra works are specially concerned with them, while the other two are rarely referred to in the latter. A cāndra month [1012] is a time period from the end of one amāvāsyā (New Moon) to the next amāvāsyā and twelve such months make the cāndra year of 354 days. It is also called a lunation. The length of a cāndra month varies from 29.246 to 29.817 days owing to the eccentricity of the moon's orbit and other causes and its average period is 29.53059 days. A saura month is the time taken by the sun to move through one sign of the zodiac; twelve such months constitute the solar year, [1013] and the first day of a solar year is the

1012. नाडीषष्ट्या तु नाक्षत्रमहोरात्रं प्रकीर्तितम् । तत्त्रिंशता भवेन्मासः सावनोऽर्कोदयैस्तथा ॥ ऐन्दवस्तिथिभिस्तद्वत् संक्रान्त्या सौर उच्यते । सू. सि. I. 12–13; दर्शावधिं चान्द्रमुशन्ति मासं सौरं तथा भास्करराशिभोगात् । त्रिंशद्दिनं सावनसंज्ञमाहुर्नाक्षत्रमिन्दोर्भगणभ्रमाच्च ॥ रत्नमाला I. 20, वायुपुराण 50. 187–88, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 72. 14–20 (q. by हे. on काल p. 10) and उत्पल on बृहज्जातक VIII. 10 mention the four reckonings चान्द्र, सौर, सावन and नाक्षत्र and their employment for certain purposes.

1013. The वेदाङ्गज्योतिष (which is in two recensions, attached to Ṛgveda and Yajurveda respectively) summarizes the several items of the saura year as follows :—त्रिंशत्यह्नां सषट्षष्टिरब्दः षट् चर्तवोऽयने । मासा द्वादश सौराः स्युरेतत्पञ्चगुणं युगम् ॥ वेदाङ्गज्योतिष verse 31 (Sham Shastri, ed.). The Vedāṅga-jyotiṣa holds that 366 days constitute a year. The modern Sūrya-siddhānta says that there are 365·258756 days in a year. The other siddhāntas slightly vary from this. According to modern astronomy the year consists of 365·242196 days. Vide 'Indian Culture' vol. VIII. pp. 114–116 for a note on this (by N. C. Lahiri) and Preface p. VIII. and p. 240 of the (C. R. C. Report.). For the length of Jupiter's revolution round the sun, vide 'Frontiers of Astronomy' p. 47 by D. S. Evans. The meaning of the above verses is: a solar year contains 366 days, it has six ṛtus (seasons) and two *ayanas*, twelve months; these multiplied five times make a *yuga*.' It does not profess to be a treatise on astronomy as then known, but its aim was a thoroughly practical one viz, to enable the Vedic

(*Continued on next page*)

first day of the Saura month, Meṣa. If the entry of the sun into the sign is in the day time then that day is the first day of the month. If the entry is in the night, the next day is the first day of the month. The time of entry of the sun into a rāśi differs from almanac to almanac and the result is that the entry may be before sunset in one almanac and after sunset in another. Therefore, there may be the difference of one day as to the first day of the month. Owing to the adoption of different ayanāṁśas and the difference in the length of the year, the Dṛk, Vākya and Siddhānta almanacs may differ about the first day of the year, about Poṅgal and other festivals. A Sāvana year is of 12 months of 30 days each, the day being counted from one sunrise to the next. A nākṣatra month is the time taken by the moon to pass through the 27 nakṣatras; the Bārhaspatya year is the time taken by Jupiter to pass through one sign of the zodiac (i. e. about 361 days). According to modern astronomy, Jupiter takes 11.86 years (for its revolution round the sun). All these four or five divisions are not mentioned in early works and even in later days all these four divisions do not appear to have been fully utilised, though mentioned in astronomical and dharmaśāstra works. Kauṭilya provides that[1014] the month for workmen is of thirty days and nights, the Saura month is one half day larger i. e. (30½ days in a month), the lunar month a half day less (i. e. 29½ days), the nākṣatra month is of 27 days, the intercalary month is of 32 days (or occurs in the 32nd month?), the month is of 35 days (for the wages) of those who tend horses and of 40 days for those who are keepers of elephants. The month for workmen was of 30 days, but it need not have coincided with Full Moon or New Moon, while lunar months end with amāvāsyā or pūrṇimā. The Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta quoted by Utpala on Bṛhat-saṁhitā II. 4 p. 40 provides that from the saura reckoning one derives the extent of Yuga, the year, Viṣuvat, Ayana, seasons, the increase and decrease in the length of the day and night; from the cāndra the details about tithis,

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(Continued from last page)

priest having some knowledge of elementary arithmetic but not knowing astronomy to determine a required *tithi* (age of the moon) and the place (nakṣatra) of the moon and the sun on a particular day in the *yuga* of five years.

1014. त्रिंशदहोरात्रः प्रकर्ममासः। सार्धसौरः (सार्धः सौरः ?)। अर्धन्यूनश्चान्द्रमासः। सप्तविंशतिर्नक्षत्रमासः। द्वात्रिंशद्मलमासः। पञ्चत्रिंशदश्ववाहायाः। चत्वारिंशद्धस्तिवाहायाः। अर्थशास्त्र II. 20 p. 108. The महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 2 on पा. IV. 2. 21 mentions a भृतकमास (month of hired service), which seems to be the same as प्रकर्ममास.

karaṇas, intercalary month or *kṣaya* month, all acts to be performed at night; from *sāvana* reckoning sacrifices, the *savanas* (the three soma libations) the motions of planets, fasts, impurities on birth and death, medical treatment, expiations and other religious rites. Vide Viṣṇudharmottara I. 72. 26–27 for similar verses.

At present the year begins either in caitra or kārtika in different parts of India. But in ancient times it began in different months in different countries and for different purposes. Many Vedic[1015] passages show that the reckoning was pūrṇimānta, that the year began after the Full moon of Phālguna and that Vasanta was the first season of the year. It is due to this that Mādhava says in his Kāla-nirṇaya p. 63 (Calcutta ed.) that Śruti (Veda) is insistent on the pūrṇimānta month (paūrṇamāsyantatve śruteḥ kaṭākṣo bhūyān). The Sm. C. (on śrāddha p. 377) notes that the *amānta* reckoning is followed in Deccan the (Dakṣiṇā-patha) and pūrṇimānta in North India (Uttarā-patha). Vide Mundakhede plate of Sendraka Jayaśakti on 10th of Phālguna dark half of year 602 (must be śake) for indicating that in north Mahārāṣṭra there was amānta reckoning then (E. I. vol. 29 part V pp. 116–117). The Vedāṅgajyotiṣā[1016] says that the first year of the cycle of five years began in Māgha-śukla i. e. at the winter solstice. Alberuni (Sachau II. pp. 8–9) mentions that the year began in Caitra, Bhādrapada, Kārtika, Mārgaśīrṣa in different parts of India. Kauṭilya[1017] provided that the year for work in the Government office of Accounts was a *cāndra* one and ended on the Full Moon of Āṣāḍha. From Vanaparva[1018] it appears that the year began in Caitra. It is

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1015. न पूर्वयोः फल्गुन्योरग्निमादधीत। एषा वै जघन्या रात्रिः संवत्सरस्य यत्पूर्वे फल्गुनी। ...उत्तरयोरादधीत। एषा वै प्रथमा रात्रिः संवत्सरस्य यदुत्तरे फल्गुनी। मुखत एव संवत्सरस्याग्निमाधाय वसीयान्भवति। तै. ब्रा. I. 1. 2. 13; मुखं वा एतत्संवत्सरस्य यत्फाल्गुनी पौर्णमासी मुखमुत्तरे पुच्छं पूर्वे। कौ. ब्रा. V. 1; माघस्यामावास्यायामुपवसत्युदङ्ङा वर्त्स्यन्नुपेमे वसन्ति। ...तस्मादत्र न दीक्षेरंश्चैत्रस्यामावास्या एकाह उपरिष्टाद्दीक्षेरन्नागतं सस्यं भवति महान्त्यहानि भवन्ति...। शाङ्खायनब्रा. 19. 3; फाल्गुने दीक्षेरन्। मुखं वा एतत्संवत्सरस्य यत्फाल्गुनो...। चित्रापूर्णमासे दीक्षेरन्। चक्षुर्वा एतत्संवत्सरस्य यच्चित्रापूर्णमासो मुखतो वै चक्षुः। ...चतुरहे पुरस्तात्पौर्णमास्या दीक्षेरन्। ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण V. 9. 7–12. Vide तै. सं. VII. 4. 8 for similar words. For वसन्त vide p. 492 and notes 716–717 above.

1016. माघशुक्ल...कालज्ञानं प्रचक्षते॥ वेदाङ्गज्योतिष I. 5 q. above.

1017. त्रिशतं चतुःपञ्चाशच्चाहोरात्राणां कर्मसंवत्सरः। तमाषाढीपर्यवसानमूनं पूर्णं वा दद्यात्। करणाधिष्ठितमधिमासकं कुर्यात्। अर्थशास्त्र II. 6 p. 63.

1018. क्षीणे युगे तु कौन्तेय शर्वस्य सह पार्षदैः। सहोमया च भवति दर्शनं कामरूपिणः। अस्मिन् सरसि सत्रैर्वै चैत्रे मासि पिनाकिनम्। यजन्ते याजकाः सम्यक् परिवारं शुभार्थिनः॥ वनपर्व 130. 14–16.

possible to suggest that the year began with Mārgaśīrṣa because Anuśāsana (106. 17–30) deals with the results of practising *ekabhakta vrata* from Mārgaśīrṣa to Kārtika. The Kṛtya-ratnākara (p. 452) quoting Brahmapurāṇa says that the year began with the *pratipad* of Mārgaśīrṣa in Kṛtayuga. From Gītā X. 35 (māsānām mārgaśīrṣoham) it does not, I humby think, follow that Mārgāśīrṣa was the first month of the year, since most of the vibhūtis with which Lord Kṛṣṇa identifies himself are the best in that particular category and as even among Pāṇḍa-vas Arjuna is mentioned, not as first but as the best. Only a few such as *akṣhara* or Dvandva are the first of their respective categories. The Varṣakriyā-kaumudī and Nirṇayasindhu p. 79 say that the Brahmapurāṇa[1019] generally accepts the pūrṇimānta reckoning and that it (N. S.) would deal with tithi-nirṇaya by generally following Brāhmapurāṇa. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa when speaking of Holikā festival on Phālguna Full Moon states that it was the end of Phālguna (Uttara-parva 132. 1). Matsya 159. 3–6 say that Skanda and Viśākha are said to have been born on the 15th of dark half of caitra in a clump of reeds and it is added that the two were made into one by Indra on the 5th of the bright half of caitra and on 6th crowned as commander. It follows that Matsya thinks the month to have been pūrṇimānta.

Something must be said about the 60 year cycle called Bārhaspatya (Jovian). The Viṣṇu-dharmottara[1020] says that the first year called Prabhava of the sixty year cycle began on Māghaśukla when the sun and the moon occupied the nakṣatra Dhaniṣṭhā and were in conjunction with Jupiter. In Bṛhat-saṁhitā 8. 27–52 the *phalas* of the 60 years from Prabhava to Kṣaya are described, as also in Agnipurāṇa chap. 139, while the Viṣṇudharmottara I. 82. 9 ff and Bhaviṣya quoted in Jyotistattva pp. 692–697 enumerate all the 60 by name with their *phalas*. Each year of the Bārhaspatya cycle has the word 'Saṁvatsara' added to it. As *yuga* means five years, the sixty saṁvatsaras of Jupiter are twelve times five and are so described in Bṛ. S. 8. 23–26 and in Viṣṇudharmottara I. 92. 9 and later writers suppose that the saṁvatsaras are affiliated to the lunar

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1019. पौर्णमास्यन्तमासेनैव ब्रह्मपुराणादौ तिथिकृत्यस्य निर्णीतत्वात् । व. क्रि. कौ. p. 499.

1020. माघशुक्लं समारभ्य चन्द्रार्कौ वासवर्क्षगौ । जीवयुक्तौ यदा स्यातां षष्ट्यब्दादिस्तदा स्मृतः । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 82. 8; आद्यं धनिष्ठांशमभिप्रपन्नो माघे यदा यात्युदयं सुरेज्यः । षष्ट्यब्दपूर्वः प्रभवः स नाम्ना प्रपद्यते भूतहितस्तदाब्दः ॥ बृहत्संहिता 8. 27.

year alone[1021]. In the Deccan now (and in older times also) it appears that at the beginning of each year the Jovian name is changed. But in northern India Vijaya is the first year instead of Prabhava. The length of Jupiter's year is 361. 9267 days and is shorter than the sidereal year by 4.23 days. The result is that in 85 sidereal years there are 86 Jovian (or saṁvatsara) years and therefore there is the suppression (kṣaya) of one year after 85 years (which is done only in Northern India).

The Jovian cycle must be an ancient one: some Purāṇas and Varāhamihira speak of it as an established institution. Vide Cunningham's 'eras' pp. 11–25 (60 year cycle) and pp. 26–30 (12 year cycle), Warren's 'Kālasaṅkalita' (pp. 199–216), V. B. Ketkar's work on 'Indian and foreign chronology' pp. 73–82, I. A. vol. 18 pp. 193–209 (Kielhorn) and pp. 221–224 (Fleet) and Gupta Inscriptions, Introduction pp. 169–176 (a note on 12 year cycle and 60 year cycle of Jupiter by Sh. B. Dikshit) for origin and information about the Bārhaspatya cycle and tables. In Malabar and Travancore the Jovian cycle is of twelve years, but it is passed over here for reasons of space.

The names of the 60 Bārhaspatya years are (with some differences such as that Bṛ. S. 8. 35 puts Nata after Subhānu and then brings in Tāraṇa and omits Pārthiva):

1. Prabhava	16. Citrabhānu	31. Hemalambin	46. Paridhāvin
2. Vibhava	17. Subhānu	32. Vilambin	47. Pramādin
3. Śukla	18. Tāraṇa	33. Vikārin	48. Ānanda
4. Pramoda	19. Pārthiva	34. Śārvarin (or Śar)	49. Rākṣasa
5. Prajāpati	20. Vyaya	35. Plava	50. Anala
6. Aṅgiras	21. Sarvajit	36. Subhakṛt	51. Piṅgala
7. Śrīmukha	22. Sarvadhārin	37. Śobhakṛt (Śobhana)	52. Kālayukta
8. Bhāva	23. Virodhin	38. Krodhin	53. Siddhārtha
9. Yuvan	24. Vikṛti	39. Viśvāvasu	54. Raudra
10. Dhātṛ	25. Khara	40. Parābhava	55. Durmati
11. Īśvara	26. Nandana	41. Plavaṅga	56. Dundubhi
12. Bahudhānya	27. Vijaya	42. Kīlaka	57. Rudhirodgārin
13. Pramāthin	28. Jaya	43. Saumya	58. Raktākṣa
14. Vikrama	29. Manmatha	44. Sādhāraṇa	59. Krodhana
15. Vṛṣan	30. Durmukha	45. Virodhakṛt	60. Kṣaya

1021. चान्द्राणां प्रभवादीनां पञ्चके पञ्चके युगे। सम्परीदान्विदित्येतच्छब्दपूर्वास्तु वत्सराः - इति माधवोक्तेरेव मानत्वात्। सकलशिष्टव्यवहारसहकृतादत एव माधववचनाच्चान्द्रविषया एव प्रभवादिसंज्ञा धर्मानुष्ठानोपयोगिन्यो न तु वत्सरान्तरविषया इत्यपि सिद्धम्। स्मृतिकौ. p. 530 (संवत्सरदीधिति); चान्द्राणां...वत्सराः is कालनिर्णयकारिका of माधव verse 13.

The names of the Bārhaspatya years occur rather early in Inscriptions. Among the earliest references are two, one to Siddhārtha-saṁvatsara in the 5th year of the reign of the Cālukya king Maṅgaleśa (I. A 19 p. 1 ff at p. 18) and the other is to Saumya-saṁvatsara in the Alas plate of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda in *Śake* 692 (E. I. vol. VI p. 209). How the saṁvatsara names were supposed to indicate different consequences for the years concerned can be illustrated by citing two verses from the Bṛhatsaṁhitā (8. 28–29) ' when the saṁvatsara Prabhava starts there are drought, strong winds and destruction by fire and also other calamities (like excessive rain, locusts &c.); there are diseases due to phlegm, but still people are not distressed.' The consequences in the next four saṁvatsaras are auspicious, viz. the king rules over a kingdom which is full of paddy, sugarcane and barley and other crops, which is free from dangers, in which there are no hatreds, in which the people are joyous and free from the evil results of kaliyuga (such as *adharma*, poverty, accidental deaths &c.).

The subject of months is one of the most complicated. Indians followed the luni-solar calendar from very ancient times like the Babylonians, Chaldeans, Jews and the Chinese. All had therefore to resort to the device of intercalary months (adhika-māsa or malamāsa). But Indians had rarely a *kṣaya* month also which is absent in the systems of the other peoples. This difference arose owing to the different ways of the calculations of the motions and positions of the sun and moon, in which I do not propose to enter for reasons already stated. But a few words to indicate how an additional month arises may be said here. The solar year exceeds the lunar year by a little over eleven tithis. This excess amounts to one lunar month in about 32 solar months. The Babylonians had a cycle of 19 solar years in which there were 7 intercalary months (i. e. in all 235 lunar months.) The same cycle was called Metonic cycle after Meton, an Athenian, who introduced it in Greece. This cycle is the foundation of the Jewish and Christian calendars, especially so far as Easter is concerned. From the Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa [1022] it appears that in a cycle of five years there were two intercalary

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1022. द्व्यूनं द्विषष्टिभागेन ज्ञेयं सौरं सपार्वणम् । यत्कृतावुपजायेते मध्येऽन्ते चाधिमासकौ ॥ याजुषवेदाङ्गज्योतिष verse 35 (ed. by Sudhakar Dwivedi, Prabhakari Press, Benares, 1906.); एवमर्धतृतीयानामब्दानामधिमासकम् । ग्रीष्मे जनयतः पूर्वं पञ्चाब्दान्ते च पश्चिमम् ॥ अर्थशास्त्र II. 20 p. 109, quoted in कालविवेक p. 113 from ज्योतिःशास्त्र.

months, one being a 2nd Āṣāḍha at the end of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years and the other a second Pauṣa at the end of the *yuga* of five years. Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra merely echoes this. The Pitāmaha-siddhānta provided that an intercalary month was to be added after thirty months.[1023] In the Virāṭaparva[1024] it is said that the period of 13 years (12 years in exile and one year *incognito*) was more than completed by the Pāṇḍavas if the cāndra reckoning were followed, as two months were to be added in five years. The purāṇas and other works give varying periods after which an intercalary month occurs. A few examples may be cited. Viṣṇudharmottara[1025] states that the solar year has eleven days more than the lunar one and that after two years eight months, sixteen days and four ghaṭīs a month has to be added. This is not to be taken literally, otherwise it would have to be held that after four ghaṭikās on 2nd tithi of the dark half of a month an intercalary month has to be added. All that the passage of the Purāṇa does is to indicate the number of days in the lunar reckoning after which an additional month is possible. Similarly, a passage of the Kāṭhakagṛhya[1026] says that in the lunar month in which there is no *saṅkrānti* or there are two saṅkrāntis a month is added after thirty months have expired from a previous intercalary month. This too indicates only a possibility and not a certainty. The Nirṇayāmṛta[1027] declared that a month is added between thirty and thirtysix months. This too is only approximate. A more definite rule is that the lunar month in which no saṅkrānti occurs is called adhika (intercalary) and bears the same name as that of the

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1023. रविशशिनोः पञ्च युगं वर्षाणि पितामहोपदिष्टानि । अधिमासस्त्रिंशद्भिर्मासैरवमो द्विषष्ट्या तु ॥ पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका XII. 1.

1024. पञ्चमे पञ्चमे वर्षे द्वौ मासावुपजायतः । एषामभ्यधिका मासाः पञ्च च द्वादश क्षयाः । त्रयोदशानां वर्षाणामिति मे वर्तते मतिः ॥ विराटपर्व 52. 3-4.

1025. सौरसंवत्सरस्यान्ते मानेन शशिजेन तु । एकादशातिरिच्यन्ते दिनानि भृगुनन्दन ॥ समाद्वये साष्टमासे दिनषोडशकान्विते । नाडीचतुष्टयान्ते तु तस्मान्मासोतिरिच्यते । स चाधिमासकः प्रोक्तः काम्यकर्मसु गर्हितः ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 72. 21-23 q. by हेमाद्रि (काल pp. 27-28); a similar verse is quoted from वसिष्ठसिद्धान्त by हेमाद्रि on काल p. 27 and by स्मृतिच. (on श्रा. p. 371) 'द्वात्रिंशद्भिर्गतैर्मासैर्दिनैः षोडशभिस्तथा । घटिकानां चतुष्केण पतत्यधिकमासकः ।'.

1026. अत एव काठकगृह्ये । यस्मिन्मासे न संक्रान्तिः संक्रान्तिद्वयमेव वा । मलमासः स विज्ञेयो मासे त्रिंशत्तमे भवेत् । ...इदं च सम्भवाभिप्रायं न तु नियतम् । स्मृतिकौ. p. 521 (संवत्सरदीधिति), हेमाद्रि on (काल p. 28) refers to it and स्मृतिच. (on श्राद्ध p. 370) quotes it. समयप्रकाश p. 140 reads 'विज्ञेयो मासः स्यात्तु त्रयोदशः ॥'

1027. त्रिंशत्तमान्मासादूर्ध्वं षट्त्रिंशन्मासात्पूर्वं त्रयोदशो मासो भवतीति नियम इति निर्णयामृतोक्तं चिन्त्यम् । स्मृतिकौ. p. 521 (संवत्सर°).

next lunar month which is called *śuddha* or *nija* or *prākṛta* to distinguish it from the intercalary month or if in one solar month two amāvāsyās[1028] end then there is an adhikamāsa or malamāsa. That lunar month in which two saṅkrāntis occur gets two names of which the first is retained and the second is suppressed (i. e. this second becomes a *kṣaya* māsa). This means that a kṣaya māsa occurs when there are two saṅkrāntis in a month. That lunar month in which the sun enters Meṣa sign is called Caitra, that in which he enters Vṛṣabha is called Vaiśākha and so on.[1029]

One or two points more about *adhika* and *kṣaya* months may be mentioned. The seven months from Phālguna to Āśvina can become only *adhika* but never *kṣaya*. Kārtika and Mārgaśīrṣa may become both Adhika and Kṣaya, but rarely; Māgha can become adhika but it has never been adhika or kṣaya (vide Ketkar's work p. 40). But the Śuddhikaumudī says that Māgha was a kṣaya month in śake 1397;[1030] and the Malamāsatattva quotes a text to the effect that Māgha may be an intercalary month, but Pauṣa never. About Pauṣa, Mr. V. B. Ketkar (in 'Indian and foreign chronology' p. 40) says that Pauṣa has almost no chance of becoming *adhika*, but has greater chance of becoming *kṣaya* than Mārgaśīrṣa' (but see a little below). A kṣaya month is generally preceded and followed, though not immediately, by an adhika month, so that there are two adhika months when a kṣaya month occurs in some years. The Siddhānta-śiromaṇi states that one out of the three months only viz. Kārtika, Mārgaśīrṣa and Pauṣa can be kṣayamāsa and that when a kṣaya

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1028. एकराशिस्थिते सूर्ये यदा दर्शद्वयं भवेत् । हव्यकव्यक्रियाहन्ता तदा ज्ञेयोधिमासकः ॥ भृगु quoted by हेमाद्रि on काल p. 36; समयप्रकाश p. 140, which explains दर्शद्वयं as दर्शान्तद्वयम्; असंक्रान्तमासोऽधिमासः स्फुटः स्याद् द्विसंक्रान्तिमासः क्षयाख्यः कदाचित् । क्षयः कार्तिकादित्रये नान्यतः स्यात्तदा वर्षमध्येऽधिमासद्वयं च ॥ सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि (ग्रहगणिते मध्यमाधिकार verse 6) q. by हेमाद्रि on काल p. 28, शु. कौ. p. 272 (reads अन्यदा), नि. सि. p. 5, समयप्रकाश p. 142 (explains स्फुटः स्फुटमानागतः). Vide करणकल्पलता verse 23 p. 28 ' असंक्रमस्तूत्तरमासनामा द्विसंक्रमः स्यात्प्रथमाभिधो हि । असंक्रमः स्यान्मलमाससंज्ञो द्विसंक्रमो यः स भवेत्क्षयाख्यः ॥ '.

1029. मेषगरविसंक्रान्तिः शशिमासे यत्र तच्चैत्रम् । एवं वैशाखाद्या वृषादिसंक्रान्तियोगेन ॥ ब्रह्मगुप्त q. by शुद्धिकौमुदी p. 255, समयप्रकाश 141 (explains ' शुद्धमासाभिप्रायेण प्रायिकं न तु मुख्यं मलमासाव्यापकत्वात्); चैत्रम् is explained as चैत्र एव चैत्रं स्वार्थे अन् दैवतादिशब्दवत् । क्वचित्स्वार्थिकप्रत्यया लिङ्गमतिवर्तन्ते ॥

1030. कार्तिकादित्रये इति प्रायिकदर्शनं सप्तनवत्यधिकत्रयोदशशतशकाब्दे माघे क्षयमासदर्शनात् । शु. कौ. p. 272; 'दशानां फाल्गुनादीनां प्रायो माघस्य च क्वचित् । नपुंसकत्वं भवति न पौषस्य कदाचन ॥ नपुंसकत्वं मलमासत्वम् । ' मलमासतत्त्व p. 774.

māsa occurs there is an adhikamāsa before and after it within three months (Grahagaṇita, Madhyamādhikāra, verse 6, explanation). The curious reader may consult pp. 246–251 of the C. R. C. Report for light on the intercalary months. The Siddhānta-śiromaṇi[1031] mentions some śaka years in which kṣaya-māsa occurred or would occur, viz. in śaka year 974 (expired) occurred a kṣaya month and a kṣaya month will occur in śaka 1115, śaka 1256, śaka 1378 and a kṣaya month generally occurs after 141 years and rarely in 19 years. In No. 1387 in the list of Inscriptions by D. R. Bhandarkar there is a reference to the 2nd tithi of the bright half of the first[1032] Pauṣa (dated saṁvat 34, probably of Harṣa era); for a reference to 2nd Āṣāḍha see Sohawal plate of Śarvanātha in year 191 (probably Gupta) in E. I. vol. 19 at p. 130; for 2nd Pauṣa Jesar plate of Śilāditya in 357 Valabhi era in E. I. vol. 22 p. 120 may be seen.

The rules about what religious acts should be done or not done in an intercalary month will be dealt with a little later. The Śāntiparva refers to the kṣaya of saṁvatsaras, months, pakṣas and divasas (tithis)[1033]. When there is a kṣayamāsa, the adhikamāsa before it is like all ordinary māsas i. e. there is no prohibition of doing religious acts in it, but the adhikamāsa that follows a kṣayamāsa is the one that is declared unsuitable for religious rites. Adhikamāsa and kṣayamāsa may be illustrated by one example for each. Suppose that there was Meṣa saṅkrānti on Caitra amāvāsyā, that from the first tithi following the amāvāsyā to the next amāvāsyā (which is Vaiśākha) there

1031. गतेऽब्ध्यद्रिनन्दैर्मिते शाककाले तिथीशैर्भविष्यत्यथाङ्गाक्षसूर्यैः । गजाद्र्यग्निभूभिस्तथा प्रायशोऽयं कुवेदेन्दुभिः स्यात् क्वचिद्गोकुभिश्च ॥ सि. शि (ग्रहगणित, मध्यमाधिकार verse 7) q. by नि. सि. 10, समयप्रकाश p. 142.

1032. मेषादिस्थे सवितरि यो यो मासः प्रपूर्यते चान्द्रः । चैत्राद्यः स ज्ञेयः पूर्तिद्वित्वेऽधिमासोन्त्यः ॥ q. by स्मृतिकौ. p. 522. This verse is quoted by Bapudevashāstri (editor of सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि p. 49 note) as from ब्रह्मसिद्धान्त. The 4th pāda lays down that if there are two saṅkrāntis in one lunar month an intercalary month is required and that the intercalary is the latter of the two. There were two methods of naming adhimāsa; one was to give to the adhimāsa the name of the next following month; the second was to give to an adhimāsa the name of the preceding month; in these days it is the first method that is followed. The कालनिर्णयकारिका 18 says 'चान्द्रोधिमासोऽसंक्रान्तः सोन्तर्भवति चोत्तरे ॥'; हे. on काल p. 32 says 'अधिमासस्योत्तरमासपूर्वार्धत्वादुत्तरमाससंज्ञा'. Vide App. to E. I. vol. XIX–XXIII for first Pauṣa.

1033. क्षयं संवत्सराणां च मासानां च क्षयं तथा । पक्षक्षयं तथा दृष्ट्वा दिवसानां च संक्षयम् । क्षयं वृद्धिं च चन्द्रस्य दृष्ट्वा प्रत्यक्षतस्तथा ॥ शान्ति 301. 46–47.

is no saṅkrānti and then Vṛṣabha saṅkrānti occurs on the 1st tithi thereafter; the month that had no saṅkrānti would be *adhika* Vaiśākha and the month on which Vṛṣabha saṅkrānti takes place would be the śuddha (proper) Vaiśākha. Now as to *kṣaya māsa*; suppose that there is Kanyā saṅkrānti on Bhādrapada amāvāsyā, then there is adhika Āśvina followed by Śuddha Āśvina, on the first tithi of which there is Tulā saṅkrānti, then on Kārtika-śukla 1st there is Vṛścika saṅkrānti, then on Mārgaśīrṣa-śukla pratipad there is Dhanus saṅkrānti and in the same month on amāvāsyā there is Makara saṅkrānti. Then that month having two saṅkrāntis (Dhanus and Makara) would be called kṣayamāsa and so there would be one month Pauṣa (constituted by two months, Mārgaśīrṣa and Pauṣa). Then on Māgha amāvāsyā there is Kumbha saṅkrānti, then Phālguna would be *adhika māsa* and there would be Mīnasaṅkrānti on śuddha Phālguna-śukla pratipad. Thus in the year in which there is a kṣayamāsa, there are still 13 months and the days of the year amount to some days less then 390.

The four kinds of months, Cāndra, Saura, Sāvana and Nākṣatra [1034] have already been described (p. 657) when speaking of the Cāndra and other years. As observed by the Kṛtyaratnākara (p. 80) the nākṣatra month is not required in Dharmaśāstra, but is known only in Jyotiṣa-śāstra. Pañcāṅgas are generally prepared for each year. They contain separate [1034a] pages for the two pakṣas (fortnights) of each of the twelve months (or 13 months if there be an intercalary month). The five important parts of the Indian calendar are [1035] *tithi*, week day, *nakṣatra*, *yoga* and *karaṇa*. The Muhūrtadarśana [1036] says that

1034. मासास्तु सावनः सौरश्चान्द्रो नाक्षत्र इत्यपि । दर्शान्तः पूर्णिमान्तो वा चान्द्रोऽसौ विप्रवैश्ययोः । ···सौरो राज्ञः सावनस्तु यज्ञे ज्यौतिषिकेऽपरः ॥ कालनिर्णयकारिका 16-17; आयुर्दायाद्यावपरो नाक्षत्र इत्यर्थः ।

1034a. The accompanying printed page is from the reformed calendar prepared according to the Karaṇakalpalatā and used by some people in Mahārāṣṭra. It may be compared with an extract of one fortnight from a pañcāṅga 223 years earlier than the one for śake 1878. It will be found that the fundamental contents are the same in both.

1035. न च तिथिनक्षत्रयोगकरणानां पञ्चाङ्गान्तःपातिनां निर्णयं कृत्वा तदन्तःपाती शास्त्रीयकर्मोपयोगी वारः कुत उपेक्षित इति शङ्कनीयम् । अहोरात्रपरिमितत्वेन वासरे सन्देहाभावात् । कालनिर्णय p. 331.

1036. नक्षत्रवारतिथयः करणानि योगाः पञ्चाङ्गमेतदथ राशियुतं षडङ्गम् । सप्ताङ्गमित्यभिहितं ग्रहयुक्तमेतद्वर्गोत्तमो निजनिजो भवने नवांशः ॥ मुहूर्तदर्शन I. 44.

An old Pañcaṅga of Śake 1665 (Madhu = Caitra month)



शके १८७८ दुर्मुखनाम० चैत्र शुक्लपक्षः													दि. र. उ.	र. अ.	दि क्र.	चंद्रः	इं.	संवत् २०१२ सन १९५६ मार्च
१	मं	३०	४४	उ	३५	९	शु	२३	२०	किं	१	२१/५२	६.५०	६.४७	१	मीन	१३	**ध्वजारोपणं वत्सरारंभःचंद्रदर्शनंमु.** ३० कल्पादि*
२	बु	२९	२६	रे	३५	२६	ब्र	२९	२४	बा	०	५५	६.४९	६.४७	२	३५/२६ नं. मे.	१४	मृत्यु ३५/२६ नं. बुधास्त पूर्वे दग्ध २९/२६ नं.
३	गु	२७	१९	अ	३४	५४	ऐं	२४	४२	ग	२७	५८	६.४९	६.४७	३	मेष	१५	**गौरी तृतीया** मत्स्यजयंती मन्वादि भ. प्र. ५५/५३
४	शु	२४	२८	भ	३३	३७	वै	१९	४५	वि	२५	३०/०	६.४८	६.४८	४	४८/१० नं. वृ.	१६	**विनायकी चतुर्थी** भ. नि. २४/२८ घबाड २४/२८ नं. ३३/३७
५	श	२०	५७	कृ	३१	४९	वि	१४	७	बा	२१	३	६.४७	६.४८	५	वृषभ	१७	कल्पादि अमृत ३१/४९ नं.
६	र	१७	१	रो	२९	२८	प्री	८	४	तै	१७	६	६.४६	६.४९	६	५८/२ नं. मि.	१८	घबाड १७/१ [*साम्यार्धे उत्तराभाद्रपदार्कः ९/०
७	चं	१२	३४	मृ	२६	३७	आ	१/५३	३८/१०	व	१३	९	६.४५	६.४९	७	मिथुन	१९	**दुर्गाष्टमी** भ. प्र. १२/३४ नि. ४०/४ अमृत २६/३७
८	मं	७	३५	आ	२३	२२	शो	४७	३५	ब	८	११	६.४४	६.४९	८	मिथुन	२०	**श्रीरामजयंती** वसंते मधुमासारंभः ३५/२४ यमघंट २३/२२
९	बु	२/५४	१३/१६	पु	१९	४३	अ	४०	६	कौ	२	१४	६.४४	६.४९	९	५/३८ नं. कर्क	२१	[♆ २३/३५ नि. ५०/४१
११	गु	५०	४१	पु	१५	४६	सु	३२	३९	व	२४	१७	६.४३	६.५०	१०	कर्क	२२	**कामदा स्मार्त एकादशी** गुरुपुष्यामृत १५/४६ भ. प्र. ♆
१२	शु	४४	४८	आ	११	४४	धृ	२४	५२	ब	१८	१९	६.४२	६.५०	११	११/४४ नं. सिंह	२३	**भागवत एकादशी** घबाड ११/४४ मृत्यु ११/४४ मीनेज्ञः १/३५
१३	श	३९	१५	म	९	४९	शू	१७	२०	कौ	१२	२२	६.४१	६.५०	१२	सिंह	२४	**शनिप्रदोषः** घबाड ४९ नं.
१४	र	३४	१८	पू	४	१४	गं	१०	१०	ग	७	२५	६.४०	६.५०	१३	१९/३२ नं. क.	२५	वृषभे शुक्रः ६/५ भ. प्र. ३४/१८ [+/+ अन्वाधानं भ. नि. २/४१
१५	चं	३०	१८	उ	१/५८	२७/१५	वृ	३/५४	४१/२२	वि	३	३०/२७	६.३९	६.५०	१४	कन्या	२६	**हनुमज्जयंती** मन्वादि वैशाखस्नानारंभः रेवत्यर्कः ३४+/४३+

उदगयनं वसंततुः मधुमासः

र	चं	मं	बु	गु	शु	श	रा	ह	ने
११	५	८	११	४	१	७	७	३	६
१६	९	२७	५	३	०	१३	२२	९	१०
६	३९	५२	२१	१	५८	२४	१९	०	२५
५	५६	१७	४४	१३	२७	१९	१४	२०	१४
५९/२१	८०४/०	३९/०	१११/२	४ व ०	६४/०	१ व ५८	३/११	० व ०	१ व ५८
शर	द ४ ४७	द ० १८	द २ ४	उ १ १	उ २ १७	उ २ १०		उ ० ३५	उ १ ४७

अ. १ चैत्र शु. १५ चंद्रे

अयनांश १९।१५।३७

१   ११
के २   १२ रा. बु.   १०
शु.
३   ९ मं.
४ ह   ६ चं.   ८
५ गु.   ७ ने.   श.

it may have six parts if the signs of the zodiac are given and seven if the positions of the planets are mentioned. Vāra (weekday) is the period of time between one sunrise and the next and not much will have to be said about it except about the origin of week days. A great deal has already been said about tithis and nakṣatras. What remains to be said about these, if at all, and the treatment of Yoga and Karaṇa will be dealt with later on. We must revert to the topic of nakṣatras.

The names of the twelve solar months distributed two each among six seasons are very ancient, They occur in the Taittirīya-saṁhitā IV. 3. 11. 1, Vāj. S. 13. 25. They are Madhu, Mādhava, Śukra, Śuci, Nabhas, Nabhasya, Iṣa, Ūrja, Sahas, Sahasya, Tapas and Tapasya[1037]. In the Brāhmaṇas we meet with months (lunar) named from nakṣatras It is therefore that some works speak of *ṛtus* (seasons) as of two kinds, viz. Saura and Cāndra. The former begin either with Mīnarāśi or Meṣarāśī, while the latter are called Caitra and the rest.[1038] The name of the nakṣatra is often formed into a derivative and joined to the word Paurṇamāsī, Pūrṇamāsa or Amāvāsyā and sometimes the names of the months such as Phālguna and Caitra occur in the Brāhmaṇas (vide note 1015 above).[1039]

Pāṇini derives the names of the months like Caitra from Paurṇamāsī and expressly names the Āgrahāyaṇī (IV. 2. 22), Phālgunī, Śravaṇā, Kārtikī and Caitrī (IV. 2. 23). 'Paurṇamāsī' itself is derived from Pūrṇamāsa by the Vārtika 2 on Pāṇini IV. 2. 35. The Full Moon tithi which has Puṣya nakṣatra is called Pauṣī by the sūtras (Pān. IV. 2. 3 and IV. 2. 21). Thus there were three stages; first the 27 nakṣatras were distinguished and named in the very ancient Vedic saṁhitās, then the Full Moon day was called Caitrī Paurṇamāsī (and so on) because on that tithi the Moon was in Citrā nakṣatra and so on; then

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1037. वायुपुराण (chap. 50, verse 202) enumerates these twelve months. The gṛhyasūtras employ the saura month names; vide p. 610 above about the months for marriage. They occur in inscriptions also as the month ' Sahasya ' and ' Tapasya ' in the Mandasor Inscription of 493 and 529 of the Mālava era (Gupta Inscriptions p. 79 ff).

1038. वसन्ताद्यृतवो द्वेधा चान्द्राः सौराश्च चान्द्रकाः । चैत्राद्या ह्यथ मीनाद्या मेषाद्या वा विवस्वतः ॥ कालनिर्णयकारिका 15.

1039. नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः । पा. IV. 2. 3; सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति । पा. IV. 2. 21; पूर्णमासादण् । वार्तिक 2 on पा. IV. 2. 35. The महाभाष्य explains 'पूर्णमासो वर्ततेऽस्मिन् काले पौर्णमासी तिथिः'.

the months were called Caitra, Vaiśākha &c. because they had Caitrī or Vaiśākhī Paurṇamāsī in it. All this occurred long before Pāṇini. Later the saura names Madhu, Mādhava &c. came to be identified with lunar months Caitra, Vaiśākha &c. and became synonyms. When this occurred it is difficult to say. But it is much older than the Christian era. It must be long before Kālidāsa, who in his Meghadūta first speaks of Āṣāḍha and then refers to the next month Śrāvaṇa as Nabhas. Often on the Full Moon day the Moon might not actually be in or very near Citrā or Śravaṇa nakṣatra but that did not matter; the month would still be called Caitra or Śrāvaṇa as the case may be.[1040]

It has already been shown that in ancient Brāhmaṇa times the months ended with the Full Moon (i. e. were pūrṇimānta). When foreigners like Kaniṣka and Huviṣka ruled over Northern India they stuck to the Pūrṇimānta Indian months in their records, though here and there they employ Macedonian month names. For example, the Greek month Gurppiya is used in Huviṣka's reign (28th year) in the Mathurā Brāhmī Inscription and the Greek month[1041] Artemisios also occurs. In the Zeda Inscription the month must be held to be pūrṇimānta as the nakṣatra Uttarāphalgunī is there said to have occurred on the 20th day of Āṣāḍha.[1042] The Tekkali plates of Devendravarman record a grant on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the 30th day of Māgha.[1043] Similarly, in the Lodhia plates of Śivagupta

1040. मेषादिस्थे सवितरि यो यो दर्शः प्रवर्तते। चान्द्रमासास्तत्तदन्ताश्चैत्राद्या द्वादश स्मृताः॥ तेषु या या पौर्णमासी सा सा चैत्र्यादिका स्मृता। कादाचित्केन योगेन नक्षत्रस्येति निर्णयः॥ q. by हरदत्त on गौतमधर्मसूत्र 16. 1, who explains 'तदेवं सिंहस्थे सवितरि या अमावास्या तदन्ते चान्द्रमसे मासि पौर्णमासी सा श्रवणा श्रावणीति चोच्यते। श्रवणयोगस्तु भवतु मा वा भूत्।'. Mr. Tarakeśvara Bhattacharya in his paper on 'History of ancient Indian Astronomy' in J. of Gaṅganatha Jha Research Institute, vol. XI-XII (1953-55) at p. 17 quotes as from अमरसिंह the verse 'पुष्ययुक्ता पौर्णमासी पौषी मासे तु यत्र सा॥ नाम्ना स पौषो माघाद्याश्चैवमेकादशापरे॥'. It appears that क्षीरस्वामी does not accept this verse as the original verse of Amara, but only as a variant reading. Mr. Bhattacharya seems to be unaware of this. The महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 5 on पा. IV. 2. 3 says 'पुष्यसमीपगते चन्द्रमसि वक्तारो भवन्ति पुष्येणाद्य मघाभिरद्येति।'.

1041. Vide E. I. vol. 21 p. 56 at p. 60 for the first and C. I. I. vol. II p. 170 for the second written as 'Arthamisiya' on the Wardak vase of the year 51.

1042. E. I. vol. 19 p. 1 at p. 15 = C. I. I. vol. II. p. 145 'Saṁ 10 1 Ashadasa Masasa 20, Uttaraphagune.'

1043. I. H. Q., vol. XI p. 300 at 302.

Bālārjuna of Kośala (i. e. Chhattisgarh region) published in E. I. vol. 27 p. 319 the date ' Sambatsare sapta pañcāśattame Kārtika-porṇamāsyām aṅkena saṁvat 57, Kārtika-dina 30 ' (p. 325) shows that the month was pūrṇimānta. The Rājataraṅgiṇī[1044] says that king Harirāja came to the throne at the beginning of Āṣāḍha in the 4th year (of the Laukika era), who ruled only for twenty-two days and died on 8th of the bright half of Śuci (i. e. Āṣāḍha) and thereby shows that the month was pūrṇimānta in Kāshmir then as now.

Though inscriptions before the Christian era rarely mentioned the names of months (such as Kārtika 14th in the Kharoṣṭhī Inscription of the Greek king Menander,[1045] 2nd century B. C.), the usual mode is to mention the ṛtu (season), then the number of the month (and not name) in the season and then divasa, e. g. vide the seven inscriptions from[1046] Mathurā and the Sarnath Inscription of Mahārāja Kaniṣka.[1047] In some inscriptions only the *ṛtu* (season), the number of the pakṣa and the day occur ; vide Nāgārjunikoṇḍa[1048] Ins. (3rd century A. D.), the Omgudu grant of Vijayaskandavarman (E. I. 15 p. 252 ' Hemantapakṣe tṛtīye trayodaśyām '), the Nāga image Ins. of Kaniṣka's time (E. I. 17 p. 11) in sa. (Saṁvat) 8, grī. 4, di (divasa) 5. Vide also Lüder's list No. 922 and No. 1202 (the latter of Māḍhariputa Purisadata, samvachhare 20, Vāsāpakham 8, divasam 10). Sometimes the month is mentioned but no pakṣa and the days are counted continuously from 1 to 30 e. g. Khoh plates of Mahārāja Jayanātha (in year 177 and 22nd day of Caitra) and Khoh plate of Śarvanātha in year 193 month Caitra day 10th without the mention of the fortnight (vide Gupta Inscriptions pp. 121 and 125), E. I. vol. 20 p. 59 at p. 63 (*saṁ.* 159, apparently of the Gupta era, Māgha di. 7), E. I. 19 p. 96 (the Mathurā pedestal Ins. of Kushāṇa year 14 in Pauṣamāsa

1044. स चतुर्थसमाषाढप्रारम्भाहे महीपतिः । हरिराजाभिधं पुत्रमभिषिच्यास्तमाययौ ॥ ...द्वाविंशतिमहान्युर्वीं स रक्षित्वा क्षमापतिः । क्षयं ययौ शुचियशाः शुचिशुक्लाष्टमीदिने ॥ राजतरङ्गिणी VII verses 127 and 131.

1045. Vide E. I. vol. 24 pp. 1–8, for the Bajaur casket Inscription of Minadra,

1046. E. I. vol. 19 p. 65 (seven Ins. from Mathurā) at p. 66 ' सं ११ ग्रु २ दि १०. '

1047. E. I. vol. 8 at p. 176. ' सं ३ हे ३ दि २२ ' (Sarnath Ins. of Kaniṣka).

1048. E. I. vol. 20 p. 16 रञो सिरिवीरपुरिसदतस सव ६ वा प ६ दिव १०; *ibid.* at p. 21 संवच्छरं अठार सं १०८ हेमन्तपखं छठं ६ दिवसं पञ्चमं.

divasa 10), Gupta Ins. of Gupta year 129 in Jyeṣṭha-māsa di. 18 (Gupta Inscriptions p. 45 at p. 46). The non-mention of the pakṣa and the continuous counting of days from 1 to 30 continued even in the 9th century, vide Kota Inscription of Sāmanta Devadatta (I. A. 14 p. 351) of *saṁvat* 879 (923 A. D.) Māgha śu. 20. It may be noted that here the month is pūrṇimānta. In modern times people use such abbreviations as *su di* or *va di* or *vadya*. The first is abridged from *śukla dina* (or *divasa*) or *śuddha dina* and the latter from *bahula-dina* or *divasa* (*va* and *ba* being often interchangeable). For 'bahula', vide E. I. vol. 16, p. 236 at p. 238 (inscription of Rudrasena in the year 127 held to be of the śaka era), Rudradāman's Junagadh inscription in the year 72 (150 A. D.) of Mārgaśīrṣa, bahula-pratipad (Lüder's list No. 965 and E. I. vol. VIII. p. 36 at p. 40), Udayagiri cave inscription in Gupta era 106 (425-26 A. D.) 'bahuladine' (Gupta inscriptions p. 258). For *śukla*, vide Gupta Inscriptions pp. 95, 102, 114 and for *śuddha*, vide the Nasik cave inscription in the year 42 of the reign of Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna, where we have 'Kātikaśudhe' (in E. I. VIII at p. 82) and Pardi plates of Dahrasena in Kalacuri year 207 (i. e. 455–56 A. D.) in C. I. I. vol. IV pp. 22, 24 (Vaiśākha-śuddha-trayodaśyām); for *su di*, vide E. I. 17 p. 110 (of the Valabhi year 106, 525–26 A. D.). For '*ba di*' vide JBBRAS (New Series) vol. I. p. 66 'Bhādrapada *ba* 13' in Valabhi year 210 and E. I. 19 p. 126 plate of Dhruvasena (in Valabhi year 210 Bhādrapada ba di 9). It may be noted that '*sudi*' and '*vadi*' are treated as indeclinables (*avyaya*) and included in the 'svarādigaṇa' ('svarādinipātamavyayam' Pāṇ. I. 1. 37) by later grammatical writers. The Kāśikā, however, does not include these two in the 'svarādi-gaṇa' which is an *ākṛtigaṇa* and therefore liable to be added to. 'Vadya' is inexplicable except as an attempt to have some word with some assonance of sound parallel to śuddha and related to '*va di*'. It is not clear why the word 'pakṣa' is not used in many inscriptions before and after the Christian era even though the word *pakṣa* occurs in such ancient works as the Brāhmaṇas[1049] and Upaniṣads. The Chāndogya-Upaniṣad (IV. 15. 5 and V. 10. 1), the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad VI. 2. 15–16 employ the words 'āpūryamāṇa-pakṣa' (also 'pūrvapakṣa' and 'aparapakṣa' in Bṛ Up.

1049. तेषां पूर्वपक्षे सुत्या सम्पद्यते। ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण V. 9. 14; तं पूर्वपक्षे याजयेत् वसीयानेव भवति। यं कामयेत पापीयान्स्यादिति तमपरपक्षे याजयेत्। पापीयानेव भवति। तस्मात्पूर्वपक्षोऽपरपक्षात् करुण्यतरः॥ तै. ब्रा. II. 2. 3. 1.

III. 1. 5) and 'apakṣīyamāṇapakṣa' (and also 'aparapakṣa' for 'bahula' or 'kṛṣṇa'). Pāṇini derives the word 'pakṣati' (meaning the first tithi of a pakṣa) from the word 'pakṣa' (V. 2. 25 'pakṣāt-tiḥ').

In South India months are known by the rāśi names (such as Mīna-māsa, Meṣa-māsa). That practice prevailed in the Pāṇḍya country long ago. Vide E. I. vol. 25 p. 35 where a solar eclipse is said to have occurred in the month of Mithuna in the 12th year of a Pāṇḍya king (about 959 A. D.)

The intercalary month is called adhimāsa, malamāsa, malimluca, saṁsarpa, aṁhaspati or aṁhasaspati, puruṣottamamāsa. These words require some brief explanation. In the first place, it may be noted that from very ancient times the 13th month was condemned. For example, the Ait. Br. says that the gods purchased soma plant from the 13th month and that one who sells soma plant is sinful, that the 13th month does not exist as a favourable period.[1050] In Tai. S. the 13th month is called 'saṁsarpa' and 'aṁhaspati' (I. 4. 14. 1 and VI. 5. 3. 4). 'Aṁhas' means 'sin' in the Ṛgveda. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 6. It is called adhimāsa because it is an[1051] additional (*adhika*) month. It is named malamāsa because this month is as it were the dirt or refuse of time.[1052] The word *malimluca* is found in the Atharvaveda VIII. 6.2 but its meaning is doubtful. It is also found in the Kāṭhakasaṁhitā. In later literature 'malimluca' means[1053] 'a thief'. In Ṛgveda X. 136.2 ('munayo vātaraśanāḥ piśaṅgā vasate malā', sages sons of Vātaraśana, cover themselves with brown dirty clothes), the word mala

1050. तं त्रयोदशान्मासादक्रीणंस्तस्मात्त्रयोदशो मासो नानुविद्यते न वै सोमविक्रय्यनुविद्यते पापो हि सोमविक्रयी। ऐ. ब्रा. III. 1 q. by मलमासतत्त्व p. 783 and explained 'यतोधिमासः सोमविक्रयी अतोऽसौ इतरमासवन्नानुविद्यते विद्यमानोपि कर्मानर्हत्वादसन्निवेत्यर्थः।' and सायण explains 'नानुविद्यते शुभकर्मानुकूलो नास्ति।'

1051. चैत्रादिनामकद्वादशमासेभ्योऽतिरिक्तत्वादधिकत्वादधिमासः। com. लक्ष्मी on कालनिर्णयकारिका 18.

1052. मलं वदन्ति कालस्य मासं कालविदोऽधिकम्। नेहेतात्र विशेषेज्यामन्यत्रावश्यकाद्दते (v. l. द्विधेः)॥ गृह्यपरिशिष्ट q. by स्मृतिच. (on श्रा. p. 371), हे. on काल p. 28' शु. कौ. pp. 274, 278, का. वि. p. 129.

1053. मलिम्लुचो नामासि त्रयोदशो मास इन्द्रस्य शर्मासि। काठक. 38.14 (161); मलमासतत्त्व p. 768 quotes लघुहारीत 'तमतिक्रम्य तु रविर्यदा गच्छेत्कथंचन। आद्यो मलिम्लुचो ज्ञेयो द्वितीयः प्रकृतः स्मृतः।' and adds 'मली सन् म्लोचति गच्छतीति मलिम्लुचः।'. मलिम्लुचोसि सगर इत्यासादमच्छावाकस्य। शां. श्रौ. सू. VI. 12. 15, explained in the भाष्य as 'मलिम्लुचोसीत्येवमादिना मन्त्रेणासावमच्छावाकस्योपतिष्ठन्ते।'

appears to mean 'soiled or dirty clothes'. The word 'malimluca' occurs in Vāj. S. 22. 30, Śāṅkhāyana-śrautasūtra VI. 12. 15. The Malamāsatattva derives the word as follows: 'being *mali* (soiled) it passes on'. The words 'saṁsarpa' and 'aṁhasaspati' occur in Vāj. S. 22. 30 and 31[1054] respectively, and 'aṁhasaspati' in Vāj. S. 7. 31 after the mantras referring to the twelve *saura* months, Madhu, Mādhava &c. The Tai. S. (I. 4. 14. 1 and VI. 5. 3. 4) has the formula 'saṁsarposyahaṁ-spataye tvā'.[1055] 'Aṁhaspati' literally means 'the lord of sins or evil' (i. e. a condemned month). Later medieval writers make a distinction[1056] between 'saṁsarpa' and 'aṁhaspati'. When there are in one year two adhimāsas and a *kṣaya* māsa, the first of the two adhimāsas is called 'saṁsarpa' and it is not condemned for all religious matters but only for marriages, such sacrifices as Agniṣṭoma, festivals (that are not obligatory) and auspicious rites of children (such as 'nāmakaraṇa'). The name aṁhaspati is confined to *kṣayamāsa*. The intercalary month is called Puruṣottama-māsa (Viṣṇu being called Puruṣottama) in some of the Purāṇas as in Padma VI. 64, probably with the purpose of reducing the opprobrium that attached to an intercalary month.

In the Dharmaśāstra Literature considerable space is devoted to the intercalary month e. g. in the Agnipurāṇa 175. 29–30, the Rājamārtaṇḍa (folios 68a–69, verses 1078–1115), Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana pp. 113–168, Hemādri on Kāla pp. 26–66, Kālanirṇaya of Mādhava, Madanapārijāta pp. 544–550, Śuddhikaumudī pp. 265–296, Malamāsatattva (Jivananda ed.) pp. 736–856, Samayaprakāśa pp. 140–155 (part of Vīramitrodaya), Nirṇayasindhu pp. 9–17, Smṛtikaustubha (saṁvatsaradīdhiti) pp. 520–529, Dharmasindhu pp. 4–7, Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi pp. 17–31. A brief treatment is all that can be attempted here.

1054. उपयामगृहीतोऽस्यंहस्पतये त्वा। वाज. सं. VII. 30; मधवे स्वाहा माधवाय स्वाहा ... तपस्याय स्वाहांहसस्पतये स्वाहा। वाज. सं. XXII, 31.

1055. उपयामगृहीतोस्यंहस्पत्याय त्वेत्याह। अस्ति त्रयोदशो मास इत्याहुस्तमेव तत् प्रीणाति। तै. सं. VI. 5. 3. 4.

1056. यस्मिन्मासे न संक्रातिः संक्रान्तिद्वयमेव वा। संसर्पांहस्पती मासावधिमासश्च निन्दितः॥ बार्हस्पत्यज्योतिर्ग्रन्थ q. by हे. on काल p. 30, समयप्रकाश p. 143. असंक्रान्तावेकवर्षे द्वौ चेत्संसर्प आदिमः। क्षयमासो द्विसंक्रान्तः स चांहस्पतिसंज्ञकः॥ का. नि. कारिका 19. The लक्ष्मी comments 'उत्तरस्त्वेवाधिमासः पूर्वस्त्वसंक्रान्तोऽपि नाधिमासः किं तु संसर्प इति'।; the शुद्धिकौमुदी remarks 'अत एव कर्मणे सम्यक् सर्पतीति संसर्पसंज्ञापि तस्य वक्ष्यते। अयं च मासः क्षयमासाधिकरणसंवत्सर एव भवति।' p. 271; यद्वर्षमध्येऽधिकमासयुग्मं तत्कार्तिकादित्रितये क्षयाख्ये (v. l. क्षयाख्यम्)। मासत्रयं त्याज्यमिदं प्रयत्नाद्विवाहयज्ञोत्सवमङ्गलेषु॥ q. by हे. (on काल) p. 34, मलमासतत्त्व p. 782, समयप्रकाश p. 144 (reads क्षयाख्यः).

The Agnipurāṇa provides:[1057] one should avoid in an intercalary month the performance of the following acts, viz. of consecration of Vedic fires, the establishment of images, sacrifices, religious gifts, vratas, the recitation of the Veda after undertaking it, observance of certain *niyamas* such as mahānāmnī, the letting loose of a bull (after sapiṇḍana), tonsure of a child, *upanayana*, rites such as the saṁskāras of nāmakaraṇa, inauguration of a king. Long lists of what may or may not be done in an intercalary month occur in many works such as in Hemādri on Kāla pp. 36–66, Nirṇayasindhu pp. 10–15, Dharmasindhu pp. 5-7. It would be enough if some general provisions are stated. The general[1058] rule is that one should perform obligatory acts and acts prescribed on certain occasions even in an intercalary month. For example, one must perform even in an intercalary month daily sandhyā worship, the five daily Mahāyajñas (such as Brahmayajña, Vaiśvadeva), the offering into fire (as an *agnihotrin*) and must take a bath if there is an eclipse (in adhimāsa), although this is *naimittika*; so also one must perform the funerary rites after a relative's death even if the death takes place in an adhimāsa (this also is *naimittika*). But an obligatory rite should not be performed in adhimāsa if śāstra allows its postponement, e. g. Soma sacrifice. The general rule is that no kāmya rite (not obligatory, but to be performed for securing some object or result) is to be performed in adhimāsa. There are exceptions to this also if a certain religious rite is begun before an adhimāsa falls (such as a Prājāpatya penance for twelve days or a cāndrāyaṇa penance for a month) it may be continued even in adhimāsa. If there is drought and one desires to perform the *Kārīrī iṣṭi* for bringing down rain, this may be done even in adhimāsa, since to wait might defeat the

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1057. अग्न्याधेयं प्रतिष्ठां च यज्ञदानव्रतानि च। वेदव्रतवृषोत्सर्गचूडाकरणमेखलाः। माङ्गल्यमभिषेकं च मलमासे विवर्जयेत्॥ अग्निपु० 175. 29–30 (reads देवव्रत) q. by शु. कौ. p. 283 (without name). This is cited by हे. (on काल) p. 40 as occurring in वृद्धमनु, बृहस्पति, पैठीनसि and ज्योतिःपराशर and by का. वि. p. 129 and समयप्रकाश p. 149 from ज्योतिःपराशर.

1058. बृहस्पतिः। नित्यनैमित्तिके कुर्यात्प्रयतः सन् मलिम्लुचे। तीर्थस्नानं गजच्छायां प्रेतश्राद्धं तथैव च॥ स्मृत्यन्तरे च। अनन्यगति यन्नित्यं कुर्यान्नैमित्तिकं तथा॥ हे. on काल pp. 45–46. The first verse occurs in भुजबल p. 349 and is q. by का. वि. p. 140, मलमासतत्त्व p. 788, समयप्रकाश p. 144. For गजच्छाया vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 371 n. The समयप्रकाश explains that गजच्छाया here means श्राद्ध performed in the shadow of an elephant.

desired object. These provisions are neatly summarised in the Kālanirṇaya-kārikās quoted below.[1059]

Certain matters were to be done only in malamāsa such as the gift[1060] of 33 *apūpas* (cakes) every day to brāhmaṇas or at least once in the intercalary month; certain acts were not to be done in adhimāsa, but only in the *śuddha*[1060a] month, such as the sinking of wells, construction of tanks, solemn sacrifices, the mahādānas and vratas. Certain matters can be done in adhimāsa as well as in śuddha-māsa[1061] e. g. rites on a pregnancy (such as *puṁsavana*), taking interest on money lent, wages of workmen for fixed periods, monthly śrāddha (on amāvāsyā), daily gifts, bath at a holy place, *japa* (muttering mantras), homa with barley grains or rice or sesame, rites on the birth of a child, funeral rites, *nava-śrāddhas*, śrāddha on 13th tithi with Maghā-nakṣatra, the sixteen śrāddhas, bath and śrāddha and gifts and *japa* on lunar or solar eclipse, obligatory and *naimittika* acts; these may be done in malamāsa also. A great deal of discussion is held on śrāddhas in malamāsa by Hemādri on Kāla (pp. 56–63), Malamāsatattva (pp. 841–856), Nirṇayasindhu

1059. काम्यारम्भं तत्समाप्तिं मलमासे विवर्जयेत् । आरब्धं मलमासात् प्राक् कृच्छ्रं चान्द्रादिकं तु यत् । तत्समाप्यं सावनस्य मानस्यानतिलङ्घनात् ॥ आरम्भस्य समाप्तेश्च मध्ये स्याच्चेन्मलिम्लुचः । प्रवृत्तमखिलं काम्यं तदानुष्ठेयमेव तु ॥ कारीर्यादि तु यत्काम्यं तस्यारम्भ-समापने । कार्यकालविलम्बस्य प्रतीक्षाया असम्भवात् ॥ अनन्यगतिकं नित्यमग्निहोत्रादि न त्यजेत् । गत्यन्तरयुतं नित्यं सोमयागादि वर्जयेत् ॥ कालनिर्णयकारिका 21–24. नैमित्तिक is defined by म. मा. तत्त्व p. 788 as 'मासदिनसंवत्सरादिविशेषनियमशून्यावश्यकर्तव्यकादाचित्कनिमित्तोत्पन्नम् ।'. About सोमयाग, समयप्रकाश p. 148 says 'सोमयागादेर्मासद्वयात्मकवसन्तादिकालिकत्वेन शुद्धेपि विहितकाललाभात्सगतिकत्वम् ॥'.

1060. The स्मृतिकौस्तुभ (p. 524) quotes हेमाद्रि 'हेमाद्रौ पाद्मे तत्रैव विहितं दानम् । अधिमासे तु संप्राप्ते गुडसर्पिर्युतानि च । त्रयस्त्रिंशदपूपानि दातव्यानि दिने दिने । ...यावन्ति तत्र छिद्राणि अपूपस्य च पार्थिव । तावद्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गलोके महीयते ॥ प्रत्यहमसम्भवे कश्चिदेकस्मिन् दिने कार्यम् । पृथ्वीसममिदं दानं गृहाण पुरुषोत्तम । मलानां च विशुद्ध्यर्थं पापप्रशमनाय च । पुत्रपौत्राभिवृद्ध्यर्थं तव दास्यामि भास्कर ॥'.

1060 a. वापीकूपतडागादिप्रतिष्ठां यज्ञकर्म च । न कुर्यान्मलमासे तु महादानव्रतादिकम् ॥ q. by हे. on काल p. 41 and का. वि. p. 130. महादानs have been enumerated and described in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 869–877.

1061. यमः । गर्भे वार्धुषिके भृत्ये श्राद्धकर्मणि मासिके । सपिण्डीकरणे नित्ये नाधिमासं विवर्जयेत् ॥ तीर्थस्नानं जपो होमो यवव्रीहितिलादिभिः ॥ जातकर्मान्त्यकर्माणि नवश्राद्धं तथैव च । मघात्रयोदशीश्राद्धं श्राद्धान्यपि च षोडश । चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे स्नानं श्राद्धदानजपादिकम् । कार्याणि मलमासेपि नित्यं नैमित्तिकं तथा । q. by हे. (on काल p 52), समयप्रकाश p. 145; अन्त्यकर्माणि दहनोदकपिण्डदानास्थिसञ्चयनादीनि; for नवश्राद्ध vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 262–263 and 577, 519–520; for sixteen śrāddhas, vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 518–519.

(pp. 11–15), Samayaprakāśa pp. 151–155. This is passed over for reasons of space. For some remarks on the śrāddha of a person dying in an intercalary month, vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 546–547.

Just as the 13th month was to be discarded for religious rites, in Western countries number 13 is supposed to be unlucky, particularly in the case of company at a table.

One of the five aṅgas in the Indian pañcāṅgas is the week-day. A brief discussion on days and week-days has therefore to be held. The interval between two sunrises was considered as the most important unit of time. This is solar and is called the civil day. But *tithi* is a lunar division of time (as described above) and begins and ends at various spaces in the solar day. The word 'day' has two meanings, viz. (1) from sunrise to sunset and (2) from sunrise to sunrise.[1062] In Ṛg. the word 'ahaḥ' is applied to both the dark part of it (i. e. 'rātri' night) and to the bright part.[1063] The word *rātri* is not so frequently used in the Ṛgveda as the word 'ahan' and the word 'dina' is very frequently used in compounds like 'sudinatva', 'sudina' 'madhyandina'; 'ahorātra' (day and night) occurs only once in the Ṛg. X. 190. 2. The word 'pūrvāhṇa' (first part of the day or forenoon) occurs in the Ṛgveda X. 34. 11. Three parts of the day also occur in the Ṛgveda viz prātaḥ, *saṅgava* and madhyandina[1064] (mid-day). These are three out of the five parts of the day, the other two being *aparāhṇa* and *astamaya, astagamana* or *sāyāhna*, which five are mentioned in the Śatapatha Br. II. 3. 2.9. Both 'prātaḥ' (morning) and 'sāyam' (evening) occur in Ṛg. V. 77. 2 and 'sāyam' alone in Ṛg. VIII. 2. 20, X. 146. 3 and 40. The day and night were also divided into eight parts by Kauṭilya (I. 19) and by Dakṣa and Kātyāyana. The division of the day and night each into 15 muhūrtas has been already dealt with at some length on pp. 537–541.

Great divergence prevailed about the beginning of the day. The Jews placed the beginning of the civil day in the evening (vide Genesis I. 5 'The evening and the morning were the first day' and also I. 13.) The Egyptians divided the day from sunrise to

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1062. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 644–45, vol. III. p. 242 and vol. IV. pp. 376–377 for the different ways of dividing the day.

1063. अहश्च कृष्णमहरर्जुनं च वि वर्तेते रजसी वेद्याभिः। ऋ. VI. 9. 1.

1064. उता यातं सङ्गवे प्रातरह्नो मध्यन्दिन उदिता सूर्यस्य। ऋ. V. 76. 3.

sunset into twelve parts and thus obtained hours whose length depended on the season, while the Babylonians[1065] began the day with sunrise and divided day and night into twelve parts, each of which corresponded to two of the equinoctial hours. In Athens and in Greece generally the day commenced in historic times with the evening for the purposes of the calendar (vide Heath's 'Aristarchus of Samos', 1913, p. 284). In Rome the day began with midnight. With Indian writers the day begins with sunrise (as in Brāhmasphuṭa-siddhānta XI. 33), but they were not unaware of different beginnings of the day. The Pañcasiddhāntikā[1066] remarks that Āryabhaṭa declared that the day began at midnight in Laṅkā and again he said that it began with sunrise and that sunrise in Laṅkā coincides with sunset in Siddhapura, with mid-day in Yamakoṭī and with midnight in the Romaka country.

In modern times the civil day begins at midnight.

The seven day week is an artificial man-made arrangement. It corresponds to no astronomical or celestial phenomenon. The Mexicans had a week of five days[1067] before the Spanish conquest. The seven days week prevailed among Jews, Babylonians and the Incas of South America. The Romans had a week of eight days in Republican times, while the Egyptians and ancient Athenians had a week of ten days. In the Old testament God is said to have gone on with the work of creation for six days, to have rested on the seventh and to have blessed it and sanctified

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1065. Hastings in E.R.E. vol. XII. p. 50 says so; but Prof. Neugebauer in E. S. A. p. 101 says that Babylonian day began in the evening and the first day of the month was made to depend upon a natural phenomenon, namely, the visible crescent of the Moon. Fotheringham in his Explanations to Nautical Almanac 1935 (at p. 769) states that the Babylonians reckoned day from midnight and mentions Pliny as saying that Hipparchus also did the same.

1066. लङ्कार्धरात्रसमये दिनप्रवृत्तिं जगाद चार्यभटः। भूयः स एव सूर्योदयात्प्रभृत्याह लङ्कायाम्॥ उदयो यो लङ्कायां सोस्तमयः सवितुरेव सिद्धपुरे। मध्याह्नो यमकोट्यां रोमकविषयेऽर्धरात्रः सः॥ पञ्चसि. 15. 20 and 23. Laṅkā here is not Ceylon but an imaginary island to the south of India. The location of सिद्धपुर and यमकोटी is not known; रोमक seems to be Alexandria. In आर्यभटीय (गोलपाद) the 13th verse is उदयो यो लङ्कायां सोऽस्तमयः सवितुरेव सिद्धपुरे। मध्याह्नो यमकोट्यां रोमकविषयेऽर्धरात्रः स्यात्॥. This corresponds to पञ्चसि. 15. 23. Vide सूर्यसिद्धान्त, भूगोलाध्याय, verses 38–40 for the four cities mentioned in the आर्यभटीय being in the four directions.

1067. Vide G. Schiaparelli's 'Astronomy in the Old Testament' (translated, Oxford, 1905) p. 130.

it (Genesis 2. 1–3). In Exodus 20. 8–11, 23. 12–14 and Deuteronomy 5. 12–15 God is said to have commanded the Jews to labour for six days, take rest on the seventh and to observe it as the Sabbath of the Lord God and to keep it sacred. The Jews gave no special names to the week days except the Sabbath which was the last day of the week and which they observed on Saturday (and not on Sunday).

The Old Testament contains no traces of proper names having been given to week days. It appears that even in the New Testament week days were indicated by numbers. Vide Matthew 28. 1 'In the end of the sabbath as it began to dawn towards *the first day of the week* came mary Magdalen &c.'; Mark 16. 9 '*Now when Jesus was risen early the first day of the week* he appeared first to Mary Magdalen &c.'; Luke 24. 1 '*Now upon the first day of the week* being early in the morning they came into the sepulchre'. Each of the seven days of the week is designated as the sabbath or holy day by various nationalities and religious communities i. e. Monday is the Greek Sabbath, Tuesday the Persian, Wednesday the Assyrian, Thursday the Egyptian, Friday the Moslem, Saturday the Jewish and Sunday the Christian.

On the origin and development of the seven-day cycle the leading work is F. H. Colson's 'the week' (Cambridge University Press, 1926). Some of his arguments may be briefly indicated. Dion Cassius (first quarter of 3rd century A.D.) in his 37th book says that Jerusalem was captured[1067a] by Pompey in 63 B. C. owing to the reverence of the Jews for Saturday (their Sabbath day) and he further makes the statements that planetary week originated in Egypt, that it was of recent growth and that it was in general use in his day; vide Dio's 'Roman History' vol. III pp. 129, 131 where two traditional explanations are given as to how the week days were named after planets, the 2nd of which is based on the 24 hours of the day and night. What must be emphasized is that Dio is positive that week days did not originate in Greece, but in Egypt and their introduction was recent. Dio was a Roman and wrote his History between 200 to 222 A. D. Therefore, the introduction of week days in Greece could not have been earlier than the first century of the

1067 a. Vide Dio's 'Roman History' (Loeb Classical Library) vol. III pp. 126–127 where it is said that Pompey captured the Jewesh defenders of Palestine on the day of Sabbath, because they did not work on that day at all.

Christian era. The names of six week days as we find them now have been found scrawled on a wall in the city of Pompeii which was engulfed in lava in 79 A. D. This points to the fact that present weekday names were known in Italy before 79 A. D. Colson finds it difficult to explain how the planetary week got ascendancy in the Roman Empire, since there is complete silence as to official enforcement of the week among Romans or even as to the recognition of the planetary week. He is perplexed by the week day names among the Teutonic nations such as Wednesday and Thursday. Sarton (in a 'History of Science') thinks that the Jewish Sabbath, the story of creation with Egyptian hours and Chaldean astrology produced the present week (pp. 76-77). Sarton thus thinks that Greece had nothing to do with the introduction of the planetary week, but only Egypt and Babylon developed it. The modern European hours are derived from the Babylonian *nychthemeron* for their equality and from the Egyptian Calendar for their number. Sarton remarks that the gradual spread of the seven day week throughout the world is the most remarkable instance of cultural diffusion next to the decimal notation system, since it was planned or enforced by nobody. As shown above the continuous seven day week with specific names for the days was unknown to the New Testament, which does not name the day of Christ's Crucifixion or Ascension. It is difficult to point out any certain piece of evidence which can establish that the names and arrangement of the present week days were prevalent in Greece or any other European or Near East country before the 2nd century B. C. Ptolemy in his Tetrabiblos does not appear to make any astrological use of the week days. The present order of week days appears to be planetary, but if we look to the mere names the planets are arranged as Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn. Ravivāra is the first day in the week for various reasons, one of which is that creation is believed to have begun on that day (vide note 995a). That order apparently takes no account of the distance of the planets or of their mass, light or importance. Yāj. I. 295 arranges the nine *grahas* as the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Rāhu and Ketu. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (I. 12. 92) has the same order. The Vāyupurāṇa says that the Sun is beyond one lakh of yojanas from the earth and the moon is beyond the sun by a thousand yojanas, the nakṣatras are 100000 yojanas beyond the Moon and each of the other planets are beyond the nakṣatras, the order being Mercury, Venus, Mars,

Jupiter and Saturn, each succeeding one being beyond each preceding one. If the planets be arranged in the order of distance from the earth they would stand as Saturn (the most distant planet for ancient times), Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon. The same[1068] order is set out in the Āryabhaṭīya. Suppose we start from Saturn, then the 4th from it (but including it) would be the Sun and therefore Saturday is followed by Sunday. If we start from the Sun, then the 4th from it, would be the Moon and so Monday is the weekday after Sunday and this may be further carried on. It is argued that the order of weekdays was suggested by the Egyptian system of 24 parts for the day, each part being ruled by one planet in order. On Sunday, the first part is ruled by the Sun and after 21 parts the 22nd is again ruled by the Sun, 23rd by Venus, 24th by Mercury and the next day (25th hour) would be Monday. If this arrangement of weekdays is due to the system of 24 hours and rulers of hours, the same order can be arrived at but only in the reverse way if, instead of 24 parts, the day is divided into 60 parts (the ghaṭikās). Suppose if we begin with the Moon, each *ghaṭī* being assigned to one planet, 57th would be the Moon's, 58th Mercury's, 59th of Venus, 60th of the Sun and so the next day after Monday would be Tuesday.

It appears that the continuous seven day week did not form part of the religious life of any nation in antiquity and even now it is no part of the religious life of many peoples. Great controversies have raged round the origin and spread of weekdays. It is said by many scholars that the Indian weekdays are not indigenous, but have been borrowed from the Chaldeans or the Greeks.[1069] An effort will first be made to present the Indian literary and inscriptional evidence to indicate how far backwards the occurrence of the weekdays in India can be carried. The oldest inscriptional evidence so far available is that of the Eran stone Pillar Inscription of Budhagupta in the

1068. भानामधः शनैश्चरसुरगुरुभौमार्कशुक्रबुधचन्द्राः। तेषामधश्च भूमिर्मेढीभूता खमध्यस्था ॥ आर्यभटीय, कालक्रियापाद 15; vide also सूर्यसिद्धान्त, chap. on भूगोल verse 79.

1069. Fleet in JRAS for 1912 p. 1039 suggests that the Jewish Calendar of week days found its way into India after Europe received it i. e. in 3rd century A.D. Jayaswal (in I. A. vol. 47 p. 112) says that if weekdays were received from outside India, it must have been from Syria direct and not via Europe. Dikshit in his monumental work appears to hold that India received weekdays from the Chaldeans.

Gupta year[1070] 165 (i. e. A. D. 484), which mentions Thursday and the 12th tithi of the bright half of Āṣāḍha. Supposing for argument that weekdays were originally borrowed from some foreign country, at least a few hundred years would be necessary before such a borrowed system could become general and could be utilized even in Indian proclamations by a great Indian imperial dynasty like the Guptas.

Let us now turn to the literary evidence. The Āryabhaṭīya (Daśagītikā, verse 3) mentions Thursday.[1071] In Bṛhatsaṁhitā[1072] occurs this 'when Pitāmaha declared that the weekday Tuesday does not lead to auspicious results or when (I declare) that the day of the son of the earth is inauspicious, what difference is there between (the śāstra) composed by a divine author and that by a human author (like myself)?' It has been seen above (p.488) that the Pañcasiddhāntikā tells us that a five year cycle started according to Pitāmaha in the second year (expired) of the Śaka era. Therefore it appears that Pitāmaha who probably wrote about 80 A. D mentioned Tuesday. The Pañcasiddhāntikā (in I. 8) mentions Monday in summarising the features of the Romaka siddhānta (vide note 1004). The Bṛhatsaṁhitā in chapter 103 (verses 61-63) sets out what actions are proper to be done on the weekdays from Sunday to Saturday and Utpala quotes eighteen *Anuṣṭubh* verses in all from the ancient astronomer Garga on the same topic.[1072a] Kern

1070. शते पञ्चषष्ट्यधिके वर्षाणां भूपतौ च बुधगुप्ते। आषाढमास-शुक्ल-द्वादश्यां सुरगुरोर्दिवसे॥ Gupta Inscriptions (ed. by Fleet) No. 19 p. 89. Vide V. B. Ketkar's 'Indian and Foreign chronology' pp. 50-51 where he establishes that this day corresponds to June 21, A. D. 484.

1071. काहो ढ मनुयुग श्ख गतास्ते च मनुयुग छ्ना च। कल्पादेर्युगपादा ग च गुरुदिवसाच्च भारतात्पूर्वम्॥ दशगीतिकापाद verse 3. The com. explains: राज्यं चरतां युधिष्ठिरादीनामन्त्यो गुरुदिवसो भारतगुरुदिवसः। द्वापरावसानगत इत्यर्थः। तस्मिन् दिवसे युधिष्ठिरादयो राज्यमुत्सृज्य महाप्रस्थानं गता इति प्रसिद्धिः। तस्माद्गुरुदिवसात् पूर्वकल्पादेरारभ्य गता मन्वादय इहोक्ताः।. This verse means 'There are 14 Manus in a day of Brahmā and 72 yugas make up the period of a Manu; since the beginning of this *kalpa* up to the Thursday of the Bhārata battle six Manus, 27 yugas, 3 yugapādas have elapsed.' काहः means कस्य ब्रह्मणः अहः दिवसः; in the system of आर्यभट ढ = 14; श्ख = 72; शृ = 70 and ख = 2; छ्ना = 27 (छ् being = 7 and न or ना = 20); ग = 3. ब्रह्मगुप्त in ब्राह्मस्फुटसिद्धान्त XI. 11-12 criticizes आर्यभट for his views mentioned in note 1066 above.

1072. क्षितितनयदिवसवारो न शुभकृदिति पितामहप्रोक्ते। कुजदिनमनिष्टमिति वा कोऽत्र विशेषो नृदिव्यकृतेः (v. l. कृते)॥ बृहत्सं॰ I. 4.

1072 a. The भागवत X. 7. 5 says 'ज्योतिषामयनं साक्षात् यत्तज्ज्ञानमतीन्द्रियम्। प्रणीतं भवता येन पुमान् वेद परावरम्॥' This is said of गर्ग (who is said in verse 7 to have been the आचार्य of the Yadus).

assigns Garga to the 1st Century B. C. This would carry the knowledge of weekdays in India to the first century before Christ. Philostratus in his life of Apollonius of Tyana (who died in 98 A. D.) relates (vide note 900 above) how when Apollonius travelled in India he received from Iarchus, the chief of the brāhmaṇas, seven rings bearing names of seven planets, each one of which Apollonius was to wear on each of the weekdays. As Philostratus wrote in the first quarter of the 3rd century A. D., this would carry the knowledge of the planetary week in India at least to the 1st century of the Christian era. The above references furnish a *terminus ad quem* for India's knowledge of the planetary week days (viz. first century B. C. to first century A D.). The *terminus a quo* cannot be stated with certainty.

Now some other literary evidence about the dates of which there are likely to be doubts and disputes would be set out. In the Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra (I. 4) and Baudhāyanadharmasūtra (II. 5. 23) *tarpaṇa* (satiation with water) is offered to the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn and to Rāhu and Ketu and the former mentions Budhavāra (Wednesday) in II 12. It has to be conceded that other sūtras such as Āśv. gṛ. III. 4. 1–5, the Kauṣītaki gṛ. (IV. 9–10), the Hir. gṛ. II. 19–20, Bhāradvāja gṛ. III. 9–11 contain no *tarpaṇa* to the weekdays or their deities. The Ātharvaṇa-Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa has a section on weekdays (of eight verses) and points out what should be done on each of the seven weekdays from Sunday to Saturday (two of which are quoted below by way of sample[1073]). The Gāthāsaptaśatī of Hāla (a *prākrit* anthology) mentions Tuesday and Viṣṭi (III. 61). The Yājñavalkya-smṛti (I. 296) enumerates the planets in the modern weekday order from Sunday to Saturday and adds Rāhu and Ketu as *grahas* and provides for a sacrifice to nine grahas (I. 295–308). The Nāradapurāṇa (I. 51. 80) also does the same. The Matsya (chap. 93. 7 ff) provides for a more elaborate sacrifice to planets. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (78. 1–7) refers to śrāddhas performed on the seven weekdays from Sunday to Saturday and the benefits derived from such performance (vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 373–374 for details). The Purāṇas contain numerous references to the

1073. नृपाभिषेकं नृपतिप्रयाणं नृपस्य कार्यं नृपदर्शनं च। यच्चाग्निकार्यं भुवि किञ्चिदुक्तं तत्सर्वमादित्यदिने प्रशस्तम्॥ स्थाप्यं च कर्म क्रतुभिश्च यूपो गृहप्रवेशो गजबन्धनं च। ग्रामेधिवासो नगरे पुरे वा शनैश्चरे सर्वमिदं प्रशस्तम्॥ आथर्वणवेदाङ्गज्योतिष, वारप्रकरण verses 2 and 8.

weekdays. The Nāradīya provides that Monday [1074], Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are auspicious for all rites and actions, while the other weekdays yield the desired result only in cruel or violent actions. The Matsya provides that all weekdays except Sunday and Tuesday are auspicious (253. 7.). The Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha 20. 16–17) provides that śrāddhas on weekdays from Sunday to Saturday respectively yield the benefits of health, happiness (or prosperity), success, all desires, desired learning, wealth and long life. The Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 142. 30–32) has similar provisions. The Brahmapurāṇa (118. 30) recommends touching an aśvattha tree on Saturday. The Vāmana (14. 49–50) forbids certain actions on weekdays (such as an oil bath on Sunday or Tuesday). The Matsya specifically refers to Sunday (in chap. 55. 4, 65. 5, 70. 46), to Monday (in 57. 4), to Tuesday (in 72. 27, 193. 8). Though the chronology of all the above works is somewhat uncertain, yet it cannot be gainsaid that at least in the first two centuries of the Christian era planets had become objects of worship and the weekdays had been named and their order as it exists today had been settled. The Mahābhārata, in spite of its vast extent and copious descriptions of Dharmaśāstra matters, is entirely silent about the names of weekdays. The cumulative effect of all the evidence adduced above is to render it extremely probable, if not certain, that the worship of the planets and knowledge of the weekdays presided over by them was known to the Indians at least between 100 B. C. to 100 A. D. One further circumstance is that the names of weekdays in India are purely Sanskrit and there is hardly any reference to a weekday in Sanskrit works under any Greek or other non-Indian name, while in the case of the signs of the zodiac frequent use is made of such foreign words as *kriya* or *leya*. Fotheringham (in explanations in Nautical Almanac for 1935 at p. 769) states that the mean temporal hour with the length that it had at equinoxes is first found in Hipparchus (140 B. C.), that Ptolemy in the Tables in the Almagest reckoned the day from mean noon of Alexandria and divided the day into *sixty* equal parts each of which was divided sexagesimally and that Ptolemy in his manual Tables divides the whole day into equinoctial hours reckoned from noon in Alexandria and subdivided these sexagesimally. This shows that two systems

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1074. इन्दुज्ञजीवशुक्राणां वासराः सर्वकर्मसु । फलदास्त्वितरे क्रूरे कर्मण्यभिमतप्रदाः ॥ नारदीय I. 56. 161. Compare रत्नमाला III. 15 quoted above in note 152. नाभ्यङ्गमर्के न च भूमिपुत्रे क्षौरं च शुक्रे रविजे च मांसम् । बुधेषु योषिन्न समाचरेत शेषेषु सर्वाणि सदैव कुर्यात् ॥ वामनपुराण 14. 49–50.

of dividing the day into 60 parts and also into 24 parts were accepted by Ptolemy himself (who wrote only about 150 A. D.). Therefore, Indians could very well have used very early the 60 divisions system for finding out the order of the weekdays instead of 24 divisions system. The Indians did not calculate their day from noon or night but from the morning. The Āśvamedhika-parva[1075] expressly says that the day comes first and then night.

It is possible to advance several theories about the origin of the seven day week in India. The five planets (Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn) were especially regarded by the ancient Babylonians as the powers controlling the destinies of men and therefore five leading Babylonian divinities were identified with the above five planets. In course of transmission Babylonian names of divinities assumed Roman forms i. e. Ishtar, goddess of love, became Venus, the great god Marduk became Jupiter and so on (vide note 748 above). The five planets together with the Sun and the Moon made a group of seven heavenly bodies. In Chaldean temple worship which spread to Syria, it became the custom to sing the praises of each god on a particular day. The name of the god worshipped on a particular day was transferred to the day itself. The days which were sacred to the Sun and the Moon were called Sunday and Monday. Some Norse words like Wednesday (Woden's day) and Thursday (Thor's day) were introduced in England. But weekdays in Europe are ultimately derived from the Babylonian gods. It has already been shown (pp. 598–600 above) that India and Babylonia had close commercial and other contacts from very ancient times. Vide the recent work on 'Hittites' by O. R. Gurney (in Pelican Books, 1958), pp. 104–105 and 124 for technical Sanskrit words in horse breeding Vedic gods and royal names in Sanskrit in the 14th century B. C. It is possible to argue that seeing the temples of planetary gods in which worship was performed on certain days some Indians got the suggestion of a planetary week, as it has been suggested above that the ideas of the Zodiacal signs were derived from Babylonian boundary stones and similar monuments. There were Sun temples in ancient India[1076]

1075. अहः पूर्वं ततो रात्रिर्मासाः शुक्लादयः स्मृताः। श्रवणादीनि ऋक्षाणि ऋतवः शिशिरादयः॥ आश्वमेधिकपर्व 44. 2.

1076. Vide Gupta Inscriptions, No. 16 at p. 68 (in 146 Gupta era) and No.18 p,79 for temples of the Sun and Bṛ.S. chap. 57, Matsya, chap. 257–263, Viṣṇudharmottara III. 60–69 and Bhaviṣya I. 131 for temples and images. Bṛ. S. 57 (verses 46–48) describes the appearance of the Sun image and Viṣṇudharmottara III. 67–69 give directions as to how images of the Sun, the Moon and planets (Mars and others) are to be made.

such as that of Mārtaṇḍa in Kashmir, that of Moḍhera in North Gujerat and that of Koṇārka in Orissa. Even now in some towns and villages there are temples of Saturn and Rāhu (as at Rāhurī in the Ahmednagar District of the Bombay State, which bears that name after Rāhu). Kauṭilya mentions the several divisions of time from '*truṭa*' to *yuga* and states that two *nāḍikās* are equal to a *muhūrta* and an *ahorātra* (day and night) has 30 muhūrtas (vide note 681 above). From this it follows that Kauṭilya knew only the division of the day into 60 nāḍīs and that a nāḍī was the same as ghaṭī. The Āryabhaṭīya gives the following table: 60 *vināḍīs* are equal to a *nāḍī*, 60 nāḍīs are equal to a day (Kālakriyāpāda, verse 1). Another way of citing the measures of time is: Time taken for repeating ten long letters is *prāṇa*, 6 prāṇas are equal to pala, 60 palas are equal to a daṇḍa, ghaṭī or nāḍī (Sūryasiddhānta I. 11, Jyotist-attva p. 562). Pāṇini derives the word 'nāḍindhama'[1077] from nāḍī. Nāḍī is a very ancient word.[1078] It occurs in the Ṛgveda and appears to mean some cylindrical instrument like a flute.[1079] It appears that the word nāḍī came to mean a period of time when a conch or a trumpet or similar instrument was blown to announce the lapse of one nāḍī (60th part of the day) as there were no clocks then. Hence division into 60 nāḍīs or ghaṭīs (both words being mentioned by Patañjali who is generally held to have flourished about 150 B. C.) was the ancient mode of dividing the day in India and if any Sanskrit work (like the Sūryasiddhānta, chap 12. 78–79) refers to 24 parts of the day, that work may be regarded as one of later times, but the whole system of time measuring by weekdays in India cannot be said to have been borrowed from a foreign source. Even Patañjali refers to the words nāḍī and ghaṭī as long in use before his time. Therefore, the division of the day

1077. नाडीमुष्ट्योश्च। पा. III. 2. 30; on the previous sūtra there are two vārtikas and the महाभाष्य states 'अत्यल्पमिदमुच्यते। नासिका-नाडी-मुष्टि-घटी-खारीष्विति वक्तव्यम्। नासिका। नासिकन्धमः नासिकन्धयः। नाडी। नाडिन्धमः नाडिन्धयः। ··· घटी। घटिन्धमः घटिन्धयः।'

1078. The word 'nāḍī' and 'nāḍikā' have several meanings, viz. flute, tube or pipe, vein or artery, one half muhūrta. 'Nāḍindhama' means a goldsmith (because he makes the fire flame up by blowing on it from a tube). From Kāṭhakasaṁhitā 23. 4 (Saiṣā vanaspatiṣu vāg-vadati yā nāḍyām yā tūṇave) it appears that nāḍī was a musical instrument that produced sounds (a trumpet or the like).

1079. इयमस्य धम्यते नाळीरयं गीर्भिः परिष्कृतः॥ ऋ. X. 135. 7; the meaning is 'here is blown the *nāḍī* for him (Yama) who is decked with songs of praise.'

into nādīs or ghaṭīs must be held to be long anterior to 200 B. C. On the whole it would not be far from the truth to say that weekdays were not borrowed by ancient India *en bloc* from elsewhere. It is arguable that usages in Babylon and Syria might have suggested the arrangement of days into weeks, but there is hardly any cogent evidence beyond similarity and prejudice to show that the origin of the nomenclature and the method of arriving at the order of the weekdays were not indigenous. Vide Cunningham in I. A. vol. 14 pp. 1 ff. in which he shows by diagrams how the calculation by Indian ghaṭīs results in the same order of weekdays as the European division. Sham Shastri in Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. IV pp. 1-31 after mentioning some rather hazy and obscure passages from the Vedic literature arrives at the conclusion that India was not indebted to the Greeks or Babylonians for week days or for the discovery of planets. It may be mentioned that Alberuni (tr. by Sachau, vol. I. chap. XIX pp. 214-215) illustrates how week-days received names from planets, narrates (p. 215) that it was the custom with Hindus to enumerate the planets in the order of the weekdays and that the Hindus persisted in using these in their astronomical books and declined to use any other order or method even if it was more correct.

CHAPTER XIX

Kalpa, Manvantara, Mahāyuga, Yuga

After dealing with time measures from *yuga* (of five years) down to weekdays and the day one must now briefly deal with the other measures of time such as Yuga, Mahāyuga, Manvantara and Kalpa. The word Kalpa has its germ in the Ṛgveda[1080] X. 190. 3, where it is said that the Creator created the Sun and the Moon, the heaven, the earth and mid-region as before.' The earliest datable reference to Kalpa is found in Aśoka's edicts e. g. the 4th Rock edict[1081] at Girnar and Kalsi have 'āva savaṭa kapā' (yāvat saṁvartakalpam) and 'āva kapam' in the 5th Rock Edict at Shahabazgarhi and Mansera. This establishes that the theories about the vast extent of Kalpa had been promulgated in India long before the third century B. C. The Buddhists also took over the theory of Kalpas as is clear from the Mahāparinibbānasutta III. 53 'Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the Kalpa. Live on, O Blessed One, through the Kalpa for the good and happiness of the great multitudes &c.'.

The beliefs that in the dim past there was an ideally perfect society followed by a gradual degeneracy and decline in standards of morals, health and length of life and that the cycle of decline would be followed in the far distant future by a golden age of perfection in morals &c. have been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 885 ff. The word '*yuga*' has been shown there as having probably several meanings, viz. a short period of time (Ṛg. III. 26. 3), a cycle of five years and also a long period and a period of thousands of years. Prof. Mankad in Poona Orientalist (vol. VI. pp. 211–212) assigns as many as ten meanings to the

1080. सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ धाता यथापूर्वमकल्पयत् । दिवं च पृथिवीं चान्तरिक्षमथो स्वः ॥ ऋ. X. 190. 3.

1081. Vide Inscriptions of Aśoka in C. I. I. vol. I. pp. 6, 30 (text of 4th edict), and pp. 55, 74 (text of 5th edict). In the Vanaparva 188. 69 it is said that fire called Saṁvartaka will assail the world while the Brahmapurāṇa (232. 39) says that terrible clouds called 'Saṁvartaka' will rise, when final dissolution (*pralaya*) will follow. Therefore, 'āva saṁvata kapā' means 'up to the end of Kalpa when destructive fire called saṁvarṭaka will arise' (or when terrible clouds called saṁvartaka will arise). It may be noted that the Amara-kośa regards संवर्त, प्रलय, कल्प, क्षय and कल्पान्त as synonyms.

word. One cannot agree with him in all that he says. For example, he appears to be wrong when he says that in Śākuntala IV (yugāntaram ārūḍhaḥ savitā) yuga means ¼th of a day; yuga does not, so far as I know, mean ¼th anywhere, it means 'four' in some cases. In Śākuntala 'yugāntara &c.' should be taken to mean that 'the sun has come up in the sky as much as the length of a yoke (from the eastern horizon)'. That is the sense of 'yuga' in Ṛg. X. 60. 8, X. 101. 3 and 4. In the Mahābhārata, in Manu and the Purāṇas the theory of *yugas*, *manvantaras* and *kalpas* has been elaborated at great length. The four yugas are named Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Tiṣya or Kali and concern only Bhārata-varṣa.[1081a] But it has been shown (at pp. 886-890 of the H. of Dh. vol. III.) that originally these were the names of certain throws of dice in gambling and that from the 4th century B.C. (if not earlier) they came to be the designations of the ages of man. The early Gupta inscriptions refer to Kṛtayuga as a cycle of great virtues (as in the Bilsad stone pillar Inscription of Kumāragupta in Gupta Saṁvat 96 in 'Gupta Inscriptions' p. 44, the Chammak copperplate of Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II in 'Gupta Inscriptions' p. 237, Pattan plates of Pravarasena II. in E. I. 23 p. 81. The theory of Yugas, Manvantaras and Kalpas is elaborated among ancient works in the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva, chapters 149, 188 and Śāntiparva, chap. 69 and 231-232), Manu I. 61-74, 79-86, Viṣṇudharmasūtra chap. 20. 1-21, Viṣṇupurāṇa 1.3, 6.3, Brahmapurāṇa 5. 229-232, Matsya 142-145, Vāyu chap. 21, 22, 57, 58, 100, Kūrma I. chap. 51 and 53, Brahmāṇḍa II. 6 and 31-36, III. 1, Mārkaṇḍeya 58 64, 66-70, 71-97 (has the

1081a. चत्वारि भारते वर्षे युगानि मुनयो विदुः। कृतं त्रेता द्वापरं च तिष्यं चेति चतुर्युगम्॥ वायु॰ 24. 1, 45. 137 (reads कवयो for मुनयो and कलिश्चेति चतुष्टयम्), 57. 22; मत्स्य 142. 17-18 'चत्वारि भारते वर्षे युगानि ऋषयोऽब्रुवन्। कृतं त्रेता द्वापरं च कलिश्चैवं चतुर्युगम्॥ पूर्वं कृतयुगं नाम ततस्त्रेताभिधीयते। द्वापरं च कलिश्चैव युगानि परिकल्पयेत्॥'. Vide ब्रह्म 27. 64. Tradition gave slightly varying information about the end of the Dvāpara age. It is said that the war between the Kaurava and Pāṇḍava hosts was fought in the period of sandhyā between Dvāpara and Kali (Ādi. 2.13). Similarly, शल्य 60. 25 (प्राप्तं कलियुगं विद्धि), वनपर्व 149. 38 say that Kaliyuga was very near when the Bhārata war was about to be fought (एतत्कलियुगं नामाचिराद्यत्प्रवर्तते). On the other hand, many of the Purāṇas say that Kaliyuga began the very day Kṛṣṇa finished his avatāra and went to heaven; वायु 99. 428-29, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 74. 241, मत्स्य 273. 49-50, विष्णु IV. 24. 110, भागवत XII. 2. 33; ब्रह्म 212.8 has the same idea in different words. Vide note 993 for quotations from some of these Purāṇas. The Mausalaparva 1.13 and 2.20 state that Kṛṣṇa passed away 36 years after the Bhārata war. In any case द्वापर came to an end immediately or a few years after the Bhārata war.

longest account of Manvantaras), and by astronomical writers and works such as Āryabhaṭa, Sūryasiddhānta, Brahmagupta, Siddhāntaśiromaṇi. None of these works enables us to furnish a satisfactory explanation about the rise of this system of Kalpas, Manvantaras and Yugas. Pargiter (in AIHT p. 175) thinks that the division into four ages had a historical basis. That may or may not be so. But what historical explanation can be offered about manvantaras and kalpas is not stated anywhere. The theory of yugas concerned only Bhāratavarṣa as stated in several Purāṇas. All these works contain the same general features but there are many divergences in details. As the Manusmṛti contains one of the oldest accounts, a summary of its remarks will be first set out. First, seven Manus are enumerated viz. Svāyambhuva, Svārociṣa, Uttama, Tāmasa, Raivata, Cākṣuṣa and Vaivasvata. Then divisions of time from *nimeṣa* are specified (18 nimeṣa = Kāṣṭhā, 30 Kāṣṭhās = Kalā, 30 Kalās = Muhūrta, 30 Muhūrtas = ahorātra); it is then said that the human month is the day and night of *pitṛs*, the human year is divine *ahorātra*. Kṛta-yuga extends over 4000[1082] years, *sandhyā* (twilight) before it is 400 years, sandhyāṁśa after it is 400 years. The three other yugas Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali have respectively 3000, 2000, 1000 years and sandhyās and sandhyāṁśas together of respectively 600, 400 and 200 years. The four yugas thus come to 12000 years (4800 plus 3600 plus 2400 plus 1200); this is called the yuga of gods (i. e. this is the *divya* measure) and 1000 of these four come to one day of Brahmā and the same is the extent of the night of Brahmā. Seventy-one yugas of 12000 divine years each constitute a manvantara and Manu (I. 80) winds up by saying that manvantaras are numberless[1083] and so are creations and dissolutions. It should

1082. Manu I. 65-67 are the same as Śāntiparva 231. 15-17, Manu I. 65-66 are the same as Matsya 142. 5-6 (with slight variations), Manu I. 69-70 are the same as Śānti 231. 20-21, Vāyu 57. 23-24 and Matsya 142. 19-20. Manu I. 69 is same as Vanaparva 188. 22-23.

1083. It was said by Manu (I. 81-82) that Kṛta was an age in which Dharma was four-footed and perfect, that in the other ages dharma declined successively by one foot, that theft, falsehood and fraud increase in proportion. Then Manu further avers (I. 83-86) that the length of human life in the four ages is respectively 400, 300, 200 and 100 years, that the set of duties differ in the four ages. Dharma is said to be four-footed because Manu VIII. 16 identifies dharma with vṛṣa (bull). Both Plato and Aristotle believed that every art and science had many times developed to its apogee and then deteriorated.

be noticed that the word Kalpa does not occur in this long enumeration. But in other works than the Manusmṛti e.g. Viṣṇupurāṇa (VI. 3. 11–12) fourteen Manvantaras are said to constitute a Kalpa, which is a day of Brahmā. As a day of the gods is equal to a human year, the 12000 years that constitute a divine *caturyuga* are equal to 4320000 human years[1083a] (12000 × 360) i. e. this is the human (mānuṣa) measure of time.

When and how these huge numbers of years for the yugas were suggested remains somewhat enigmatic. It appears that as early as the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa people had become familiar with huge figures. The Śatapatha[1084] says that there are 10800 muhūrtas in a year (in one ahorātra 30 × 360), that Prajāpati arranged the Ṛgveda in such a way that the number of syllables it contains is equal to 12000 Bṛhatīs (each Bṛhatī having 36 syllables) i. e. 432000 syllables and it is further stated that the Ṛgveda also contains 10800 paṅktis (each paṅkti having 40 syllables i. e. the syllables are 10800 × 40 = 432000. Prajāpati is said to have arranged the other two Vedas also and the three Vedas amounted to ten thousand eight hundred eighties (that is 80 × 10800 = 864000 syllables), that *muhūrta* by *muhūrta* he gained eighty syllables (as there are 10800 *muhūrtas* in a sacrificial year of 360 days). Dr. Jean Filliozat, Professor at the College de France, Paris, puts forward the theory in a recent article (in the Bulletin

1083 a. Many ancient authors in almost all countries believed that there were different ages with differing levels of virtue and that they themselves lived in the worst age. Vide Hesiod's 'Works and days' pp. 11–17 (Loeb Classical Library) where Hesiod's own age was said to be the worst of five ages. The Babylonians made out 2160000 years for the duration of the world and imagined there were three ages, viz. golden, silver and copper. Vide pp. 33–34 of Maclean's 'Babylonian astrology in relation to the Old Testament'. Sarton also thinks that the Sumerians originated a golden age of man and speak of huge numbers of years, viz. 12,960,000 (pp. 69 and 118 of 'a History of Science'). Berossus gave a list of ten ante-deluvian kings reigning in all for 432000 years (see Cambridge Ancient History, 1923, vol. I. page 150). Vide Heath's 'Greek astronomy' (Introduction, p. XIV) re Egyptians' claim for possessing records of observations of stars for 630,000 years and a similar claim of Babylonians for 1,444,000 years.

1084. स ऐक्षत प्रजापतिः। त्रय्यां वाव विद्यायां सर्वाणि भूतानि हन्त त्रयीमेव विद्यामात्मानमभिसंस्करवा इति॥ स ऋचो व्यौहत्। द्वादश बृहतीसहस्राण्येतावत्यो हर्चो याः प्रजापतिसृष्टास्तास्त्रिंशत्तमे व्यूहे पंक्तिष्वतिष्ठन्त। ता यत्त्रिंशत्तमे व्यूहेऽतिष्ठन्त तस्मात्त्रिंशन्मासस्य रात्रयोऽथ यत्पंक्तिषु तस्मात्पांक्तः प्रजापतिस्ता अष्टाशतं शतानि पङ्क्तयोऽभवन्। अथेतरौ वेदौ व्यौहत्।...ते सर्वे त्रयो वेदाः। दश च सहस्राण्यष्टौ च शतान्यशीतीनामभवन् स मुहूर्तेन मुहूर्तेनाशीतिमाप्नोत्। शतपथ X. 4. 2. 22, 23, 25.

of L'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient, Tome XLIV, Fas. 2, pp. 538–546) that the number of years in Kaliyuga (432000) was suggested by these figures in the Śatapatha, that the high figures in the ancient Indian literature are scientific and not astrological, and that in the opinion of Heraclitus 10800 ordinary human years were equal to one 'great year', that Berossus held that a great astronomical period was of 432000 years and that as the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa is far more ancient than both Heraclitus and Berossus, the borrowing, if it exists, must have been by the Greeks from India. Vide 'Ancient relations between Indian and foreign astronomical systems' by Dr. J. Filliozat in JOR, Madras, vol. XXV (for 1957) pp. 1–8; also Prof. Zinner (in 'Stars above us' p. 59) for theories about the age of the world held by Plato and Berossus. One day of Brahmā is equal to a Kalpa i. e. 4320000 × 1000 i. e. 432,000,000,0. In order[1085] to find out the human years of the one hundred years of Brahmā's life we shall have to multiply 432,000,0000 by 2, then by 360 and then by 100. That is, the day and night of Brahmā come to 8640000000 human years; the year of Brahmā would then be equal to 3110400000000 human years (taking 360 days as a year); one hundred years of Brahmā thus come to 311040000000000 years. Alberuni (Sachau, vol. I p. 332) also mentions this colossal figure about the life of Brahmā. Some said that the extent of Brahmā's life was 108 years. Brahmā is said to have already lived 50 years and it is the second half of his life that is running and at present it is the Vārāha[1086] Kalpa and Vaivasvata-manvantara[1087] (7th) that

1085. A मन्वन्तर would mean 'अन्यः मनुः' or मनूनामन्तरमवकाशोऽवधिर्वा as क्षीरस्वामी explains. If 1000 महायुगs are divided by 14, each मन्वन्तर is equal to 71 महायुगs plus a little more (i. e. six mahāyugas divided by 14). Therefore, the विष्णुपुराण says 'चतुर्युगानां संख्याता साधिका ह्येकसप्ततिः । मन्वन्तरं मनोः कालः सुरादीनां च सत्तम ॥' I. 3.18; vide also ब्रह्माण्ड II. 6.19 and II 35.173. चतुर्युगसहस्रान्तं कल्पमाहुर्मनीषिणः । कूर्म II.45.49; चतुर्युगसहस्रं तु कथ्यते ब्रह्मणो दिनम् ॥ स कल्पस्तत्र मनवश्चतुर्दश महामुने । तदन्ते चैव मैत्रेय ब्राह्मो नैमित्तिको लयः॥ विष्णुपु. VI. 3. 11–12.

1086. एकमस्य व्यतीतं तु परार्धं ब्रह्मणोऽनघ। तस्यान्तेऽभून्महाकल्पः पाद्म इत्यभिविश्रुतः॥ द्वितीयस्य परार्धस्य वर्तमानस्य वै द्विज । वाराह इति कल्पोयं प्रथमः परिकल्पितः॥ विष्णुपुराण I. 3. 27–28.

1087. The word 'मनु' frequently occurs in the Ṛgveda and other saṁhitās. Manu is often spoken of as the father of humanity and of the sages and as laying down the proper path for mankind. Vide : यानि मनुरवृणीता पिता नस्ता शं च योश्च रुद्रस्य वश्मि॥ ऋ. II. 33. 13; मा नः पथः पित्र्यान्मानवादधि दूरं नैष्ट परावतः॥ ऋ. VIII. 30. 3; वि यो रत्ना भजति मानवेभ्यः श्रेष्ठं नो अत्र द्रविणं यथा दधत्॥

(*Continued on next page*)

are going on. The past six Manus are Svāyambhuva, Svārociṣa, Uttama, Tāmasa, Raivata, Cākṣuṣa and the present is Vaivasvata, the 7th Manu (Brahma 5. 4–5, Kūrma I. 51. 4-5, Viṣṇu III. 1. 6–7). The remaining seven Manus are differently named in several Purāṇas e. g. Viṣṇu (III. 2. 14 ff) and Narasiṁhapurāṇa 24. 17–35 mention the future Manus as Sāvarṇi, Dakṣa Sāvarṇi, Brahmasāvarṇi, Dharmasāvarṇika, Rudra-sāvarṇi, Ruci and Bhauma; while Brahma (5. 5–6) mentions four of the future seven as Sāvarṇi, Raibhya, Raucya, Merusāvarṇi. Kūrma (I. 53. 30–31) names the future four in the same way as Viṣṇu (only substituting Savarṇa for Sāvarṇi wherever it occurs and the last two as Raucya and Bhautya). All the fourteen Manus are enumerated in Nāradapurāṇa I. 40. 20–23. Alberuni (tr. by Sachau, vol. I. chap. XLIV p. 387) gives the names of Manvantaras according to the Viṣṇudharmottara, Viṣṇupurāṇa and other sources. Sāvarṇya [1088] Manu as a great benefactor and leader of some territory occurs in Ṛg. X. 62. 11. It is said that each Manvantara had a separate set of sages, sons of Manu, gods, kings, smṛtis, Indra and guardians for the proper regulation of dharma and for the protection of the people (Brahma 5. 39, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. chapters 1–2). In the Viṣṇupurāṇa it is said that some gods remain for four yugas, some for a manvantara and some stay for a kalpa. [1088a] The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (chap. XX. 1–15) has the same account of Manvantaras and Kalpas as Manu's but it adds one detail viz. that the whole age of Brahmā is equal to a day of Puruṣa (Viṣṇu) and the night of Puruṣa is also as long. It is remarkable that the same view is attributed by Alberuni (Sachau vol. I. p. 332) to the Puliśasiddhānta. It is not known whether those European scholars who regard Puliśa to be Paulus Alexandrinus have shown that this detail occurs in the work of the Greek Astrologer Paulus. In the Vanaparva (188. 22–29) the same account as in Manu occurs

(Continued from last page)

ऋ. IV. 54. 1; यद्ध किं च मनुरवदत्तद्भेषजम् । तै. सं. II. 2. 10. 2, काठकसं. XI. 5. In the शतपथब्राह्मण (I. 8. 1. 1) occurs the famous story of Manu and the deluge. Another story is that of Manu and his son Nābhānediṣṭha in तै. सं. III. 1. 9. 4–6 and ऐ. ब्रा. 22. 9. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 543.

1088. सहस्रदा ग्रामणीर्मा रिषन्मनुः सूर्येणास्य यतमानैतु दक्षिणा । सावर्णेर्देवाः प्र तिरन्त्वायुर्यस्मिन्नश्रान्ता असनाम वाजम् ॥ ऋ. X. 62. 11. In ऋ. X. 62 9 the gifts made by सावर्ण्य are mentioned. The भागवतपुराण (XII. 7. 15) says 'मन्वन्तरं मनुर्देवाः मनुपुत्राः सुरेश्वरः । ऋषयोंऽशावतारश्च हरेः षड्विधमुच्यते ॥'

1088 a. केचिच्चतुर्युगं यावत्केचिन्मन्वन्तरं सुराः । तिष्ठन्ति भवतो दत्ता मया वै कल्पसंस्थितिः ॥ विष्णुपु० I. 12. 93.

except this that 12000 years are called *Yuga*[1089] simply and not caturyuga (as in Manu I. 71). The Mārkaṇḍeya has a long story about Svārociṣa in chapters 58–65, devotes to Uttama chap. 66–70, chapter 71 to Tāmasa, chap. 72 to Raivata, chap. 73 to Cākṣuṣa, chap. 74–76 to Vaivasvata, chap. 77 to Sāvarṇi, chap. 78–90 to Devī, chap. 91-95 to Raucya or Ruci, chap. 96–97 to Bhautya. The word 'Vaivasvata' (son of Vivasvat, the Sun) is applied to Yama in several passages of the Ṛgveda (X. 14. 1, X. 58. 1, X. 60. 10, X. 164. 2). The Anukramaṇī, however, ascribes Ṛg. VIII. 27–31 to Vaivasvata Manu as the *ṛṣi* and in one of the Vālakhilya hymns (Ṛg. X. 52. 1) occurs the following verse 'O Indra! just as you drank the soma extracted in (the sacrifice of) Manu Vivasvat, just as you frequently accept the hymn of praise in (sacrifice of) Trita, so may you simultaneously delight in (the soma and praise) of Āyu.'[1090] It may be noted that the Manusmṛti names only the seven Manus (I. 61–63) and states that each Manu during his own time (which extended over thousands of years) created the movable and immovable world and protected it, that Manvantaras are numberless (Manusmṛti I. 80) and that the Great God (Parameṣṭhin) brought about the creation and destruction of the world during the Manvantaras. Some of the Purāṇas such as Matsya (9. 37–39, 142. 40, 144. 97–98), Vāyu (59. 34), Agni (150. 21), Viṣṇu (I. 3 and VI. 3) state[1090a] that Manu and the seven sages in each Manvantara (i. e. where there is a change of Manu) who are the śiṣṭas that then exist are devoted to dharma, being ordered by Brahmā for the purpose of continuing the worlds, declare the truth and promulgate the Vedas. Some modern

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1089. सहस्रयुगपर्यन्तमहर्यद्ब्रह्मणो विदुः। रात्रिं युगसहस्रान्तां तेऽहोरात्रविदो जनाः ॥ शान्ति. 23. 31 and गीता VIII. 17. The word युग is often used to denote the 12000 years of divine measure as in वनपर्व 188. 38 'एषा द्वादशसाहस्री युगाख्या परिकीर्तिता ॥'.

1090. यथा मनौ विवस्वति सोमं शक्रापिबः सुतम्। यथा त्रिते छन्द इन्द्र जुजोषस्यायौ मादयसे सचा ॥ ऋ. VIII. 52. 1 (4th वालखिल्यसूक्त).

1090 a. अतीतानागताश्चैते मनवः परिकीर्तिताः। ...स्वे स्वेऽन्तरे सर्वमिदमुत्पाद्य सचराचरम्। कल्पक्षये विनिवृत्ते मुच्यन्ते ब्रह्मणा सह। एत युगसहस्रान्ते विनश्यन्ति पुनः पुनः। मत्स्य 9. 37–39; मन्वन्तरेषु ये शिष्टा इह तिष्ठन्ति धार्मिकाः। मनुः सप्तर्षयश्चैव लोकसन्तानकारणात्। धर्मार्थं ये च शिष्टा वै याथातथ्यं प्रचक्षते। वायु. 59. 34; प्रवर्तयन्ति वेदांश्च भुवि सप्तर्षयो दिवः। अग्नि. 150. 21; the मत्स्यपुराण (142. 29–32) calculates the numbers of years in a मन्वन्तर as follows: 'एषा चतुर्युगाख्या तु साधिका त्वेकसप्ततिः। कृतत्रेतादियुक्ता सा मनोरन्तरमुच्यते ॥ मन्वन्तरस्य संख्या तु मानुषेण निबोधत। एकत्रिंशत्तथा कोट्यः संख्याता संख्यया द्विजैः ॥ तथा शतसहस्राणि दश चान्यानि भागशः। सहस्राणि तु द्वात्रिंशच्छतान्यष्टाधिकानि च ॥ अशीतिश्चैव वर्षाणि मासाश्चैवाधिकास्तु षट्। मन्वन्तरस्य संख्यैषा मानुषेण प्रकीर्तिता ॥; vide ब्रह्माण्ड (II. 35. 164–165) which differs slightly from this.

writers (like Dr. Daftari) think[1090b] that in ancient times there was an Indian institution of public functionaries called Manu and the Saptarṣis, whose function was to legislate and promulgate the Vedas. With great respect to the erudite scholar, I disagree with him. The extant Purāṇa passages are less than 2000 years old, while the present Vaivasvata Manvantara started several millions of years ago and even Kaliyuga in which we are deemed to live started in 3102 B. C. Besides, there is a dissolution of the world at each day of Brahmā, if one is to rely on the Paurāṇik accounts. How could a tradition of the several Manus survive such pralaya ? A rationalistic interpretation requires that all this that is stated in the Purāṇas is mere conjecture and imagination and that one cannot safely build theories about the governance of society in ancient times on the accounts contained in Purāṇas. The Manusmṛti (II. 19) appears to assign the function of the regulation of the conduct of all men in the world to the learned brāhmaṇas born in Brahmarṣideśa (i. e. Kurukṣetra, the countries of Matsya, Pañcāla and Śūrasena or Mathurā) at least after his own code was promulgated.

Pessimistic and dismal accounts of what will happen in Kaliyuga (which extends according to the Purāṇas over 432000 years and of which only about 5057 years have gone by this time in 1956) are set forth in the Vanaparva, chap. 188, 190, Śāntiparva 69. 80-97, the Harivaṁśa (Bhaviṣyaparva, chap. 3-5 ff.), Brahmapurāṇa chap. 229-230, Vāyu chap. 58 and 99 verses 391-428, Matsya 144. 32-47, Kūrma I. 30, Viṣṇupurāṇa VI. 1, Bhāgavata XII. 1-2, Brahmāṇḍa II. 31 and in several other purāṇas. The description in Vanaparva 188 is summarised in H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 893-895. The names of 33 Kalpas are given in Vāyu, chap. 21-23 and Hemādri on Kāla (pp. 670-671) sets out from Nāgarakhaṇḍa the names of 33 Kalpas and the tithis on which they start; Matsya 290 enumerates thirty names of Kalpas; the Brahmāṇḍa II. 31. 119 states that there are 35 Kalpas and neither more nor less.

In the purāṇas *pralaya* is said to be of four sorts,[1091] viz. *nitya* (the every day deaths of those that are born), *naimittika*

1090 b. Vide 'The rationalistic and realistic interpretation of the Upanishads ' (pp. 2 and 3) published at Nagpur in 1958.

1091. चतुर्विधस्तु प्रलयो नित्यो यः प्राणिनां लयः । सदा विनाशो जातानां ब्राह्मो नैमित्तिको लयः ॥ चतुर्युगसहस्रान्ते प्राकृतः प्रकृतौ लयः । लय आत्यन्तिको ज्ञानादात्मनः-

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(when a day of Brahmā ends, then there is a dissolution of the world), prākṛtika (when everything dissolves itself into prakṛti, primordial substance) and ātyantika pralaya is *Mokṣa* (liberation of the soul due to correct knowledge of Reality and absorption into the Supreme Spirit). Harrowing descriptions of the naimittika and prākṛtika pralayas are given in several purāṇas. A lengthy description of the naimittika dissolution is contained in Kūrma II. 45. 11-59 of which a brief summary is given here. When the one thousand Caturyugas end, there is the absence of rain for a hundred years; the result is that living beings perish and are reduced to earth; the sun's rays become unbearable, and even the ocean is dried up; the earth is burnt by the fierce heat of the sun together with its mountains, forests and continents. As the sun's rays fall burning up everything, the whole world presents the appearance of one huge fire. Fire burns everything whether mobile or immoveable. The animals in the big seas come out and are reduced to ashes. Then the saṁvartaka fire growing by the force of the wind burns the whole earth and its flames rise up to a height of thousands of *yojanas* and the flames burn up *gandharvas*, goblins, *yakṣas*, serpents and rākṣasas and not only the earth but the worlds called 'bhuvaḥ' and 'mahaḥ' are burnt; then huge saṁvartaka clouds resembling herds of elephants, lit up by lightning, rise in the sky, some looking like blue lotuses, some yellowish, some having the colour of smoke, some like sealing wax and fill the whole sky and then extinguish the fires by sending down heavy showers. When the fires are extinguished, the clouds of destruction cover the whole world with floods; mountains are concealed and the earth is plunged in waters and all becomes one ocean of water and then god Brahmā resorts to *Yogic* sleep. Vanaparva (chap. 272. 32–48) also contains a brief description of *naimittika pralaya*.

The Kūrma I. 46 and Viṣṇu VI. 4. 12–49 furnish a description of the prākṛtika *pralaya* which takes Sāṅkhya terminology for granted,[1092] and is briefly as follows: when all the worlds

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परमात्मनि ॥ अग्नि 368. 1–2; नैमित्तिकः प्राकृतिकस्तथैवात्यन्तिको द्विज। नित्यश्च सर्वभूतानां प्रलयोयं चतुर्विधः॥ ब्राह्मो नैमित्तिकस्तत्र शेतेऽयं जगतीपतिः। प्रयाति प्राकृतं चैव ब्रह्माण्डं प्रकृतौ लयम्॥ ज्ञानादात्यन्तिकः प्रोक्तो योगिनः परमात्मनि। नित्यः सदैव भूतानां यो विनाशो दिवानिशम्। विष्णुपु॰ I. 7. 41–43 and VI. 3. 2 ff, where प्राकृतप्रलय is said to be द्विपरार्धक; vide कूर्म II. 45. 1–10 for similar explanations.

1092. For the सांख्यतत्त्वs, vide सांख्यकारिका 3 'मूलप्रकृतिरविकृतिर्महदाद्याः प्रकृतिविकृतयः सप्त। षोडशकश्च विकारो न प्रकृतिर्न विकृतिः पुरुषः॥'. महत्, अहङ्कार and

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including all the nether regions are destroyed by absence of rains and all effects from *mahat* onwards are destroyed, waters first absorb the *gandha* (the special quality of the earth) and when *gandha-tanmātra* is destroyed, the earth is reduced to water; the special quality of waters, viz. *rasa-tanmātra* is destroyed and nothing but fire remains and the whole world is filled with flames, then Vāyu absorbs fire and *rūpa-tanmātra* vanishes ; Vāyu shakes all the ten quarters; ākāśa absorbs the *sparśa-guṇa* of Vāyu and only ākāśa remains as a void and *śabda-tanmātra* is gone and in this way the seven prakṛtis including *mahat* and *ahaṅkāra* are absorbed in order; even Prakṛti and Puruṣa are dissolved in Paramātman (named Viṣṇu). The day of Viṣṇu is said to be two Parārdhas of human years.

Some works like the Harivaṁśa (Bhaviṣyaparva chap. 10. 12-68) provide that at the end of Kalpa the sage Mārkaṇḍeya alone remains and lies at the time of the pralaya (or kalpa) in the side of Lord Viṣṇu and then comes out of His mouth. The Brahmapurāṇa (52. 1:-19 and 53. 55) says that Mārkaṇḍeya sees a *vaṭa* tree at the end of Kalpa and a jewelled bed on which he sees a boy lying down (i. e. Viṣṇu himself) and then he enters the side of that boy and later comes out. Vide also Matsya 167 (14-66) for the same story in almost the same words. The Bhagavadgītā (VIII. 18-19) speaks of the recurrent absorption of all beings at the advent of the night of Brahmā and reappearance of beings when the day of Brahmā starts.

The theory of yugas, manvantaras and kalpas with their fabulous numbers of years and harrowing descriptions of pralaya, appears unreal, bizarre and called up by sheer fancy. But underlying it there is the idea of the timelessness of the universe, though from time to time it evolves, gradually declines and perishes, only to reappear in perfection after a cosmic night. There is also the hankering after Reality and pursuit of different ideals. It enshrines the ideas that humanity embarks on a certain goal, pursues it with great efforts and, after achieving some success, gives up that goal and the way that was thought to lead to it and pursues some other goal for aeons in the hope that at some distant date it will be able to evolve and

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पञ्चतन्मात्रs are of a double nature i. e. both प्रकृति and विकृति. The sixteen (which are merely products and not causes) are five कर्मेन्द्रियs, five ज्ञानेन्द्रियs, five mahābhūtas (पृथिव्यप्तेजोवाय्वाकाश) and मनः.

construct a perfect society. These ideas are at the bottom of what Manu[1093] and others say 'Tapas was the highest goal (deemed to yield great results) in Kṛtayuga, knowledge (of the self) was the highest in Tretā, yajña (sacrifices to God) in Dvāpara, charity alone in Kali'. This further implies that there are different impelling motives in different ages and modern men should not assess the actions and ideals of past ages by the same yardstick that is applied to contemporary actions and ideals. It is implicit in the words of Manu (XI. 301) that the four ages are not water-tight specific periods of time, but that the Ruler or Government can produce conditions of Kṛta age in what is popularly called Kali by appropriate conduct or measures and Medhātithi expressly says so.[1093a] Prof. Mankad has a novel theory in a paper on the manvantaras in I. H. Q. vol XVIII, pp. 208-230, where he states that the Caturyuga formula took 40 years for a ruling unit and not for one king's regnal period and that the manvantara was the regular method of calculating regnal periods of different kings in a dynasty (p. 227). Hardly any scholar has accepted this theory and for reasons of space and relevance, it is not possible to discuss it here.

In the details about the theory of yugas, manvantaras and kalpas there are some divergences. A few may be pointed out. Āryabhaṭa appears to hold that the extent of each of the four yugas was the same and not in the traditional proportion of 4, 3, 2, 1, when he says that he was twenty-three years old when three *yugapādas* and 3600 years had elapsed (vide Kālakriyāpāda 10 quoted in note 995 above). Brahmagupta (I. 9) says[1094] that, though Āryabhaṭa declared that the four pādas of yugas, viz. Kṛta

1093 तपः परं कृतयुगे त्रेतायां ज्ञानमुच्यते। द्वापरे यज्ञमेवाहुर्दानमेकं कलौ युगे॥ मनु I. 86 = शान्ति 23. 28 = वायुपुराण 8. 65-66, पराशरस्मृति I. 23. वायु reads ध्यानं परं कृतयुगे and दानं कलियुगे वरम्. The ब्रह्माण्ड (II. 7. 59) says 'ज्ञानं परं कृतयुगे त्रेतायां यज्ञ उच्यते। प्रवृत्तं द्वापरे युद्धं स्तेयमेव कलौ युगे॥.'

1093 a. 'कृतं त्रेता युगं चैव द्वापरं कलिरेव च। राज्ञो वृत्तानि सर्वाणि राजा हि युगमुच्यते॥' मनु XI. 301; 'न चैवं मन्तव्यं राज्ञा कलिर्नाम कालविशेष इतिहासप्रसिद्धः कथमहं स्यामिति यतो राज्ञो वृत्तानि युगादि' मेधातिथि.

1094. युगपादानार्यभटश्चत्वारि समानि कृतयुगादीनि। यदभिहितवान्न तेषां स्मृत्युक्तसमानमेकमपि॥ ब्राह्मस्फुटसि. I 9. दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रं ग्रहसामान्यं द्विषट्कगुणम्। अष्टोत्तरं सहस्रं ब्राह्मो दिवसो ग्रहयुगानाम्॥ आर्यभटीय, कालक्रियापाद 8. This means '12000 divine years make a yuga of all the *planets*; 1008 times of planetary yugas are equal to a day of Brahmā.' मनुसन्धि युगमिच्छत्यार्यभटस्तन्मनुर्यतः ख्रयुगः। कल्पश्चतुर्युगानां सहस्रमष्टाधिकं तस्य॥ ब्राह्मस्फुटसिद्धान्त I. 12. The words 'तन्मनुः ... ख्रयुगः' pointedly refer to the Gītikāpāda verse q. above in note 1071.

and the others, were equal, not one of them was equal to what the smṛtis declare them to be. There is another discrepancy also. Āryabhaṭa in his Daśagītikā verse 3 states that Manu is a period of 72 yugas, while all the smṛtis and purāṇas declare that a manvantara is equal to 71 yugas. Āryabhaṭa appears to have held that the day of Brahmā is equal to 1008 *caturyugas* and Brahmagupta (I. 12) refers to this view. The celebrated scientific astronomer Bhāskarācārya[1095] (born in śaka 1036, 1114 A. D.) impatiently says ' some say that half of the life of Brahmā (i. e. 50 years) has passed away, while others say that half plus eight years has passed away. Whatever the true tradition may be, it is of no use, since planetary positions are to be established from the days that have passed in the current day of Brahmā. '

As incidental to the colossal figures of the years of Kalpas and Yugas, a few words on numerals, their antiquity and the methods of writing numerals would not be out of place, In the Ṛgveda numerals from 1 to 10 are frequently used. ' Sahasra ' (thousand) and ' ayuta ' (ten thousand) occur in Ṛg. IV. 26. 7, VIII. 1. 5, VIII. 21 18. One of these says[1096] ' O wielder of thunderbolt! O immensely rich (Indra)! I shall not give thee away even for a big price, not for a thousand, not for ten thousand, nor for hundreds '. In Ṛg. VIII. 46. 22 a poet says ' I secured 60000 and several tens of thousands of horses, 20 hundreds of camels, one thousand dark-coloured mares and ten thousands of cows bright in three parts of their bodies. ' In Ṛg. I. 53. 9 Indra is said to have struck down sixty thousand and 99 enemies. Vide Ṛg. I. 126. 3 (for sixty thousand cows), VIII. 4. 20 and VIII. 46. 29 for 60000 and VI. 63. 10 for one hundred thousand horses. In some of these the larger numbers are mentioned first and the smaller ones next (as in Ṛg. I. 53. 9, VIII. 46. 22); in others it is the reverse. No conclusion can therefore be drawn that the smaller numbers come first in the Ṛgvedic times. In Tai. S. IV. 4. 11. 3–4 reference is made to bricks in numbers from one, one hundred, thousand, ayuta (ten thousand), niyuta, prayuta, arbuda, nyarbuda, samudra, madhya, anta and parārdha, while in Tai. S. VII. 2. 11–19 various numbers from one to one

1095. तथा वर्तमानस्य कस्यायुषोर्धं गतं सार्धवर्षाष्टकं केचिदूचुः । भवत्वागमः कोपि नास्योपयोगो ग्रहा वर्तमानद्युयातात् प्रसाध्याः ॥ सि. शि. I. 26.

1096. महे च न त्वामद्रिवः परा शुल्काय देयाम् । न सहस्राय नायुताय वज्रिवो न शताय शतामघ ॥ ऋ. VIII. 1. 5; षष्टिं सहस्राश्व्यस्यायुतासनमुष्ट्राणां विंशतिं शता । दश श्यावीनां शता दश त्र्यरुषीणां दश गवां सहस्रा ॥ ऋ. VIII. 46. 22.

thousand are mentioned and in VII. 2. 20 numbers from śata, sahasra up to *parārdha* as in IV. 4. 11. 3–4 are expressed. In Vāj. S. 17. 2 bricks from one, ten, hundred up to *parārdha* (which is the 13th order therein) are referred to as in Tai. S. IV. 4. 11. 3–4. Kāṭhaka 17. 10 is the same as Tai. S. IV. 4. 11. 3–4 (from 'Sahasrasya pramā asi' to 'iṣṭakā dhenavaḥ santu'). These references show that names for astronomical numbers of years had been settled at least more than a thousand years before Christ. One should like to know the names of numbers in Greece corresponding to the words from *arbuda* onwards. The Nirukta (III. 10) gives the derivation of eka, dvi, tri, catur, aṣṭa, nava, daśa, viṁśati, śata, sahasra, ayuta, niyuta, prayuta, arbuda. Pāṇini (V. 1. 59) mentions *paṅkti* (ten), viṁśati, triṁśat, catvāriṁśat, pañcāśat, ṣaṣṭi, saptati, aśīti, navati and śata and the Mahābhāṣya on the 4th vārtika on that sūtra mentions sahasra, ayuta and arbuda among numbers. In Sabhāparva[1097] numbers from *ayuta* to *parārdha* are mentioned as noted below. Āryabhaṭa mentions[1098] only ten orders from *eka* to *arbuda*. (hundred million) and vṛnda (thousand million). The Vāyupurāṇa (101. 93–102) mentions the 18 orders of numbers from one to *parārdha* in a slightly confused manner. It may be noted that the ancient Greeks had no single word for million.

The Viṣṇupurāṇa[1099] states that parārdha is 18th order of numbers from one, each order being ten times as much as its predecessor. The 18 orders or units of reckoning as employed for many centuries in India are set out here.[1100]

1097. अयुतं प्रयुतं चैव शङ्कुं पद्मं तथार्बुदम्। खर्वं शङ्खं निखर्वं च महापद्मं च कोटयः। मध्यं चैव परार्धं च सपरं चात्र पण्यताम्। सभापर्व 65. 3–4 (Yudhiṣṭhira says this when he was about to indulge in a gambling bout). Here the orders are not all serially named and 'niyuta' and 'antya' are wanting.

1098. एकं दश च शतं च सहस्रमयुतनियुते तथा प्रयुतम्। कोट्यर्बुदं च वृन्दं स्थानात्स्थानं दशगुणं स्यात्॥ आर्यभटीय, गणितपाद 2. The meaning is 'the numbers eka...vṛnda are from place to place each ten times of the preceding.'

1099. स्थानात्स्थानं दशगुणमेकस्माद्गण्यते द्विज। ततोऽष्टादशमे भागे परार्धमभिधीयते॥ परार्धद्विगुणं यत्तु प्राकृतः स लयो द्विज। तदाऽव्यक्तेऽखिलं व्यक्तं स्वहेतौ लयमेति वै॥ विष्णुपुराण VI. 3. 4–5 (one edition reads द्वादशमे for अष्टादशमे); शतमाहुः परिहृढं सहस्रं परिपद्मकम्। विज्ञेयमयुतं तस्मान्नियुतं प्रयुतं ततः॥ अर्बुदं न्यर्बुदं चैव स्वर्बुदं च ततः स्मृतम्। खर्वं चैव निखर्वं च शङ्कुं पद्मं तथैव च॥ समुद्रं मध्यमं चैव परार्धमपरं ततः। एवमष्टादशैतानि स्थानानि गणनाविधौ॥ वायु 101. 100–102. In the verses from 94 onwards it says: अयुत = दशसहस्राणि, नियुत = शतसहस्र, अर्बुद = दशकोट्यः, अब्ज = कोटिशतं, खर्व = कोटिसहस्रं, निखर्व = दशकोटिसहस्राणि, शङ्कु = कोटिसहस्रशत, समुद्र = कोटीसहस्राणां सहस्रं).

1100. एकदशशतसहस्रायुतलक्षप्रयुतकोटयः क्रमशः। अर्बुदमब्जं खर्वनिखर्वमहापद्मशङ्कवस्तस्मात्॥ जलधिश्चान्त्यं मध्यं परार्धमिति दशगुणोत्तराः संज्ञाः। संख्यायाः स्थानानां व्यवहारार्थं कृताः पूर्वैः॥ लीलावती (परिभाषा, 10–11).

1. Eka	10. Abja or Padma.
2. Daśa	11. Kharva.
3. Śata	12. Nikharva.
4. Sahasra	13. Mahāpadma.
5. Ayuta	14. Śaṅku.
6. Lakṣa	15. Jaladhi or Samudra.
7. Prayuta	16. Antya.
8. Koṭi	17. Madhya.
9. Arbuda	18. Parārdha.

Alberuni (Sachau, vol. I. p. 175) mentions 'nyarbuda' in place of 'arbuda' and changes the sequence of the last three as 'madhya, antya, parārdha'. Herein he appears to have followed the Vāyu and other purāṇas. Aparārka p. 413 notes verses about the 18 *sthānas* in which 'niyuta' occurs for ten lakṣas (and not prayuta), Vṛnda for 'Abja' or 'Padma'; 'Śaṅkha' and 'Padma' for 'Mahāpadma' and 'Śaṅku'.

That the decimal system itself goes back thousands of years from the present follows from the references in the Saṁhitās. But the question whether the *decimal* positional or *place value* system prevailed in Vedic times is rather a different and difficult one. It is generally [1101] admitted that the place value decimal system that now prevails in Europe and all modern countries was Indian in origin and was introduced about the 12th century A. D. in Europe by the Arabs who borrowed it from India. The decimal place value notation is said to be one of the most fertile inven-

1101. Vide Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, vol. II. pp. 504–517 (references to Indian Astronomer visiting Al Mansur's court in 773 A. D.); Alberuni's 'India' (tr. by Sachau, vol. II. pp. 312–313) and Preface pp. XXXII–XXXVI; 'a History of Mathematics' by Cajori (1913) pp. 88 and 100. Mr. G. R. Kaye, who in many of his writings assumes the role of doubter and iconoclast, claims (in J. A. S. B. N S. vol. III. pp. 475–508) that he has proved that this idea about India being the originator of the place value notation now prevalent in Europe is not well founded and must be re-opened and re-examined. In spite of him Prof. Neugebauer in E.S.A. says that the Hindu-Arabic numerals were introduced in Europe in the 12th century A.D. (p 4) and Prof. Filliozat on 'Scientific thought in Ancient India' in East and West, vol. VI. No. 4 pp. 285-292 says at p.291 that Europeans owe to India the popularisation of the decimal system and also the trigonometric sine. Vide also I. H. Q , vol. III. pp. 97–120 and 356–375 on 'Origin and development of numerals' by Sukumar Ranjan Das, Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, vol. XVII pp 195–202 by Saradakant Ganguly on 'Āryabhaṭa's alphabet and Greeks', Bhāratakaumudī vol. I. pp. 253–258, 'Hindu Arabic numerals' by W. E. Clark, pp. 217–236 in Lanman Presentation volume and 'Hindu Arabic numerals' by Smith and Carspinki (1911),

tions of man. There is a good deal of literature on this subject which is passed over here as not material for our purpose. One of the latest works on this system is 'From Zero to Infinity' by Constance Reid (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1956). Zero is the first of ten symbols with which one can represent an infinitude of numbers and it is also the first of the numbers. This work says that the zero escaped even the greatest Greeks, Pythagoras, Euclid and Archimedes (p. 4). The Egyptians[1102] had a decimal system of numerals but no sign for zero and therefore no positional notation, which even the Greeks did not know; ancient Babylonians also had no definite symbol for zero and there is no example of zero signs at the end of numbers even in their latest astronomical writings. It is difficult to say when exactly a symbol or word for zero was employed in India. But it must have been several centuries before the beginning of the Christian era. Piṅgala's work on metres is a *vedāṅga*. Piṅgala's sūtra on metres makes use of zero (śūnya) in VIII. 28–31. Even the Śatapatha Br. (XI. 4. 3. 20) seems to be aware of Vedāṅgas. But it may be argued that there is nothing to show that Piṅgala's work was known to it. It is most probably

1102. Vide 'Legacy of Egypt' (Glanville p. 166), E. S. A. by Neugebauer p. 20, Sarton in 'a History of Science' p. 69; Prof. Neugebauer in JAOS. vol. 61 pp. 213–215 avers that strong arguments exist for the assumption that the Babylonian methods of calculation went, together with Greek Astronomy, to India, and that, sometime in the first centuries of the Christian era, the corresponding decimal place value notation in India, which through the Arabs gave rise to the modern system of Europe. With great respect the author must demur to these assertions. The learned writer endeavours to show that a peculiar sign was used for zero in Mesopotamian cuneiform texts. The important questions that must be answered are; who discovered the symbol for zero now used almost throughout the world, whether the so-called sign for zero which Prof. Neugebauer asserts he has discovered in cuneiform texts was ever used in Europe or for that matter anywhere in the world except in Mesopotamia, what direct relation exists between the Indian zero symbol and the recently discovered zero symbol (which no one had found so far), whether the symbols for 1 to 9 in India bear any resemblance to the Mesopotamian symbols for these numbers, whether the Greeks (who admittedly borrowed many things from Mesopotamia) used the Mesopotamian zero symbol and, if so, when. The 19th century was distinguished by the theories of Western Scholars claiming that science, philosophy and arts began in Greece and that other nations borrowed these from the Greeks. That bubble of Greek primacy in these matters has now been pricked. The twentinth century appears to be heading for giving to Mesopotamia the place once assigned to the Greeks. The Mesopotamian bubble raised by some scholars may be pricked in course of time, particularly as regards others borrowing from them.

mentioned as Chandoviciti in the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra.[1103] Śabara[1104] (about 200 A. D. and not later than 400 A. D.) speaks of Piṅgala's work as on the same level with Pāṇini's sūtra. It is unnecessary to offer further proofs of the antiquity of Piṅgala's sūtra.

There were several methods of writing numerals. One was the place value notation, in which the same numeral has different values according to the place it occupies; for example, the figure two may have the value of only two or twenty or two hundred and so on according as it occupies the units place or tens place or hundreds place. Another way is that of employing words to denote complete numbers. This was a very reliable method when in astronomy huge figures had to be employed and works were not printed but only copied by hand. In ancient times, the writers of mss. might often omit zeros or other figures, but if words with a fixed meaning in relation to numbers were used, they would not be so easily dropped and as many works were metrical, the omission of a word, if any, might have been far more easily detected. It is difficult to say when this system was introduced. But its beginnings are ancient. For example, the word *kṛta* is used in the Taittirīya[1105] Brāhmaṇa in the sense of 'four'. Varāhamihira (beginning of the 6th century A. D.) employs these word numerals but in the place value system (vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 897 n. 1763.) The following is a list of some of the very usual numbers with the corresponding words employed to indicate them It should be noted that the list is not exhaustive. Any number of synonyms[1106] may be employed to indicate the same number. Vide the lists in Alberuni (Sachau, vol. I. pp. 174-179) and Bühler's 'Indian Paleography' (I. A. vol. 33; appendix pp. 83-86).

1103. षडङ्गो वेदः। छन्दःकल्पो व्याकरणं ज्योतिषं निरुक्तं शीक्षा छन्दोविचितिरिति। आप. ध. सू. II. 4. 8. 10-11.

1104. न हि वृद्धिशब्देन अपाणिनेर्व्यवहारत आदैचः प्रतीयेरन् पाणिनिकृतिमननुमन्यमानस्य वा। तथा मकारेणापिङ्गलस्य न सर्वगुरुस्त्रिकः प्रतीयेत पिङ्गलकृतिमननुमन्यमानस्य वा। शबर's भाष्य on पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र I. 1. 5. p. 54.

1105. ये वै चत्वारः स्तोमाः कृतं तत्। तै. ब्रा. I. 5. 11. 1.

1106. पर्यायशब्दैरपि कल्पनीयाः संख्याङ्कसंज्ञाः सुधिया धियासाम्॥ मुहूर्तमाला I. 26 (MS in Bhau Daji Collection of the Bombay Asiatic Society). For example, it may be noted that the Amarakośa gives twenty-five synonyms for सर्प in one place, besides नाग and काद्रवेय mentioned elsewhere as divine beings. This work (in I. 17-25) gives a list of the important word numerals as follows: अङ्कानां वामतो गतिः॥ 17 एकं भूमीन्दुरूपं द्वावक्षिपक्षाश्विदोर्यमाः। त्रयः क्रमग्रामराम-

(Continued on next page)

Zero—śūnya, kha, ambara (sky), gagana, abhra, ākāśa, bindu, pūrṇa.[1107]

One—eka, bhūmi (earth), indu (the moon), rūpa, ādi, Viṣṇu.

Two—dvi, akṣi or locana (eye), pakṣa, Aśvin, dasra, dos or doṣan (arm), bhuja, yama or yamala (twins).

Three—tri, krama (from three steps of Viṣṇu in Ṛg. I. 22. 18. I. 155. 5), grāma (in music), Rāma, pura (cities burnt by Rudra), loka (earth, heaven and hell), guṇa (sattva, rajas, tamas), agni (gārhapatya, āhavanīya and dakṣiṇāgni).

Four—Catur, abdhi (ocean), kṛta, yuga, veda, śruti, varṇa (brāhmaṇa etc.)

Five—pañcan, iṣu or śara (arrows of Madana), vāyu (prāṇa, apāna &c.), bhūta (*pṛthvī*, waters, *tejas*, air, *ākāśa*), akṣa (sense organ), indriya, Pāṇḍava or Pāṇḍu-suta.

Six—Ṣaṭ, rasa (sweet, acid, salt &c.), aṅga (the six auxiliary sciences of the Veda), ṛtu (seasons), tarka (logical categories from *dravya* to *samavāya*), darśana (six systems of philosophy).

Seven—Saptan, ṛṣi or muni (the seven sages), svara (niṣāda, ṛṣabha &c. in music), aśva (seven horses of the Sun, who is called ' saptāśva ' in Ṛg. V. 45. 9), giri, parvata (Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya &c.), dhātu (elements of the body, viz. skin, blood &c.).

Eight—aṣṭan, vasu, sarpa (vide note 321 for eight nāgas), maṅgala, mataṅgaja (elephants of eight quarters), siddhi (aṇimā, laghimā &c. in yoga).

(Continued from last page)

पुरलोकगुणाग्नयः ॥ 18 चत्वारोऽब्धिश्रुतियुगकृताः पञ्चेषुवायवः। भूताक्षौ षड्रसाङ्गर्तुतर्काः सप्तर्षयः स्वराः॥ 19 तुरङ्गपर्वतौ चाष्टवसुसर्पमतङ्गजाः । नवसंख्या नन्दरन्ध्रनिधिगोंऽङ्कनभश्चराः ॥ 20 दशाशाः शून्यमभ्रं स्यादेकादशमहेश्वराः । द्वादशार्कास्तथा विश्वे त्रयोदश चतुर्दश ॥ 21 मन्विन्द्र-भुवनं पञ्चदश तिथयोऽथ षोडश । कलाष्टिराजोथात्यष्टिर्घनाः सप्तदश स्मृताः ॥ 22 अष्टादश धृति श्चातिधृतिरेकोनविंशतिः । विंशतिः स्युः कृतिनखाङ्गुलयोऽथैकविंशतिः ॥ 23 प्रकृतिर्मूर्च्छनास्त्वद्वाविंशतिर्जातिराकृतिः । जिनाः सिद्धाश्चतुर्विंशतिस्तत्त्वपञ्चविंशतिः ॥ 24 स्युः सप्तविंशतिर्भानि द्वात्रिंशद्दशना द्विजाः । त्रयस्त्रिंशत्सुरास्ताना ऊनपञ्चाशदित्यपि ॥ 25.

1107. Vide Pañcasiddhāntikā IV. 7 and 11, XVIII. 35 and 45 for śūnya, and IV. 8 for ' ambara '; Bhāskarācārya uses ' pūrṇa ' for zero in saying that he was born in ' rasa-guṇa-pūrṇa-mahī ' śaka year. *Rūpa* denoting one and *rasa* 6 occur in ancient Bakhshali ms. (vide I. A. vol. 17 at p. 35) which throughout employs the decimal system of notation. *Randhra* (opening) means ' nine ' because there are nine openings in the human body, viz. the mouth, the two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, organ of generation and that of excretion; compare ' नवद्वारे पुरे देही नैव कुर्वन् न कारयन् ' गीता V. 13; पुण्डरीकं नवद्वारं त्रिभिर्गुणेभिरावृतम्। अथर्ववेद X. 8. 48.

Nine—navan, saṅkhyā (from 1 to 9), Nanda (nine Nanda kings), randhra or chidra, nidhi (treasure, mahāpadma, saṇkha, makara &c.), aṅka (numerals one to nine), go or graha or nabhaścara (planets).

Ten—daśan, paṅkti,[1107a] āśā or diśā (directions including *ūrdhva* and *adhara*), avatāra, Rāvaṇa-śiras.

Eleven—Ekādaśan, Maheśvara, Rudra.

Twelve—dvādaśan, āditya, arka. sūrya, māsa.

Thirteen—trayodaśan, Viśve (viśve-devāḥ).

Fourteen—caturdaśan, Manu, Indra, bhuvana (worlds, bhūh &c. seven, and seven pātālas).

Fifteen—pañcadaśan, tithi.

Sixteen—ṣoḍaśan, kalā (digits of the Moon), nṛpa or rājan[1108] (kings), aṣṭi.

Seventeen saptadaśan, atyaṣṭi.

Eighteen—aṣṭādaśan, dhṛti.

Nineteen—ekonaviṁśati, atidhṛti.

Twenty—viṁśati, kṛti, nakha (nails), aṅguli (fingers of the hands and feet together).

Twentyone—ekaviṁśati, prakṛti, mūrchanā (in music).

Twentytwo—dvāviṁśati, jāti, ākṛti.

Twentyfour—caturviṁśati, Jina or siddha (24 Jain tīrthaṅkaras).

Twentyfive—pañcaviṁśati, *tattva* (25 Sāṅkhya principles, vide note 1092).

Twentyseven—saptaviṁśati, bha, nakṣatra.

Thirtytwo—dvātriṁśat, daśana or dvija (both mean 'teeth').

Thirtythree—trayastriṁśat, sura (gods).

Fortynine—ekonapañcāśat, tāna (notes in music).

The above method of employing particular significant words to denote certain numbers even in decimal place value system is largely employed by Varāhamihira in his Pañcasiddhāntikā (e. g. I. 8 in note 1004 above, VIII. 1)

1107 a. 'पङ्क्तिविंशतित्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशत्पञ्चाशत्षष्टिसप्तत्यशीतिनवतिशतम् ।' पा. VI. 1. 59.

1108. There is a 'षोडशराजकीय' section in द्रोणपर्व chap. 55–71 (16 ancient kings named Marutta, Suhotra, Paurava &c.). Aṣṭi is a Vedic metre, each of its four pādas having 16 letters as in Ṛg. II. 22.1; Atyaṣṭi is another Vedic metre with 68 letters in four pādas; Dhṛti, Atidhṛti. Kṛti, Prakṛti, and Ākṛti have respectively 72, 76, 80, 84, 88 letters in all pādas, The Ṛk-prātiśākhya (16. 83–90) says उत्तराष्टिश्चतुःषष्टिः । ततोऽष्टाषष्टिरत्यष्टिः । धृतिः पूर्वा द्विसप्ततिः । षट्सप्ततिस्त्वतिधृतिः । कृतिः प्रकृतिराकृतिर्विकृतिः सङ्कृतिस्तथा । षष्टी चाभिकृतिर्नाम सप्तम्युत्कृतिरुच्यते ॥ अशीतिश्चतुरशीतिरष्टाशीतिर्द्विनवतिः ।,...ed. by Mangal Deva Shastri, Allahabad (1931).

and in Bṛhat-saṁhitā 8. 20 and by all later astronomical writers.[1109] The particular matter to be noted is that the first word in a group (denoting a number) is to be assigned to the units place, the next to its left in the tens place, so that a word like 'saptāśvi-veda-saṅkhyam' becomes 427 (by the rule 'aṅkānām vāmato gatiḥ').

Another method for expressing numbers is elaborated by Āryabhaṭa in his Daśagītikāpāda[1110] (verse 3) where the letters from *k* (kā also) to *m* have the values of 1 to 25, while *ya*, *ra*, *la*, *va*, *śa*, *ṣa*, *sa* and *ha* stand for 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90 and 100 and so on towards more complicated matters.

The fourth *aṅga* in a pañcāṅga is called *Yoga*. There is no direct astronomical phenomena corresponding to it. It is calculated from the sum of the longitudes of the Sun and the Moon (or it is the time during which the sun and the moon together accomplish 13 degrees and 20 minutes of space). When this amounts to degrees 13. 20 the first Yoga called Viṣkambha ends; when it amounts to 26. 40 the 2nd Yoga Prīti ends and so on. The yogas are 27 (that thus make 360 degrees) as stated in the Ratnamālā IV. 1-3 and are as follows :—

Name — Deity

1. Viṣkambha — Yama.
2. Prīti — Viṣṇu.
3. Āyuṣmat — Candra.
4. Saubhāgya — Brahmā.
5. Śobhana — Bṛhaspati.
6. Atigaṇḍa — Candra.
7. Sukarman — Indra.
8. Dhṛti — Āpaḥ.
9. Śūla — Sarpa.
10. Gaṇḍa — Agni.
11. Vṛddhi — Sūrya.
12. Dhruva — Pṛthvī.
13. Vyāghāta — Pavana.
14. Harṣaṇa — Rudra.
15. Vajra — Varuṇa.
16. Siddhi — Gaṇeśa.
17. Vyatīpāta — Śiva.
18. Varīyas — Kubera.
19. Parigha — Viśvakarman.
20. Śiva — Mitra.
21. Siddha — Kārtikeya.
22. Sādhya — Sāvitrī.
23. Śubha — Kamalā.
24. Śukla — Gaurī.
25. Brahman — Aśvinau.
26. Aindra — Pitṛs.
27. Vaidhṛti — Aditi.

1109. How neatly huge numbers can be indicated by words may be illustrated by the सि. शि. I. 28 गोऽद्रीन्दुद्विकृताङ्कदस्रनगगोचन्द्राः शकाब्दान्विताः सर्वे सङ्कलिताः पितामहदिने स्युर्वर्तमाने गताः ।'. These come to 1972947179 days.

1110. The Daśagītikā verse 3 has been differently interpreted by different scholars. Vide Fleet in JRAS in 1911 pp. 109-128 for Āryabhaṭa's system and pp. 115-125 for explanation of the verse.

These are *nitya* (ever-recurring) Yogas. The Ratnamālā states that they yield good or bad results in keeping with their names. The Muhūrtadarśana[1111] states that among these 27 yogas nine are condemned, viz. Parigha, Vyatīpāta, Vajra, Vyāghāta, Vaidhṛti, Viṣkambha, Śūla, Gaṇḍa[1112] and Atigaṇḍa. The Ratnamālā provides that Vyatīpāta and Vaidhṛti are wholly inauspicious, the first half of Parigha is so and only the first quarter of those Yogas the names of which are odious; and that one should avoid in all auspicious rites the first three ghaṭikās in Viṣkambha and Vajra, nine ghaṭīs in Vyāghāta, five in Śūla, six in Gaṇḍa and Atigaṇḍa. The Agnipurāṇa[1113] (127. 1–2) has similar verses. The Kālanirṇaya-kārikā[1114] provides that when a Yoga spreads over two days, fasts and the like are to be observed on the first of the two days provided that Yoga exists at sunset on that day, and vratas and religious gifts are to be performed on the latter (of two days) provided the Yoga exists for three *muhūrtas* (i. e. six ghaṭīs) after sunrise and for śrāddha the day on which the Yoga extends over the time required for the śrāddha rite should be accepted.

The system of Yogas must be held to be ancient. The Yājñavalkyasmṛti (I. 218) when specifying the times for the performance of śrāddhas includes Vyatīpāta among them. In the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa it is said (Ucchvāsa IV) that Harṣa was born on a day free from the taint of all defects such as Vyatīpāta (vyatīpātādi-sarvadoṣābhiṣaṅga-rahiteshani). There would generally be 13 vyatīpātas in a year (sometimes 14) and, among the 96 śrāddhas, śrāddhas on these thirteen vyatīpātas are

1111. निन्द्यास्ते नित्ययोगेष्वपि नव परिघः सव्यतीपातवज्रो व्याघातो वैधृतिश्च प्रथमपरिवृताः शूलगण्डातिगण्डाः । मुहूर्तदर्शन II. 16.

1112. विरुद्धसंज्ञा इह ये च योगास्तेषामनिष्टः खलु पाद आद्यः । सवैधृतिस्तु व्यतिपातनामा सर्वोऽप्यनिष्टः परिघस्य चार्धम् ॥ तिस्रस्तु योगे प्रथमे सवज्रे व्याघातसंज्ञे नव पञ्च शूले । गण्डातिगण्डे च षडेव नाड्यः शुभेषु कार्येषु परिवर्जनीयाः ॥ रत्नमाला IV. 4–5.

1113. विष्कम्भे घटिकास्तिस्रः शूले पञ्च विवर्जयेत् । षट्षड् गण्डेऽतिगण्डे च नव व्याघातवज्रयोः ॥ परिघे च व्यतीपाते उभयोरपि तद्दिनम् ॥ वैधृतौ तद्दिनं चैव यात्रायुद्धादिकं त्यजेत् ॥ अग्निपु० 127. 1–2.

1114. पूर्वः स्यादुपवासादावुत्तरो व्रतदानयोः । योगः श्राद्धे कर्मकालव्यापस्तु परिगृह्यताम् ॥ कालनिर्णयकारिका 108–109 ; योगेषु तु कस्यचिल्लिङ्गस्य पूर्वेद्युर्निशीथमात्रव्याप्तिं प्रत्यसूचकत्वात्सायंकालादिव्याप्तिर्ग्राह्या । यदि योगः पूर्वेद्युर्निशीथमात्रं व्याप्नुयात् तदापरेद्युरहनि पारणं प्राप्नुयात्, रात्रौ पारणस्य निषिद्धत्वात् । ...तस्माद्विष्कम्भादियोगे उपवासादौ पूर्वविद्धो ग्रहीतव्यः, दानव्रतयोरुदयव्यापी ग्राह्यः, श्राद्धस्य तु कर्मकालव्यापी–इति निर्णेतव्यम् । कालनिर्णय pp. 329–330.

included (vide H. of Dh. vol. IV pp. 382–383 and note 861). Besides these 27 Yogas, there are others that occur when there are special conjunctions of weekdays with certain tithis and nakṣatras or when certain planets occupy certain rāśis on certain tithis and nakṣatras. For Kapilāṣaṣṭhīyoga and Ardhodaya, vide above pp. 279 and 261. Vyatīpāta itself has two technical senses apart from being 17th out of the 27 Yogas mentioned above viz. (1) When amāvāsyā[1115] occurs on a Sunday and the moon is in the first quarter on any one of the nakṣatras Śravaṇa, Aśvinī, Dhaniṣṭhā, Ārdrā and Āśleṣā that is Vyatīpāta; (2) When on the 12th of the bright half Jupiter and Mars are in the sign Lion, the Sun is in Ram and when that tithi has Hasta nakṣatra on it, it is Vyatīpāta[1116] Yoga. These two are sometimes called Mahāvyatīpāta. Gifts made on those conjunctions are very much commended;[1117] 'gifts on amāvāsyā yield one hundred-fold merit, on the suppression of a tithi a thousand-fold, on Viṣuva day ten thousand-fold, but on Vyatīpāta endless (merit). By gifts of cows, land, gold and clothes made on this the donor becomes free from sin and secures godhead, the position of Indra, health, the rulership of men.[1118] The Sūryasiddhānta (XI. 1–2) gives an explanation of Vyatīpāta and Vaidhṛta[1119] (or Vaidhṛti)– when the sun and the moon are on the same side of either solstice and when the sum of their longitudes being a circle they are of equal declination it is styled Vaidhṛti. When the moon and the sun are on opposite sides of either solstice and their minutes of declination are the same, it is Vyatīpāta, the sum of their

1115. श्रवणाश्विधनिष्ठार्द्रा–नागदैवतमस्तके। यद्यमा रविवारेण व्यतीपातः स उच्यते॥ वृद्धमनु q. by अपरार्क p. 426, हेमाद्रि (on काल) p. 673, स्मृतिच. II. 341 (without name), कालविवेक 364 (no names). The स्मृतिच. holds that मस्तक means मृगशिरस्, while हेमाद्रि and कालविवेक take it to mean the first quarter and connect it with all the preceding nakṣatras. अग्निपुराण 209. 13 is almost the same as वृद्धमनु.

1116. पञ्चाननस्थौ गुरुभूमिपुत्रौ मेषे रविः स्याद्यदि शुक्लपक्षे। पाशाभिधाना करभेन युक्ता तिथिर्व्यतीपात इतीह योगः॥ स्मृत्यन्तर q. by हेमाद्रि on काल p. 673, कालविवेक p. 364.

1117. शतमिन्दुक्षये दानं सहस्रं तु दिनक्षये। विषुवे दशसाहस्रं व्यतीपाते त्वनन्तकम्॥ लघुशातातप 150 quoted as व्यास's by अपरार्क p. 292 and as याज्ञवल्क्य's by हेमाद्रि (on काल) p. 672.

1118. अस्मिन्हि गोभूमिहिरण्यवस्त्रदानेन सर्वं प्रविहाय पापम्। सुरत्वमिन्द्रत्वमनामयत्वं मर्त्याधिपत्यं लभते मनुष्यः॥ q. by हे. (on काल) pp. 673-674.

1119. एकायनगतौ स्यातां सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ यदा। तद्युतौ मण्डले क्रान्त्योस्तुल्यत्वे वैधृताभिधः॥ विपरीतायनगतौ चन्द्रार्कौ क्रान्तिलिप्तिकाः। समास्तदा व्यतीपातो भगणार्धे तयोर्युतौ॥ सूर्यसिद्धान्त XI. 1–2.

longitudes being a half circle. Why the times mentioned should be looked upon as specially inauspicious or unfortunate is not at all clear and no plausible reason has been assigned. The 27th Yoga called Vaidhṛti was just like Vyatīpāta in all respects. Bharadvāja says that the merit of gifts made on Vyatīpāta and Vaidhṛti is endless.

In the pañcāṅgas several Yogas (that have nothing to do with the 27 yogas) like Amṛtasiddhi, Yamaghaṇṭa, Dagdhayoga, Mṛtyuyoga, Ghabāḍa are mentioned; they are purely astrological and all of them except three are passed over here for reasons of space. When on Sunday there is Hasta, on Monday Mṛgaśīrṣa, on Tuesday Aśvinī, on Wednesday Anurādhā, on Thursday Tiṣya (i. e. Puṣya), on Friday Revatī and on Saturday Rohiṇī, all these are Amṛtasiddhiyogas (fortunate ones [1120]). Avoid Anurādhā on Sunday, Uttarāṣāḍhā on Monday, Śatatārakā on Tuesday, Aśvinī on Wednesday, Mṛgaśīrṣa on Thursday, Āśleṣā on Friday and Hasta on Saturday-- these are seven Mṛtyuyogas (inauspicious). If the weekdays from Sunday to Saturday occur on the tithis, 12th, 11th, 10th, 3rd, 6th, 2nd, 7th respectively, these are Dagdhayogas (inauspicious yogas).

The fifth item in a pañcāṅga is Karaṇa. Half of a tithi is Karaṇa and thus there are two Karaṇas in a tithi and 60 Karaṇas in a lunar month. Karaṇas are of two kinds, viz. *cara* (moving) and *sthira* (immoveable). The seven *cara* karaṇas with their presiding deities according to Bṛhatsaṁhitā, chap. 99. 1-2 are: 1. Bava-Indra; 2. Bālava-Brahmā; 3 Kaulava-Mitra; 4. Taitila-Aryaman; 5. Gara (or Garaja)-Earth; 6. Vaṇija-Śrī; 7. Viṣṭi-Yama. The four *sthira* karaṇas with their deities are: 1. Śakuni-Kali; 2. Catuṣpada-Vṛṣa; 3. Nāga-snake; 4. Kiṁstughna-Vāyu. Some works transpose the two, Catuṣpada and Nāga. This division of a tithi into two halves resembles the division of a rāśi into two *horās* (Bṛhajjātaka I. 9). It is likely that one was suggested by the other. The difficulty is to decide which was the earlier. I believe it likely that the division of tithis into two karaṇas is the earlier of the two. The sthira karaṇas occur only once in a month i. e. on the latter half of

1120. हस्तो रवौ शशधरे च मृगोत्तमाङ्गं भौमेऽश्विनी बुधदिने च तथानुराधा। तिष्यो गुरौ भृगुसुतेपि च पौष्णधिष्ण्यं रोहिण्यथार्कतनयेऽमृतसिद्धियोगाः॥ रत्नमाला VIII. 8 (ms.); त्यज रविमनुराधा विश्वदेवं च सोमे शतभिषमपि भौमे चन्द्रजे चाश्विनी च। शशधरमपि जीवे सर्पदेवं च शुक्रे रविसुतमपि हस्ते मृत्युयोगाश्च सप्त॥ भुजबलनिबन्ध p. 31 verse 126; आदित्यरुद्रकाष्ठाग्निरसपक्षतुरङ्गमाः। अर्कादिवारयोगेन दह्यन्ते तिथयः क्रमात्॥ भुजबलनिबन्ध p. 28 verse 114.

14th tithi of dark half occurs Śakuni: Catuṣpada and Nāga occupy the two halves of amāvāsyā and Kiṁstughna occurs on the first half of Pratipad i. e. if the 30 tithis of an amānta month are divided into 60 halves, Śakuni, Catuṣpada and Nāga occupy the 58th, 59th and 60th parts and Kiṁstughna occupies the first half of the pratipad of the next month. Bava occupies the second half of śukla pratipad and the others follow one after another and as they are only seven they are repeated eight times in a month from the 2nd half of pratipad to the first half of the 14th tithi of a dark half, which would be 57th of the sixty halves of the tithis of the month and would be occupied by Viṣṭi. In the pañcāṅgas, two karaṇas should properly be shown under each tithi, but in pañcāṅgas only that Karaṇa is shown against a tithi whose ending moment is 30 ghaṭikās or less from sunrise. The ending times of Karaṇas which are assigned to the 2nd halves of tithis coincide with those of the tithis themselves and therefore there is no need for their calculation. The ending times of the first halves of tithis which correspond to certain Karaṇas are got in the manner described by Pillai in his 'Indian Ephemeris', vol. I. part 1 p. 37, paragraphs 106–107.

The word Karaṇa is derived from the root 'kṛ' (to do) and is said to have been so named because it divides a tithi in two parts.[1121] The names of most of the Karaṇas are somewhat strange and inexplicable. The word 'Taitila-kadrū' occurs in Pāṇini VI. 2. 42 (with regard to accent) but the Kāśikā explains that Taitila means 'a descendant or pupil or Titilin'. If a mere conjecture were to be offered, the Karaṇa Taitila might have been first named after a man so called. The Karaṇas are only of astrological use and must have been named many centuries before 400 A. D. The Nāradapurāṇa[1122] mentions both kinds of Karaṇas. The Bṛhat-saṁhitā lays down what should be done or not done on the several Karaṇas[1123] as follows: one

1121. तिथिं द्विधा करोतीति करणमित्यर्थसंज्ञानात् तिथ्यर्धं करणमिति विज्ञायते। com. दीपिका on मु. द. I. 41.

1122. शेषं बवो बालवश्च कौलवस्तैतिलो गरः। वणिजोऽभ्रे भवेद्विष्टिः कृष्णभूतापरार्धतः। शकुनिर्नागश्च चतुष्पदं किंस्तुघ्नमेवच॥ नारदपु० I. 54. 126–127.

1123. कुर्याद्बवे शुभचरस्थिरपौष्टिकानि धर्मक्रियाद्विजहितानि च बालवाख्ये। संप्रीतिमित्रवरणानि च कौलवे स्युः सौभाग्यसंश्रयगृहाणि च तैतिलाख्ये॥ कृषिबीजगृहाश्रयजानि गरे वणिजि ध्रुवकार्यवणिग्युतयः। न हि विष्टिकृतं विदधाति शुभं परघातविषादिषु सिद्धिकरम्॥ कार्यं पौष्टिकमौषधादि शकुनौ मूलानि मन्त्रास्तथा गोकार्याणि चतुष्पदे द्विजपितॄनुद्दिश्य राज्यानि च। नागे स्थावरदारुणानि हरणं दौर्भाग्यकर्माण्यतः किंस्तुघ्ने शुभमिष्टिपुष्टिकरणं मङ्गल्यसिद्धिक्रियाः॥ बृहत्संहिता 99. 3–5.

should perform on Bava all auspicious (religious) rites, all acts that bring about physical health: on Bālava religious acts and acts beneficial to brāhmaṇas; on Kaulava acts leading to good relations and friendship and choosing a bride; on Taitila acts that lead to popularity with people, to securing the patronage (of some important person) and building a house; on Gara actions pertaining to ploughing, sowing seeds and those that arise in houses; on Vaṇija, acts of a permanent nature, trading, and meeting with people; whatever is done on Viṣṭi does not bring about fortunate results; but actions as regards destruction of enemies, poisoning and incendiarism become successful on it; on Śakuni one should do what leads to physical health and medication, planting roots and eating them and becoming successful in mantras; on Catuṣpada actions relating to cows (i. e. gifts of them and rearing them), actions regarding brāhmaṇas and one's ancestors and king's business should be done; on Nāga, acts relating to immoveable property, cruel acts, depriving (a man of his wealth or wife) and acts that lead to hatred among people; on Kiṁstughna, auspicious (religious) acts, Vedic sacrifices (called *iṣṭis*) and acts leading to physical prosperity and maṅgala acts (marriage &c.) and other acts that bring success in these matters.

One very noticeable feature is that the 7th mobile Karaṇa called Viṣṭi appears to have inspired great terror in the minds of medieval writers on Dharmaśāstra. It will be noticed that dividing the lunar month into 60 halves of tithis, and beginning Bava on the second half of the pratipad of an amānta month, the Karaṇa Viṣṭi will occur eight times in one month as the following diagram of the sixty halves will show:

Bava	2	9	16	23	30	37	44	51
Bālava	3	10	17	24	31	38	45	52
Kaulava	4	11	18	25	32	39	46	53
Taitila	5	12	19	26	33	40	47	54
Gara	6	13	20	27	34	41	48	55
Vaṇija	7	14	21	28	35	42	49	56
Viṣṭi	8	15	22	29	36	43	50	57

The fixed Karaṇas will be Śakuni 58, 59 Catuṣpada, 60 Nāga, 1 (pratipad first half of next month) Kiṁstughna.

In the dark half,[1124] Viṣṭi will occur in the latter half of the third and 10th tithis and in the first half of the 7th and 14th tithis; in the bright half Viṣṭi will occur in the latter half of the 4th and 11th tithis and the first half of the 8th and 15th (i. e. Paurṇamāsī) tithis. The Rājamārtaṇḍa[1125] states ' Some regard Viṣṭi as having the form of a cobra and as terrible; there is danger in the mouth of a snake but not in its tail. The mouth, neck, chest, navel region, waist and tail of Viṣṭi are respectively of five, one, eleven, four, six and three ghaṭikās. Great sages declare that it (Viṣṭi) does not confer fortunate results, therefore a good man should avoid these except the tail' (on last three ghaṭikās of Viṣṭi auspicious acts may be performed). Viṣṭi is also euphemistically called Bhadrā or Kalyāṇī (it is really *abhadrā)*. The terrible nature of Viṣṭi is described in two verses of Bhīma-parākrama quoted in Bhujabala-nibandha p. 30 (vide pp. 95–96 of my paper on ' Bhoja and his works &c. ' in Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, vol. XXIII for 1953–54) which also occur in Rājamārtaṇḍa, verses 1021–22.

The whole scheme of Karaṇas is itself fanciful. But to draw a lurid picture of one of them, Viṣṭi (which occurs eight times in a month), and say that it is like a cobra or an ogress is the height of imagination dominated by astrological considerations.

Having described at some length the five aṅgas in a pañcāṅga, a few words must be said about Hindu calendars, though it has been already declared above that purely astronomical matters will not be elaborated in this work. In the

1124. तृतीयादशमीशेषे तत्पञ्चम्योश्च पूर्वतः । कृष्णे विष्टिः सिते तद्वत्तासां परतिथिष्वपि ॥ शुद्धिदीपिका q. by शुद्धिकौमुदी p 207; a similar verse is quoted by नि. सि. p. 23 ' संग्रहे । कृष्णेऽग्निविशयोरूर्ध्वं सप्तमीभूतयोरधः । शुक्ले वेदेशयोरूर्ध्वं भद्रा प्राग् वसुपूर्णयोः ॥. ' Vide मु. चि. I. 43.

1125. विष्टिं भुजङ्गमाकारां केचिदिच्छन्ति दारुणाम् । भुजगस्य मुखे भीतिर्न तु पुच्छे कदाचन ॥ आस्यं तस्या भवति घटिकाः पञ्च कण्ठं तथैका वक्षश्चैकादश निगदिता नाभिदेशश्च-तस्रः । पुच्छस्तिस्रः कटिरपि तथा षट् च पूर्वं मुनीन्द्रैराख्यातैषा न शुभफलदा वर्जयेदुत्तमस्ताम् ॥ राजमार्तण्ड q. by शुद्धिकौमुदी p. 208. These are verses 1015–16 of the ms. of राजमार्तण्ड described by me in Journal of Oriental research, Madras, vol. XXIII. (1953–54) at pp. 108–112. The com. on मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि I. 44 quotes a verse from कश्यपसंहिता for the evil consequences of beginning an auspicious rite (maṅgala) on the different parts of Viṣṭi (except its tail) : कार्यहानिर्मुखे मृत्युर्गले वक्षसि निःस्वता । कट्यामुन्मत्तता नाभौ च्युतिः पुच्छे ध्रुवो जयः ॥ अयं च भद्राङ्गविभागो नाडीनां त्रिंशतोक्तः । त्रिंशतो न्यूनाधिकत्वे तु त्रैराशिकेन मुखादीनामङ्गानां विभागज्ञानम् । com.

continent of India there are numerous pañcāṅgas in vogue and there is something like anarchy in this sphere. Hardly any two pañcāṅgas agree completely. Many educated I ndians have been demanding that such matters as eclipses, the times of which can be noted by anyone, should be accurately predicted by the almanacs and that our ancient methods of calculating the motions of heavenly bodies should be brought in line with modern accurate calculations based upon observations. This is just what scientific astronomers like Varāhamihira would have done if they were living in modern times. At the end of his two works Varāha makes a very candid but solemn request[1126] 'whatever in this work comes to be unscientific while it is being used or on account of defects in the mss, or whatever may have been badly executed by me or insufficiently done or not done at all, that should be corrected by learned men, leaving aside all passion (jealousy), and after acquiring (knowledge) from the lips of well-read men.' Some almanac-makers follow the Nautical Almanac tables as to eclipses and the like and set out other matters according to the old tables. As already stated there are three main schools of astronomers in India, (1) the school that follows the Sūrya-siddhānta (and is called Saurapakṣa), (2) the second follows the Brahma-siddhānta (and is called Brāhmapakṣa), (3) the third follows the Āryasiddhānta (and is styled Āryapakṣa). There are two main points of difference between these, viz. (1) the length of the year, (2) the number of revolutions of the sun, the moon and the planets in a certain period such as a mahāyuga. The difference in the length of the year among the siddhāntas is very small viz. a few *vipalas* (a *vipala* being $\frac{1}{60}$th part of a *pala*, which again is $\frac{1}{60}$th of a *ghaṭikā* that is equal to 24 minutes). The length of the year according to the Sūryasiddhānta is 365 days 15 ghaṭīs, 31. 523 *palas*, while the interval in time between two successive returns of the sun to the vernal equinox (called the tropical year) is only 365 days, 14 ghaṭīs and 31. 972 palas and the correct sideral (nākṣatra) year is 365 days, 15 ghaṭīs, 22 palas and 53 vipalas (vide C. R. C. Report p. 240 in hours, minutes and seconds and Dikshit's History ed. of 1931 pp. 159, 440). The result is that if one follows the Sūryasiddhānta, the starting point of Hindu astronomers is at present more than 23 degrees to the east of the correct vernal equinox point. This difference is called the *ayanāṁśa*.

1126. ग्रन्थस्य यत्प्रचरतोऽस्य विनाशमेति लेख्याद् बहुश्रुतमुखाधिगमक्रमेण। यद्वा मया कुकृतमल्पमिहाकृतं वा कार्यं तदत्र विदुषा परिहृत्य रागम्॥ बृहत्संहिता 105. 5, बृहज्जातक 28.8.

As the longitudes of heavenly bodies reckoned from the equinox include these *ayanāṁśas* they are called *sāyana* (*sa* + *ayana*). The places of heavenly bodies obtained by the methods of the Sūryasiddhānta and medieval Sanskrit works are distinguished by being called *nirayaṇa* (devoid of taking into account precession). At present according to most almanacs that employ the Sūryasiddhānta values Makarasaṅkrānti (Sun's entrance into Capricorn) falls generally on 14th January, but according to the most accurate modern calculations, it should fall on 21st December; even in calendars that pride themselves on being *śuddha* the Makarasaṅkrānti falls on 9th January i. e. our Makarasaṅkrānti is celebrated[1127] about 23 or 18 days later than it should be and the same happens to the vernal equinox, autumnal equinox and the summer solstice and many other observances. Aśvinī is still reckoned as the first nakṣatra (in which the vernal equinox is deemed to have occurred about *śaka* 444), although the vernal equinox point has receded to the Uttarā-bhādrapadā group of stars (which should now be treated as the first nakṣatra). Efforts have been made by those familiar with the modern accurate calculations (such as the late Kero L. Chatre) to introduce modrn calculations in our almanacs; but they have met with little response. The late Lokamānya Tilak (who was a great Vedic scholar and mathematician) held several conferences of Indian astronomers and other interested people at Bombay (1904), Poona (1917) and at Sangli (1919). At the last conference several resolutions were passed which without making a total break with the past were calculated to reform our calendar and to prevent furthur deterioration. It is unnecessary to set out all the resolutions, but the most important were that the length of the year should be that of the Sūryasiddhānta but subject to necessary corrections, the rate of precession should be accepted at 50·2 *vikalās* a year (as determined by modern astronomical observations), that the Yogatārā[1128] of Revatī (corresponding to Zeta Piscium of modern astronomers) should be deemed to be the beginning of the

1127. Vide note 574 above, where the encyclopoedist scholar Hemādri is quoted as saying that the real Makarsaṅkrānti takes place 12 days before the saṅkrānti in the almanacs and that the holy time of Makarsaṅkrānti is really twelve days earlier than the one on which people celebrate it and religious gifts should really be made at that time.

1128. सतारागणमध्ये (स्वतारा° ?) तु या तारा दीप्तिमत्तरा । योगतारेति सा प्रोक्ता नक्षत्राणां पुरातनैः ॥ quoted by उत्पल on बृहत्संहिता 24. 34 and by अद्भुतसागर p. 44 (which reads तु श्वेता वा दीप्तिमत्तरा).

Zodiacal belt (*rāśicakrārambhasthāna*) and that the *ayanāṁśas* calculated from the starting point by actual observation should be accepted for the purpose of a new *Karaṇa* (astronomical manual) to be compiled according to the resolutions. Unfortunately the resolutions did not state where exactly the star Zeta Piscium was in a particular śaka year. Dr. K. L. Daftari prepared a Karaṇa-grantha called Karaṇakalpalatā in Sanskrit which was published in 1924. Almanacs based on its data have been published and are sometimes known as 'Tilak Pañcāṅga.' But it must be confessed that our people in general are so much custom-ridden that the popular response to the reformed calendar is poor. People still follow the pañcāṅgas based on the old siddhāntas. According to the śāstras every religious festival is to be celebrated at the proper time i. e. in the right *season* and on the proper tithi. The tithi depends upon the correct calculation of the movements of the moon, which are most difficult to reduce to rules that will give accurate results. Many people will not observe the *ekādaśī* fast if the eleventh tithi is mixed up with the 10th tithi even for a few ghaṭikās. But what guarantee is there that the 10th tithi has been accurately calculated? The ending moments of tithis do not agree with those given by the Nautical Almanac which are based on modern formula and are verified by actual observation. If tithis be calculated according to different Sanskrit astronomical treatises the moment of a particular tithi may differ by as much as five hours and the same festival (such as Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī or *Dussera*) may be celebrated on two successive days in the same city.

Besides, it must not be forgotten that a pañcāṅga prepared on the basis of the latitude and longitude of Poona or Bombay will be slightly wrong even at a distance of 30 or 40 miles to the west or east or north. It would be a great mistake from the religious point of view to employ a pañcāṅga prepared on the basis of the longitude and latitude of Poona or Bombay in a place several hundred miles away (such as in Hyderabad or Aurangabad). From the religious point of view if accuracy is to be preserved there must be a separate pañcāṅga for every town or every place not more than 10 or 15 miles from places like Bombay or Poona where pañcāṅgas are at present prepared.

In November 1952 the Government of India appointed a committee called the Calendar Reform Committee presided over by Dr. Meghanad Saha to examine all existing calendars being followed at present in India and to submit proposals for an accurate and uniform calendar for the whole of India. That

committee submitted a very exhaustive and valuable report in November 1955. The final recommendations of the Committee for a civil calendar and for a religious calendar are set out on pp. 6-8 of the report. They are deserving of the most serious consideration by all who feel that religious observances must be done at the proper time and that now at least in independent India there should not only be one uniform civil calendar, but also one uniform Hindu religious calendar.[1129] It appears that unless Government makes great efforts for the introduction of a correct calendar even for religious purposes, it would be futile to assume that common people will spontaneously adopt a correct pañcāṅga.

Some of the important recommendations of the Committee may be set out here for the information of readers.

Recommendations for civil calendar

(1) The Śaka era should be used in the unified national calendar. The Śaka year 1876 corresponds to 1954–55 A. D.

(2) The year should start from the day following the vernal equinox day.

(3) Normal year is to consist of 365 days, while a leap year would have 366 days. After adding 78 to the Śaka era year, if the sum is divisible by 4, then it would be a leap year. But when the sum becomes a multiple of 100, it would be a leap year only when it is divisible by 400; otherwise it would be a common year.

(4) Caitra (or Chaitra as often written) should be the first month of the year and the lengths of the different months should be fixed as follows :—

Caitra — 30 days (31 days in a leap year).	Āśvina — 30 days.
Vaiśākha — 31 days.	Kārtika — 30 days.
Jyeṣṭha — 31 days.	Mārgaśīrṣa — 30 days.
Āṣāḍha — 31 days.	Pauṣa — 30 days.
Śrāvaṇa — 31 days.	Māgha — 30 days.
Bhādrapada — 31 days.	Phālguna — 30 days.

1129. Those interested in Indian Calendar Reform should read the Marathi Preface to Dr. K. L. Daftari's work in Sanskrit 'Karaṇa-kalpalatā', Mr. S. M. Karamalkar's Marathi work '*Khareṁ pañcāṅga kaseṁ miḷel*' (1950), I. H. Q. vol. IV. pp. 483–511 on ' Hindu Calendar ' by Sukumar Ranjan Das, Dr. Saha's papers on ' Reform of Indian calendar ' in 'Science and Culture' (Calcutta, 1952), vol. XVII. pp. 57–68 and 109–123 and the Report of the Calendar Reform Committee.

The dates of the reformed Indian calendar would thus have a permanent correspondence with the Gregorian[1130] calendar. The corresponding dates would be :

Hindu	Gregorian		
Caitra 1	— March 22 in a common year and 21 in a leap year.	Āśvina 1	— September 23.
Vaiśākha 1	— April 21.	Kārtika 1	— October 23.
Jyeṣṭha 1	— May 22.	Mārgaśīrṣa 1	— November 22.
Āṣāḍha 1	— June 22.	Pauṣa 1	— December 22.
Śrāvaṇa 1	— July 23.	Māgha 1	— January 21.
Bhādrapada 1	— August 23.	Phālguna 1	— February 20.

The Indian seasons would thus be permanently fixed with respect to the reformed Calendar as follows :

Seasons :

Grīṣma (summer)	— Vaiśākha and Jyeṣṭha.	Hemanta (late autumn)	— Kārtika and Mārgaśīrṣa.
Varṣā (rains)	— Āṣāḍha and Śrāvaṇa.	Śiśira (winter)	— Pauṣa and Māgha.
Śarad (Autumn)	— Bhādrapada and Āśvina.	Vasanta (Spring)	— Phālguna and Caitra.

The States now having the solar calendars for civil and partly religious purposes which start the year from Vaiśākha (April 14th) will have to begin the year 23 days earlier, but the first month will be Caitra. The effect of this will be that in Bengal, Orissa and Assam solar months start approximately seven days later than now, and in Tamil-nad solar months start approximately 23 days earlier than now, for the month called Vaiśākha (14th April to 14th May) in Bengal and Orissa is called *Chittirai* (or *caitra*) in Tamil-nad. Those who use the lunar calendar beginning with Caitra also for civil purposes would experience no great difficulty in adopting this unified calendar

1130. It may be noted that under the Indian Limitation Act (Act I of 1908) section 25, all instruments shall, for the purposes of the Limitation Act, be deemed to be made with reference to the Gregorian Calendar. This rule is absolute and therefore even if a bond is made on a tithi of a lunar month in a certain śaka year and is made payable four months after the śaka date, the period of limitation applicable to a suit brought on the bond runs from the expiration of four months after the date computed according to the Gregorian Calendar.

as they have at present the beginning of their year on various dates from 15th March to 13th April and the first month is Caitra.

Recommendations for religious calendar.

(5) The calculation for *Saura* (solar) *months* necessary for determining the lunar months of the same name will start 23 degrees and 15 minutes (fixed ayanāṁśa) ahead of the vernal equinox point. This tallies with the present practice of most almanac-makers.

The months would thus commence at the moments when the tropical longitude of the sun attains the following values; viz. Saura Vaiśākha commences when the sun has the longitude of 23° 15′, Saura Jyeṣṭha and the other Saura months upto Caitra will commence when the sun has respectively the longitude of 53° 15′, 83° 15′, 113° 15′, 143° 15′, 173° 15′, 203° 15′, 233° 15′, 263° 15′, 293° 15′, 323° 15′, 353° 15′.

This recommendation is to be regarded only as a measure of compromise, so that a violent break with the established practice would be avoided. But this compromise would not make our present seasons in the several months as they were in the days of Kālidāsa and Varāhmihira. It is hoped that at not a distant date, further reforms for locating the lunar and solar festivals in the seasons in which they were originally observed will be adopted.

(6) As usual the lunar months for religious purposes would commence from the moment of new moon and would be named after the saura month in which the new moon falls. If there be two new moons during the period of a *Saura* month the lunar month beginning from the first new moon is the *adhika* or *mala māsa* and the lunar month beginning from the moment of the second new moon is the *śuddha* or *nija māsa* as usual.

(7) The moment of the moon's exit from a nakṣatra division of 13° 20′ each or sun's entry into it would be calculated with a variable *ayanāṁśa* (i. e. on the supposition that they are fixed with respect to the stars). The value of this *ayanāṁśa* would amount to 23° 15′ 0″ on 21 March 1956. Thereafter it would gradually increases with the annual rate, the mean value of which is about 50.27″.

These arrangements would ensure that the religious observances determined by the sun such as the Viṣuva-saṅkrānti, Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti and Dakṣiṇāyana-saṅkrānti would follow

astronomically correct seasons, but those determined by the lunar calendar would continue to be observed in times conforming to the present practice and the correction introduced by this report in the length of the year would prevent their further shift in relation to the seasons.

The dates of festivals have already shifted by twenty-three days from the seasons in which they were observed about 1400 years ago as a result of our almanc-makers having ignored the procession of the equinoxes. Although it might appear to some desirable that the entire amount of shifting be wiped out at once, the authors of the Report consider it expedient to maintain this as constant difference and to stop its further increase. As a result there would at present be no deviation from the prevailing custom in the observance of religious festivals.

In the calculation of *nakṣatras*, however, the Report has adopted a variable *ayanāṁśa*, so that at the time of a particular nakṣatra the moon may be seen in the sky in the star or star-group of that name. This practice has been followed in our country from Vedic times and is perfectly scientific.

(8) The day should be reckoned from midnight to midnight of the central station (82½ degrees E. Longitude and 23° 11′ North Latitude) for civil purposes but for religious purposes the local sunrise system may be followed.

(9) For the purpose of all calculations, the longitudes of the sun and the moon should be obtained by applying the most upto-date and complete equations of their motions, so that they may tally with their actually observed values.

(10) Steps should be taken to compile an 'Indian Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac' by the Government of India, showing in advance the positions of the sun, the moon, the planets and other heavenly bodies. The Indian calendar, both civil and religious, prepared according to the above recommendations should be included in that publication every year.

One can only express the hope that the above mentioned recommendations of the Committee of distinguished astronomers and Sanskrit scholars will receive a wide and hearty response from the Hindu people and that the present confusion and anarchy in the matter of religious observances in our country will come to an end as soon as possible. The Government of India accepted the principal recommendations of the Committee

by issuing a Press Note on 23rd October 1956 which decided that the Uniform National Calendar should be adopted with effect from March 22, 1957 corresponding to (Solar) Chaitra 1, 1879, Śaka Era, for certain official purposes in conjunction with the Gregorian Calendar and laid down the steps to be taken by the Central Government and the States Governments for implementing the decision. To avoid misunderstandings and to encourage the use by the mass of the people of this Solar Calendar, Government has decided to make use of both the Gregorian Calendar and the New Indian Solar Calendar together in some Government business, such as publishing the Indian Government Gazette with both dates, the All India Radio Broadcasting news every day announcing both dates at the beginning. But Government is not going to give up as far as possible the practice of declaring public holidays on religious festivals according to the old Calendars. The Government will publish translations of the Calendar Reform Committee's Report in the principal languages of India. It must be said however that this Calendar does not remove all the defects of the Gregorian Calendar.[1131] The years will still commence on different week days and the number of days in each month still varies. It is feared that this will add only one more calendar to the existing ones.

1131. The Gregorian calendar now in general use in Europe and other parts of the world is irregular, unbalanced and inconvenient (vide pp. 643–44 above.). For twenty-five years the World Calendar Association founded by Miss Elisabeth Achelis in New York has been dedicating its time and resources to the introdution of the World Calendar in many lands. The outstanding features of this world calendar are: Every year is the same and begins on Sunday, 1st January and ends on Saturday: each of its four quarters has 91 days, 13 weeks or three months; January, April, July and October have 31 days each and the other months have 30 days each; the Calendar is stabilized and made perpetual by ending the year with a 365th day following 30th December each year. This additional day is named W (it is a World Holiday) and equal to 31st December. In a leap year a day is added at the end of the 2nd quarter, is named W, equals 31 June, called Leap year day and is another World Holiday. The United Nations Organisation has not yet lent its support to the World Calendar. An interesting work is 'Time counts: the story of the Calendar' by Harold Watkins (London, 1954.)

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